

A  
**CHRONICLE**  
OF THE  
KINGS of *ENGLAND*,

From the TIME of the  
**ROMANS GOVERNMENT,**

To the DEATH of  
King *JAMES* the First.

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By Sir *RICHARD BAKER*, Knt.

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WITH A  
CONTINUATION to the YEAR 1660.

By *E. PHILLIPS*.

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Whereto will be added,

A Second CONTINUATION,

Containing the REIGNS of

King *CHARLES* the Second, from his RESTORATION.

King *JAMES* the Second.

King *WILLIAM* the Third, and  
Queen *MARY* the Second.

Queen *ANNE*, and  
King *GEORGE* the First.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for SAMUEL BALLARD in *Little-Britain*; BENJAMIN MOTTE at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-street*; RICHARD WILLIAMSON near *Gray's-Inn-Gate*, *Holborn*; SAMUEL BIRT in *Ave-Mary-Lane*; JOHN STAGG in *Westminster-Hall*; THOMAS OSBORNE in *Gray's Inn*; and CHARLES DAVIS in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXXXIII.







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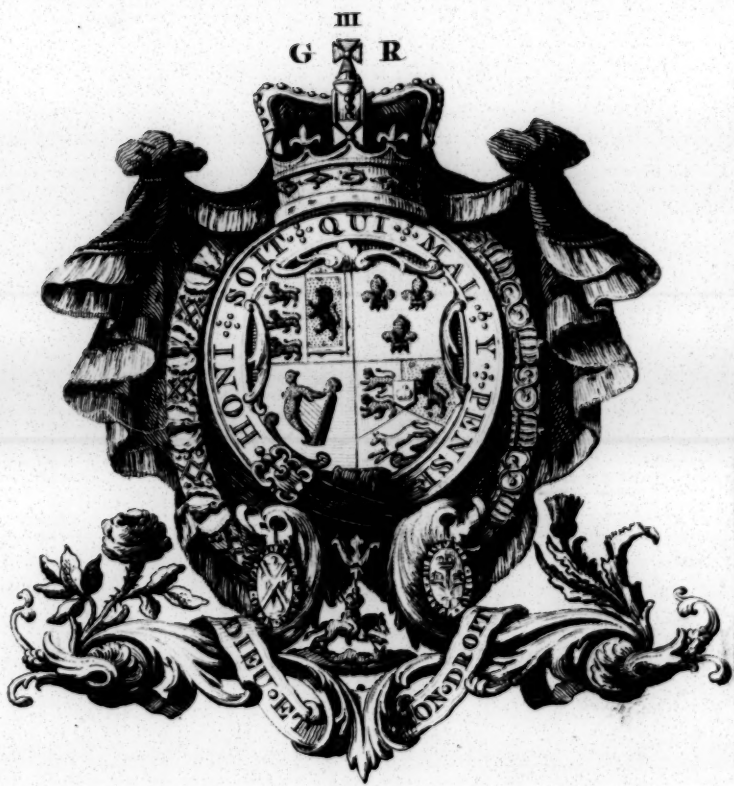
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# THE P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Edition we here give our Readers of this History or Chronicle of England, being very much altered from those which have been published before, it is necessary to give some Account of those Alterations, and of the Reasons why they were made.

In the first Place, in Sir Richard Baker's Part, very many Mistakes in the Names of Places and Persons have been corrected; which before were not only an Eye-sore, but sometimes an Hindrance to the Reader; though here and there the Printer's Mistakes have frustrated our Pains in these Amendments. It was not possible to make these Corrections in every Place; because the Author himself being, as it should seem, little acquainted with the modern Languages, has disguised some foreign Names in such a Manner, that it is not easy to know where to look to set them right. But this happens but very seldom, and where it does, it is upon Occasions of little Importance.

The Continuation by Edward Phillips to the Year 1660. has been contracted; yet we may safely say, without any Prejudice to the Reader. For that Writer appears plainly not to have rightly understood the Nature of the Work he was upon; so that he has (quite contrary to the Method he should have followed) inserted many publick Pieces, Lists of Names, and other Things of little Moment, at full Length, when he ought to have given only the Substance of them; and this he has done not only in Matters of Consequence, but in such as are not so. All Pieces therefore of that Kind have been left out; and such a brief, but clear, Account given of their Contents, as will abundantly serve the Reader's Purpose. Some needlessly diffuse Accounts of Transactions have been also abridged; and some superfluous Pieces wholly omitted; such as Lists of the Nobility, &c. And thus the whole Work has been so contracted, that with the Addition of the second Continuation to our own Times, the Bulk of the Book remains within a Trifle the same that it was before. The Account that Author has given of the King's Restoration, though a good deal more prolix than was necessary, being taken from Sir Thomas Clarges's Mouth, who had a great Part in those Transactions, and also from the Duke of Albemarle's Papers, is left just as it was. Only some Papers that were inserted at Length, and whose Substance might as well be given in few Words, have been omitted.

Lastly, That the Book might contain an entire Series of English History, a second Continuation has been added of the Reigns of the several Princes of our Country, till the Death of King George I. But this last Work being new, the Writer thinks it will be proper, if not necessary, to give some Account of it by Way of Preface.

I was very sensible that it would be utterly impossible for me to compose the History of a Nation, divided into two furious Parties, in such a Manner as to give no Offence to any. However, as the Undertaking was proposed to me, I did not think the displeasing of some Persons a sufficient Reason for declining it; being of Opinion, that such a Work, if managed with that Impartiality, I thought, I felt within myself, might be not altogether without its Use. Upon this Inducement I set myself about it, with this main End in my Eye; namely, to give the Readers a just Representation of the Face of Things, during the Times I was to write about; free from that Paint and Varnish, with which Party Prejudice on both Sides has generally coloured and disguised it.

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To answer this Intention I entered upon this Work, at least I endeavoured to do so, without any Bias upon my Mind, except one, the Love of my Country. I obliterated all former Notions received from Education, Discourse, or Reading, in Relation to Actions or Characters of any Persons or Parties; and turned my Mind into a *Rasa Tabula*, that the Impressions I should receive from this more accurate Examination I was going to begin, might not be confounded with others taken in upon weaker Grounds. With this Temper I surveyed the several Actions and Persons I wrote about; my only Care being to find out the Truth, without the least Concern what Man, or what Side would be hurt or advantaged by it.

As to the Materials for this Work, I was very differently furnished. For the Reign of King Charles II. I found good Store of Helps, more than sufficient for a Work in which Brevity was to be consulted. I have made Use of Sir William Temple, Dr. Welwood, Mr. Echard, the Bishop of Salisbury, and other Writers of inferior Character, which I perused with Care. The History of King James II. has been given us by the Author of the Life of King William III. in a very impartial Manner; and with many useful and entertaining Particulars. Many important Informations also may be gathered from the three Authors last mentioned above.

In the two succeeding Reigns little or nothing of the secret History has been published; but in Recompence it has happened luckily enough, that the important Transactions in them were chiefly of a publick Nature. So that from the ordinary Accounts that have been sent Abroad, it must not be very difficult to draw an instructive and entertaining History, if a Writer be furnished with the Talents necessary to set them in an agreeable Light.

The Truth is, as this History was not designed to be voluminous, it was the less necessary to look into a great Number of Authors, who would only furnish Particulars, for which by the Nature of the Work, there could be no Room. However, as People are naturally more inquisitive about the Times that are near them, than those that are more remote, we have thought it proper to gratify them so far, as to be somewhat more prolix than Sir Richard Baker was in those Reigns that he has described.

As to the Method, I have digested it into the Form of Annals, setting the several Transactions in each Year in as proper an Order as I could. I have been careful to give a methodical Account of the Proceedings of Parliament, without which an History of our Country, especially in these late Times, must be very imperfect. If the Reader finds any Thing delivered here with less Prolixity than he may think it deserves, I would put him in Mind that it was not my Intention to give a compleat History of the Times. That would require, besides Leisure, Capacity and other Helps, which were wanting to Me, a larger Compass than that I was confined to. My Aim was to give such a Picture, as should be like; but it was not my Design to touch exactly every small Lineament. Nevertheless, as I have used both Diligence and Impartiality in marking the chief Lines, I am in hopes that the Resemblance will not be altogether inaccurate. Only as to the Reign of his late Majesty, and the latter End of Queen Anne, I have barely given the Series of Matters of Fact; the secret Springs of the Transactions in those Times being not yet laid open. I have also in the last Reigns omitted the Article of famous Men; for I need not tell any considerate Reader, how justly I should be censured for pretending to distinguish the different Merits of so many extraordinary Persons as have appeared of late.

All that is here written must be taken upon Trust; for it would have been uneasy and tiresome to the Generality of Readers, if I had upon every Occasion quoted my Vouchers, or given my Reasons for what I lay down. So that they must rely on my Judgment for the Conclusions I have drawn from the Materials I have consulted. I am sensible indeed that those Conclusions will be disapproved by a great many; and it is no more than I expect. As to those Readers, whose Abilities and Knowledge exceed my own (if any such should condescend to cast an Eye on what I have written) I shall thankfully receive, and gladly submit to, their Correction. Of such Persons as have not looked carefully into these Things, but have taken their Notions from a slight or cursory Examination, or perhaps from none at all, I would only desire them to do by me, as they would do by others in the like Case. If they were to consult with a Workman  
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about building an House, they would certainly be willing in many Things to submit their own Opinions to his, and think it reasonable so to do. Not but that on every other Subject they may be a great deal wiser, and more knowing than that Man; but in this particular Matter, his greater Experience makes amends for his inferior Understanding. Therefore I think it but a reasonable Request of such Readers, that if they find my Representation of Things sometimes different from what they imagined before, they would not hastily throw the Book aside, but rather consider, whether one who has been obliged to make a deeper Enquiry into these Things than they themselves have done, may not possibly have good Reasons sometimes to differ from them a little; especially, when I assure them, that I have used the utmost Care (as I said before) to free myself from any Prejudice, for or against any Person, or Party whatever.

A great many Persons, I know, bring with them a Set of Opinions concerning these late Transactions; and their Way of judging of such Writings as this is by their Agreement or Disagreement with that System. Others expect, that a Relation of this Kind should be like the Chain of Reasoning in a Mathematical Demonstration, producing some Truth resulting from the whole; and that this great Truth should be a Panegyrick on one Party, and a Satire on the other. If there are Readers who expect to find this done, I give them Warning to look no farther, for they will certainly be disappointed. There cannot be in my Eye a more wretched Employment than that of a Writer, who madly espouses the Cause of one Party; nor is there any Thing more ridiculous, and at the same Time more odious, than the miserable Pains taken by such Men to obscure and palliate the Truth, when it flies in the Face of their favourite Faction; the strange Paradoxes they will advance, and their Misrepresentations of the plainest Facts. But this Turn of Mind I have endeavoured to avoid; and as far as I was able, have taken Care to give every Thing its proper Name; and in our homely Phrase, to call a Spade a Spade. For the Truth is, both Parties have been guilty of great Errors, and both have done wise and excellent Things. I have been sparing in Censures and Commendations, except where they were notoriously deserved; upon which Occasions I have distributed them with Impartiality to all Sorts of Persons. In some disputed Points I am content to relate the bare Matter of Fact; in others, I give the Arguments pro and con with the utmost Force and Clearness I was capable of; without Partiality to either Side of the Question, and without interposing my own Opinion.

For my Part, I am much inclined to think that Persons of both Parties generally mean the same Thing. For I do not see how the Generality of a Nation can possibly have any other Views than to live peaceably, and enjoy their Possessions, and the Fruit of their Labours in quiet. This End is what all certainly agree in: And as to the Means, there is not a great deal of Difference, if Men would consider Matters a little coolly. For all the National Security and Prosperity we can enjoy, depends principally upon the Form of our Constitution; and this great Truth is not more certain in itself, than it is deeply imprinted upon the Minds of all our Countrymen. Ask any Man that knows the Meaning of the Words, and he will tell you, that he is for a King and Parliament with all his Heart; and twenty to one, but he will add some passionate Expression against any who should think otherwise. Ask the Question of a Nonjuror, of a Church-Man, of a Dissenter, they will all make the same Answer. And that this Principle dwells in Mens Hearts as well as on their Tongues, appears from two remarkable Examples; the Restoration and the Revolution; at both which Times, when all Things were subverted and disjointed, the whole Nation, however divided in other Points, called with one Voice for the ancient Constitution, and settled under it in a Moment. And it may be observed even in behalf of the Nonjurors, whose Principles are thought the least favourable to Publick Liberty, that no Men more strenuously opposed King James's Exorbitances, than many of those whose Consciences would not permit them to take the Oaths to King William.

For these Reasons I resolved to take as little notice of our Party Divisions as possible; unless it were to animadvert upon the Madnefs of them both. The Truth is, both Parties have so often changed their Principles and Proceedings, that to follow them through all those Mazes, would be not only an invidious but an uncertain, and sometimes impossible, Work; not to mention that it could serve to no Use but to revive those Discords which now, by God's Goodness, are in a good Degree laid asleep. I have even avoided the mentioning of those Names by which the two Parties styled themselves, unless in a very few Places, and where I was obliged to speak of them, they are always mentioned



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with equal Respect. I must confess however, as the Intrigues of the Factions in a State are very often the Spring and Source of Publick Transactions; so if a true and impartial Account of the secret Designs of the Leaders in both Parties, and of the Influence they had on the publick Steps, during the Times here described, could be procured, it would be of very great Use. But this ought to be the Work of one who has been intimately and personally conversant with the Intrigues he relates, and who tells nothing but what he has seen and heard himself; not of those who have spent their Lives in Obscurity and Retirement.

I said just now that a Prejudice in Behalf of our Constitution was generally rooted in the Hearts of our Countrymen. I think it will not be improper in a Preface to the History of England, if I go on to shew that this Prejudice is entirely founded on Reason. And this I shall do by taking a Survey of the several Forms of Government that have been most famous in the World, and having impartially shewn their Defects and Excellencies, I shall set our own Constitution by them for a Comparison.

One Form of Government, which is indeed that which prevails in most Nations, is the subjecting all to the Will of one Man, or what we call Absolute Monarchy. This Constitution has its Conveniences. For where Countries are governed by settled Laws, it is generally necessary to keep close to the Letter of the Law; from whence, through the Multiplicity of Circumstances that attend Humane Actions and Affairs, many Hardships and Inconveniences may arise, and many Acts of Wickedness go unpunished. All which is unavoidable, by Reason of the Weakness of Mens Understandings, who cannot foresee, nor provide for, all the Circumstances that may attend the Execution of the Laws they establish, nor all the Variety of Subterfuges that the Wit of Man, when exercised in Wickedness, is able to invent. But this Defect of written Laws is remedied by placing an absolute Power in the Hands of a wise and good Man, who not being bound by stated Rules, can accommodate himself to the several Circumstances of particular Actions, and adapt his Rewards and Punishments with incomparably more Exactness than general Laws can possibly do. Examples of this are to be met with here and there in the Course of ones Reading. With respect to neighbouring Powers, this Form of Government has also its Advantages, either for Offence or Defence; such an uncontrollable Power assembling and applying the Wealth and Strength of a Nation to any determinate End with much more Ease and Readiness than is commonly done in Countries where Orders do not come with such a resistless Force. Of this we had a famous Example in the Wars of the Confederacy with Louis XIV. in which the Kingdom of France, by the Help of this Absolute Command directing and applying her Strength, was a Match for all her Neighbours; while the Empire of Germany, though in Extent of Land, and Number of People, superior to France, stood like a Cypher in the Confederacy; purely for want of such an Authority to enable that great Country to exert its Strength in a proper Manner.

This is the bright Side of Absolute Monarchy; but the Beauty of it will soon be clouded by the Reflection that all its Felicity depends upon the Supposition that the Prince is admirably wise, and brave, and just, and good; having no Fear, but of God, and no Affection or Desire but for his People, and their Happiness. But among the long Lists of Absolute Princes, that History exhibits to us, how scarce are the Names of these Prodigies?

———bimembri

Hoc monstrum puero, vel miranti sub aratro  
Piscibus inventis, vel fœtæ comparo mulæ.

But if on the other Hand, this Power be lodged in the Hands of a Fool, or a wicked Man, the Consequences are too plain to be insisted on. The Histories of all Times are full of the Miseries brought upon Mankind by that savage Wantonness and Pride which resistless Power has infused into Absolute Princes. I shall therefore pass them over, and go on to the Consideration of the Inconveniences that attend this Form of Government, where it is neither in its best, nor in its worst Condition. In the first Place, we may take notice that it is in a great Measure true of Absolute Princes, what \* Guicciardine says of the Popes in his Time, that they are then called good when they are

\* Guicciard. Lib. 16. Ne nostri corotti costumi è laudata la bontà del Pontefice quando non trapassà la malignità degli altri huomini.



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not wickeder than other People. So when we say that their Subjects live well under them, our Meaning is that they are not so much oppressed but that they can stand under their Burthens; though they are such as in free Countries would be cried out against as intolerable. Besides, let the present Reign be ever so tolerable or so good, none knows what the next Successor may prove. An Example of this we have the Moment I am writing, in one of the Kingdoms of Europe, whose Misfortune it is to be placed under an Absolute Sovereignty. During the Reign of the last Prince, the Subjects passed their Time very easily; but his Successor having taken into his Head a ridiculous Pride of keeping vast Forces on Foot beyond what his Country is able to support, they are now perhaps the most unhappy People in Europe; their very Hearts and Backs being broke with the Burthens and Oppressions attending the Maintenance of so many Soldiers. Farther, it is certain in Fact, that Absolute Rule, even though there be no remarkable Faults to be charged on the Governours, always weakens a Country, and that Liberty as certainly strengthens it. What the Reason of this is, cannot be so cleared up as not to leave room for Cavil; but this is certain, that the Thing itself appears from Experience. There never was since the World began, an Absolute Monarchy that was feared or revered for any Time, unless it derived its Greatness from a vast Extent of Territory; whereas Free States, though possessed of a small Tract of Land, have been great, and dreadful for Ages together; and shaken the most mighty Monarchies. This undoubted Fact confutes without Reply all that ill-designing or unthinking Men have ever said or dreamed in Behalf of Absolute Sovereignty.

We now come to consider the Constitution of those Republicks of ancient Time, which though long since destroyed through the Flux and Change of human Affairs, live in their Fame and Renown to this Day, and will continue to do so to the End of the World. To these we shall add the most remarkable Republicks of the latter Ages. The Wisdom and Felicity of these several Constitutions has been admired and celebrated by different Persons; and with great Reason; there being something in every one of them that challenges our Admiration.

The famous Republicks of ancient Times were Sparta, Athens and Rome. The Republick of Sparta had the following Original. The Government of Sparta or Lacedæmon having, by several Incidents, fallen into great Corruption, Lycurgus, who was a Person much revered amongst them, both for his Quality and Wisdom, persuaded the Members of the State to put themselves under his Direction; upon which he composed a Body of Laws and Frame of Government for that People, and established the same on such solid Foundations, that for seven hundred Years together it lasted and prospered, with very little Alteration from within or from without. The great End proposed by this Legislator was to form a Body of Citizens who should be trained and habituated to the Exercise of Valour, Temperance, Obedience, and all other publick Virtues. To this End, he instituted a most rigid Course of Education, which every one passed through; by which Dangers, Hardships, and whatever could form or exercise the most enduring Patience, were rendered familiar to them, and the Objects of their daily Acquaintance and Practice. To prevent the Entrance of Luxury and Avarice, he banished the Use of all Superfluities, and even of Gold and Silver Money. And the Way to Honours was so well fenced, that none could hope to enter it, but through the Gate of Merit, and in the Order prescribed by the Laws; which effectually controuled the immoderate Aims of aspiring Minds. In this Manner he provided for the Strength and Safety of his new Republick; and the Consequence answered his Intention. The Virtues he designed to infuse into his Spartans became universal amongst them; and by the wonderful Force of Custom, they came to take a Pride and Delight in so severe a Discipline; so that Antiquity is full of their hardy Valour, their Submission to the Laws, and the Sovereign Empire they maintained over their most natural and powerful Affections and Appetites. By these Arts they soon subdued the People near them; and this produced a new Order in the State. For they found that to attain that Fortitude and Temperance which their Laws required from them, the purchasing of which compelled them to such rigorous Observances, it was necessary they should not be hindered by an Attendance on the Necessaries of Life. This Task therefore they set apart for the People they had conquered; whom they brought into their own Country, and doomed them and their Posterity to be for ever the Slaves of their Conquerors. And thus the Members of this Commonwealth consisted of two perfectly different Sorts of People; the Spartans, properly so called, who were the Governors and Soldiers of the State; and the conquered People, and their Descendants, who were called the Helotes; which last performed the Offices of Agriculture, and exercised



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exercised those few Trades that were necessary among a People to whom Luxury was an utter Stranger. Upon these Foundations the Republick of Lacedæmon stood; and so well did they answer their Purpose, that the Spartan Name was terrible all about them; and they boasted that for six hundred Years together, no Enemies Trumpet was heard to sound in the Territory of Laconia. Their Glory might have been of a still longer Duration, had not some Successes drawn them into an Attempt their Constitution was not made for; namely, the making remote and extensive Conquests; in which though their Valour at first gave them Success, they were unable to hold it long. So that the same Persons who beheld Sparta the Mistress of Greece, saw, ten Years after, her Empire and Glory overthrown in one Battle; which the Constitution itself of Lycurgus did not long survive.

The great Defect in this Constitution of Sparta was, that the Members of the State were very unequally treated, and a considerable Part of them very cruelly used. For though the Spartans, properly so called, were happy and free, the Helotes were very far from being so. Those poor People were delivered down from Father to Son in an uninterrupted Course of Slavery; which was the more grievous because they had no Hopes of emerging from it, and because it was accompanied with the most barbarous Usage from their Masters, in order to keep their Spirits broken and depressed. The Spartans indeed were instructed in Wisdom and Virtue; but the Helotes, whose only Fault it was to be born of Parents who were Slaves, were so far from receiving such Instruction, that the very Use of those Words was forbidden them; as if they were polluted by being in the Mouths of those unfortunate Persons. And though it might be pretended when their Ancestors first were conquered, that the Victors might give what Laws they pleased to the Vanquished, yet to keep a numerous Succession of People in Eternal Bondage from Generation to Generation was an Injustice not to be excused. Yet this Institution was the Corner-Stone of their State; and the Spartan Virtue could not have been kept up, if those who were educated in it had been distracted with the Avocations that in other Places attend the procuring the Necessaries of Life. For the Discipline was so excessively rigid, that it was a full Employment for a Man's Mind to learn to subject itself to those severe Restraints. Thus we see in this celebrated Republick there was a most crying Iniquity, and indeed Barbarity, so incorporated with its very Substance that the State could not possibly have subsisted in that Form without it. Some other Blemishes of Lycurgus's Institution might be pointed out; for by overmuch Care to restrain the Corruptions of Nature, he sometimes departed too far from her. But these not being of equal Importance with the last mentioned, I shall for Brevity's Sake pass them over, and come now to consider Sparta's great Rival, Athens.

This Commonwealth is not to be compared with that of Sparta, for the Artifice of its Fabrick, or the Length of its Duration. But it appears with much greater Lustre to Posterity, through that wonderful Genius which shined out among its Citizens, and made that State the Fountain and Seat of all Knowledge, Arts and Politeness. The Frame of this Government was very plain and simple; their Polity being founded on this single Institution, that every Man, who was a Citizen of Athens, should have a Part in the publick Affairs, whether rich or poor; so that the Assembly of those Citizens, met together in a Body, were King, Lords and Commons, having the absolute Disposal of the State, and every Thing relating thereto. All Things and Persons passed in Review before them, and were submitted to their Judgments, from which there was no Appeal to any superior or collateral Power. This Institution had an Appearance of very great Equity; because every Man who had a Concern in the State, had Power and Opportunity to overlook the Management of its Affairs; and to give his Advice and Suffrage in them. But though it appeared very well in Speculation, this Form of Government would not do so well in Practice. For not to mention that the Consultations of such a Multitude must be of course very turbulent and tumultuous, it filled the State with two very great Evils; an intolerable Pride, and an Envy and Jealousy of their best and worthiest Men. For every Citizen, finding himself a Partaker in the Government of a mighty City, looked upon himself as a Sort of a King; and took State accordingly. This Pride naturally bred Envy in the worthless Part of them to all Men who became eminent; and as in all numerous Bodies those of no Merit will make a Majority, it came to pass that these Persons, envying the Fame of those whose Virtues gained them Applause, and having Power to exert their Malice, never failed to take the Opportunity. This private Envy to worthy Citizens was increased and countenanced by an Accident that happened when their Republick was first found-

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ed. For while Solon was yet alive, who gave them their Laws, Pisistratus found means under a specious Appearance of Virtue, to seize the Supreme Authority; and held it with so fast a Hand, that he delivered it to a Successor. This Accident bred in this State an incurable Jealousy of extraordinary Men; and introduced their famous Ostracism; which was a Proceeding by which the Body of the Citizens had Power to banish any Person of dangerous Popularity, without giving a Reason for it. This publick Sanction being given to private Malice, the Consequence was that the best and bravest among the Athenians, who had raised their City to its highest Pitch of Glory, were all of them ill-treated by their ungrateful Countrymen; nor is there one Example of an eminent Citizen in that Commonwealth, who escaped without some notable Mark of their barbarous Envy and Jealousy; which cost many of them even their Lives. But these unnatural and unjust Precautions proved the Ruin of that very Constitution they were designed to preserve; for not to mention the just Vengeance of Heaven attending such Ingratitude, a State formed like theirs could stand upon no other Foundations than the Wisdom and Virtue of particular Persons; who might direct and influence the Resolutions of an ignorant and giddy Multitude; whereas in Athens, those Pillars of the State were always thrown down as soon as they appeared fit to bear it up and support it. For this Reason, their Democracy was of no long Duration; and the same Century that saw its Greatness and Power, beheld its final Ruin.

We are now come to consider the Constitution of Eternal Rome; that immortal Name, the very Sound of which strikes Awe and Veneration. The Government of this State was not formed all at once, like the two Republicks above-mentioned; but in the Time between Romulus and Julius Cæsar admitted of several Variations. For at first, Rome was governed by Kings; till the Violence and Tyranny of one introduced the total Extirpation of that Form of Government. Then the Supreme Power was vested in the Consuls, assisted by the Senate; till the People, finding themselves grievously oppressed by the Nobles, procured a great Alteration in the Government, by introducing the Tribunes to be their Representatives in the Senate, and their Protectors upon all Occasions; which State of Things continued till Corruption introduced a Sovereign Lord. These Changes, and some others of less Importance, though made as it were by Chance, and suited only to particular Emergencies, were yet, by the Designation of Providence, which had appointed that City to be Mistress of the World, so happily brought in, and with such proper Circumstances, that instead of weakening, they added every Time new Strength and Vigour to this growing State, so that she went on, spreading her Conquests from Nation to Nation, till all the Earth submitted to her Empire.

I shall now make two or three Observations on the Roman Commonwealth. And first, it seems to me, that if Rome continued so long without a Master, as it did, it was owing not so much to the Frame of its Constitution, as to that extraordinary Publick Spirit and Virtue among its People, which is every where admired and celebrated. The Fences that guarded her Freedom were so weak, that as soon as the Roman Virtue began to decline, ambitious Men got over them without any Trouble; and when once her Liberty was fallen, it never rose again. This Opinion is confirmed, if not demonstrated, by the following Example. Manlius Capitolinus, and Julius Cæsar, both endeavoured to oppress their Country's Liberties; but the one lost his Life in the Attempt, the other succeeded. The Cause of the different Ends of these two aspiring Men could not be the Difference of the Constitution at those two several Times; for the Form of it was the same in both. Nor was it the Difference of their personal Qualifications; for Manlius was as popular and as brave as Julius Cæsar could possibly be. Yet when the Designs of Manlius broke out, he was immediately abandoned by all; whereas Cæsar found Followers that were ready to assist him to ruine their Country; and powerful and numerous enough to compass it. Therefore the Freedom of Rome would by the Nature of its Constitution, have lasted but for a little while, had not a peculiar Temper and Disposition of the People supplied what was wanting in the Laws. Secondly, There was not only wanting in the Roman Commonwealth, a proper Check and Restraint of ambitious Citizens, but the very Frame of it contained two Principles of Servitude within it. The first was the Division of the People into two separate Classes; the Nobles, or Patricians, and the Commons, or Plebeians. The Consequence of this Division was, that the Nobles, finding themselves advantageously distinguished above the others, grew insolent towards those whom they looked on as their Inferiors; which being naturally resented by the Commons, begat furious Contentions between them.



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*These Disputes brought them under the Tyranny of the Decemviri soon after they had recovered their Liberty from the Kings; and they might have remained under that Yoke much longer, but that the Roman Virtue was then alive and vigorous, and being roused by the Lust and Barbarity of Appius towards Virginia, freed itself by one brave Effort. While the same Virtue lasted, they escaped other Dangers of the same kind; but when the Commonwealth became corrupt, these Discords grew so fierce and inveterate, that the Publick Liberty and Quiet were no longer to be reconciled. And in reading carefully the History of this State from the Time of the Slaughter of Caius Gracchus, and the fierce Executions that followed it, we cannot but observe all along that Peace could never enter there again but in the Retinue of an imperious Master; the two contending Parties, the Nobles and Plebeians, being so inflamed against each other, that nothing could possibly still their Animosities but one common Yoke of Bondage. Another Principle of Servitude was, that both their Temper and Constitution disposed them to live in a perpetual State of War; and this obliged them to deliver the Power of the Sword into the Hands of private Citizens; which was at once to tempt and to arm their Ambition. This also proved of little Danger so long as their Publick Spirit lasted; but as soon as that decayed, their great Commanders immediately became Lords and Kings; and turned those Arms into their Country's Bowels, which they were entrusted with for its Defence and Glory.*

*We shall now look into the Republicks of latter Ages; of which the most ancient is that of Venice, as its Polity has been the most admired. This Republick, after undergoing several Changes, at last about the End of the thirteenth Century, fixed itself to the Model it is now in; the Government being then vested in a particular Body of Citizens and their Descendants, with the Exclusion of all others; who have kept it among themselves ever since. What is admirable in this Republick is, first, a most wise Oeconomy and Polity within themselves; by which the Members of the Commonwealth are preserved in a most wonderful and entire Subordination to the State; an Excellence in which the Roman Constitution was exceedingly defective, and the want of which proved its Ruin. Secondly, a thorough Knowledge and Possession of the most refined Maxims of Policy in their Intercourse with other Powers; of which they have never failed to give Proofs upon all Occasions that have offered. By these Arts they have preserved themselves so long, not only in Safety, but in high Veneration; much beyond what their inward Strength, considered by itself, could entitle them to.*

*The Defect of this Government is first, that the People in general are unwarlike; which is occasioned by the Policy of the State, which dares not trust them with Arms, lest they should come to turn them against their Masters. Nor are the Nobles, though the Power entirely resides amongst them, much better than the common People in this Respect; a Nobleman of Military Qualifications being too dangerous a Character to be much affected under that jealous Government. And indeed the Maxims of this Republick are entirely pacific; and an Aversion to War is the prevailing Affection among them; their Strength lying another Way. But this unwarlike Disposition is their Weakness, and had not a particular Chance saved them, it had proved their Ruin two hundred Years ago. For Louis XII. of France having defeated their Forces at the Battle of Ghiarra d'Adda, the Loss of that one Battle so frightened them, (which a more valiant Nation would have contemned) that they made no farther Resistance; but suffered him to over-run all their Territory on the Terra Firma without Opposition. And if the City of Venice itself did not share the same Fate, it was owing entirely to its Situation among the Lagunes or shallow Waters that surround it; which make it perhaps the most inaccessible City in Europe. Had it not been for this Incident, which was no Ways owing to their Prudence, the Memory of their Republick had been all that would have been left us by this Time.*

*But this is not the only Defect in this Institution; there is another much greater. For under the specious Title of a free Republick, they maintain indeed a tyrannical Form of Government. For according to Aristotle's Definition, which is certainly a very true one, Tyranny is a Form or Administration of Government by which the Power and Lust of one Man, or of a few, is promoted in Preference to the general Good of the Whole. Now this is evidently the Case in Venice; the Maxims of their Government respecting in the first Place, the preserving the Authority of the Venetian Nobles over the other Members of the Republick; and the Good of the Whole in the second Place only, and no farther than the same may be consistent with their first and chief*



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chief Intention. Hence it comes to pass that when these two Ends are bound up in each other, they proceed with a Conduct and Wisdom that is highly admirable; but when they come to be inconsistent, they make no Difficulty in chusing which of the two they shall prefer. Of this it may not be amiss to relate the following Example; as it both proves what I just said, and gives a Specimen of the celebrated Venetian Policy. The Province of Friuli, at the Extremity of the Adriatic Gulph, is subject to this Republick. Lionardo Donato, who was afterwards Doge of Venice, was chief Governour, or Podesta, in that Province; where he observed that the Gentlemen of the Country lived together in a perfect Harmony and good Intelligence. Upon this, with a Venetian Circumspection, he began to consider what the Consequences might be of this good Correspondence. He remembred, that the Emperor of Germany was the next Neighbour to this Province, and had some Pretensions upon it; from whence he inferred that perhaps that Prince might some Time or other form an Intelligence with the Inhabitants; which by the Friendship and Kindness reigning there, might be carried on with Ease and Secrecy, and prove dangerous to the State at last. These Suspicions of his he wrote to the Senate of Venice; desiring them to send him Powers in a Form mentioned by him, by which he promised to disturb effectually this good Intelligence. The Senate sent him back an Answer, wherein they praised and thanked him for his great Vigilance and Penetration, together with Powers, as he requested; by which he was enabled to confer the Titles of Marquis and Count upon such of the Gentlemen of the Country, as he should think fitting. This he accordingly did; bestowing them in a Manner quite contrary to what their Births and Fortunes would have directed. Hence those who received these new Titles began to claim Precedency over the others; who scorning to give Way to those who were once their Inferiors, the whole Country was soon filled with implacable Quarrels; and quickly after, according to the Italian Manner, with cutting of Throats; which at once enriched the Treasury with numerous Confiscations of Estates, and so thoroughly rooted out the good Agreement in the Province, that the State was effectually freed from all Dangers and Apprehensions from that Quarter.

The Republick of Switzerland is founded on an Alliance between several independent States; and the Strength of it with respect to its Neighbours arises from the Numbers and warlike Disposition of the People, and their ardent Love of Liberty and of their Country; which joined with their mountainous Situation, make an Invasion of their Liberties by any Power from without, too perillous an Enterprize to be undertaken. Their Security from within is owing to the Simplicity and Plainness of their Humour, and Manner of Living; and to a certain fraternal Temper and Disposition among the several Members of the State, which inclines them, in a Manner almost peculiar to themselves, to compose the most furious Animosities, before they flame out to such a Height, as may prove dangerous to the Publick. This Account of their Strength points out at the same Time their Weakness; for the former depending almost entirely upon the Temper of the People, it follows, that if Luxury should enter their State (and the Approaches of that subtle Mischief are insensible, and therefore hard to be guarded against) Avarice and Corruption will soon follow them, and sap the Foundations by which this Republick is upheld.

The Republick of Holland is of much the same Form with that of Switzerland; being a Confederacy of several independent Towns and Cities for mutual Succour and Defence; the Union of the former being however much more strict and close than that of the latter. The Rise of this Commonwealth came from grievous Oppressions laid on those Countries by the King of Spain, who was their Sovereign; which raised at once a fierce Rebellion, and such an irreconcilable Enmity to the Spanish Government that the People thought nothing too much to do, or to suffer, to keep out of that hated Yoke. This made them betake themselves to Trade and Industry, with an inconceivable Vigour. For they soon found their own People unequal in Force and Discipline to the Power of the Spaniard; which obliged them to make use of mercenary Soldiers; and these required that Wealth to maintain them which was only to be had by Commerce. And though it required a vehement Spirit of Industry and Parsimony to support those Expences, yet their inveterate Hatred to the Spanish Government engaged them to undergo many Things they would otherwise have thought very grievous. And this Temper being directed by wise Men, and seconded by lucky Accidents, brought that State to its Height and Glory.



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*The Defects of it are these two. First, that having derived its first Vigour from a most unexampled Laboriousness and Frugality, it cannot subsist but on the same Foundations; which are of too mouldering a Stone to last. For though a vehement Passion will sometimes enable Men to hold on in such a Course for a good while, yet the natural Inclinations to Ease and Pleasure are so strong, as must, by Degrees, cause such a Spirit to slacken and cool. Besides this, the Constitution of the State is so ill contrived, that there is continual Danger of its falling to Pieces upon very slight Occasions; it being so framed, that in any of the Deliberations of this State one Town may put the Negative upon all the rest; whence if Corruption from within, or from without, should get into any one Place, it may put all their Proceedings to a stay. And though hitherto the Inconveniencies arising from this Constitution have not been so notable, as one would have expected; this may be justly attributed to the Dangers with which this Republick has been surrounded almost ever since its Birth. But if it should continue long in a State of Security, it seems hardly possible that it should not feel some great Prejudice from a Constitution so ill set together.*

*I come in the last Place, to consider our own bounded Monarchy. Every one knows that the Supreme Power of Great Britain consists of the King, the Nobility, and the Representatives of the People. The King has the Execution of the Laws entirely in his Hands; he has also the Power of calling, proroguing, adjourning, and dissolving Parliaments; and when any new Laws are offered to him by the Parliament, he has Power to refuse his Assent, without giving any Reason. Besides this, he has a very ample Revenue; there are severe Laws made for the Guard of his Personal Dignity; and he has the Disposal of a great Number of Offices of Honour and Profit. And to all this is added the sole Prerogative of making War, Peace, and Alliances. But because the whole Supreme Power lodged in his Hands would introduce the Evils of Absolute Monarchy, a Part thereof is given to the two Houses of Parliament; who have some Privileges in common; and others that are peculiar to the several Houses. Both have Power to propose and to pass new Laws, and offer them to the Consideration of the other House of Parliament, and of the King; and both have a Negative Voice in those Cases. Both have Power to offer the King their Representation against any publick Act, which they apprehend may turn to the Prejudice of the State; and both have the most uncontrollable Freedom of Speech in their Debates. The House of Lords is the supreme Court of Judicature, to whose Sentence the greatest Subjects are obnoxious. The House of Commons have the Power of accusing, as the Lords have of trying; and they have also the important Privilege of granting Supplies to the King. With Respect to the general State of the Nation, it is observable that there is a certain Gradation in the several Ranks and Orders of Men amongst us, that is peculiar to our selves. For in other Countries there are two Classes of People, the Gentlemen, and the Commons; whose Ways and Circumstances of Living are so different, that they make as it were two different Nations in one; which like Water and Oyl in the same Vessel, never embody or run into each other, be they ever so intermixed. But now the several Degrees of Men among us slide into each other insensibly; the Descent being imperceptible, as we go down from the greatest Subject to the least. And thus our Nation forms one, and only one, great Body, whose Interest can therefore be but one. As to the particular Members of this Body, their Lives and Liberties and Estates are guarded by such Fences, that no illegal or arbitrary Violence can be offered to the meanest Person by the greatest, but that the Law will be open for his Redress.*

*The Excellency of this Constitution will best appear if we compare it with those above-mentioned; and we shall find it free from all the Defects we have shewn to be in each of those Forms of Government. The King has Power enough to support the Majesty of the Throne; and may fall with a mighty Weight into any Design for the Publick Good, if he is disposed to use his Influence to that End. But because Kings are Men, and live in the midst of Affluence and Respect, which are apt to intoxicate the Mind, and swell it with Pride; he is so restrained in other Things, that as great as his Power is, he cannot by Law exert it to the Oppression of the meanest of his Subjects. The Nobility have Honours and Privileges peculiar to their Order; such as are proper to excite them to, and assist them in, the Pursuit of those Virtues and Accomplishments that may enable them to do Service to their Country. But the Influence and Power of the rest of the Nation is so great, that it is impossible for them so much as to think of insulting and trampling upon the Commons as has been, and is*



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so notoriously the Case in all Governments where the Body of the People have not so great a Weight. And thus all Quarrels between the Nobles and Commons upon this Account being prevented, a Door at which Slavery has commonly entered in other Countries is for ever shut in our own. And from the great Power and Influence of the King and Peers, it will be easily inferred, that the Commons, being restrained by those Checks, cannot fly out into those turbulent Seditions and that barbarous Ferocity which we find Examples of in the Democracy of Athens, and others of the same Form; while notwithstanding, they enjoy as perfect a Liberty as they could have done, or can do in those States where they are altogether Masters.

Thus by our Constitution every Member of the State is treated in such a Manner as is most rational, most equitable, and most conducive to the publick Good. Hence it comes to pass that it requires no unnatural or unjust Precautions or jealousies to support it, like some of the Republicks above mentioned; but tends to preserve itself as naturally almost as a Stone does to fall to the Ground. It is so far from requiring Art or Violence to support it, that it is not to be disturbed without a great deal of both; and when it is forcibly withheld from its proper Place, it tends to its Centre still; and like Water kept out with Banks, will force its Way some Time or other. For there being nothing in it violent or oppressive, but every Thing founded on the most perfect Reason and Justice, all Men universally become its Guard, because all Men see they cannot possibly have any Interest to make it otherwise. Nor does it require any extraordinary Measure of Publick Virtue to keep it up; for we see, notwithstanding the Complaints for the last hundred Years of Luxury and Corruption amongst us, our Form of Government is still subsisting, and as likely to live as the Uncertainty of Humane Affairs will permit any thing to be. And this Convenience is to be found in no other free Government; as appears from what has been said above.

To all this I know it will be objected, that in spite of our admired Constitution, there have been as grievous Instances of Corruption and Male-Administration found amongst Us, as in any other State. That on some Occasions the Power of the Crown and the Privileges of the Nobility will prove very heavy to particular Persons. That the Court will sometimes have so great an Influence on the Senate, that the Deliberations there shall be mere Matter of Form; and that on the contrary there have been Examples that Faction and Peevishness in the House of Commons may obstruct a Prince in the Prosecution of laudable Designs. But to this the Answer is easy; that it cannot be said that our Constitution prevents all Inconveniences, small or great; such Perfection is not of the Growth of this World. But this is certain, That these Evils are better fenced against, more safely censured when doing, and more easily remedied when done, under our Constitution, than under any other; not to mention that they are fewer in Number, and less in Degree, than any where else.

I had Thoughts of adding some Considerations relating to the Dangers our Constitution is liable to from within and from without, but I found this led me into Disquisitions beyond my Sphere and Capacity. I shall therefore only add the following Remark made upon our Country by the Duke de Rohan, in his Discourse of the Interests of Princes; with which I shall conclude this Discourse and Preface; *L'Angleterre est un grand Animal, qui ne peut mourir que par soi-même; England is a great Creature that can never die by any Power, but its own.*



## A CATALOGUE of Writers, both Antient and Modern, out of whom this CHRONICLE hath been collected.

1. **G**ILDAS *Britannicus*, surnamed the Wise, an Antient Writer of our *English* Nation, who amongst other his Works, writ a Treatise, *De Excidio Britanniae*: He was born in the Year 493, and died in the Year 580.
2. *Nennius*, a Monk of *Bangor*, writ the Story of *Britain*, and lived about the Year 620.
3. Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon*, and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the *English* Nation, from the coming in of *Julius Caesar*, to the Year 733, about which Time he died.
4. *Ethelwardus*, an eminent Historian, compiled a general Chronicle from the Creation, to the End of King *Edgar*.
5. *Sigebert*, King of the East-Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his later Days became a Monk, and was slain by *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, in the Year 652.
6. *Afferius Menevensis*, born in *Pembroke-shire*, writ the Story of *Britain*, and the Acts of King *Alfred*, and lived about the Year 890.
7. *Osbernus*, a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life of Archbishop *Dunstan*, and other Works; and lived about the Year 1020.
8. *Gulielmus Gemeticensis*, a *Norman* and a Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of *Normandy*, to *William* the First, to whom he dedicated his Work; and after enlarged it to the Death of King *Henry* the First, in the Year 1160, at which Time he lived.
9. *Marianus Scotus*, a Monk, writ Annals from the Beginning of the World to his own Time, and died in the Year 1086.
10. *Alfredus*, a Priest of *Beverly*, writ a History from the first Original of the *Britains* to his own Time, and lived about the Year 1087. in the Time of *William* the First.
11. *Veremundus*, a *Spaniard*, and a Priest, but who lived much in *Scotland*, writ the Antiquities of the *Scottish* Nation, and lived about the Year 1090.
12. *Lucianus*, a Monk, and an *English* Writer, and lived in the first Times of the *Normans*.
13. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, writ from the Year 664 to the Year 1066. and lived in the Time of *Henry* the First, whose Secretary he had been.
14. *Turgotus*, an *Englishman*, Prior of *Durham*, and afterwards Bishop of *St. Andrew's* in *Scotland*, writ a History of the Kings of *Scotland*; also Chronicles of *Durham*, Annals of his own Time, and the Life of King *Malcom*, and lived in the Year 1098, in the Time of King *William* the Second.
15. *Gulielmus Pistaviensis*, writ a Treatise of the Life of *William* the First.
16. *Gualterus Mapæus*, writ a Book *De Nugis Curialium*, and lived about the Year 1210.
17. *William* of *Malmesbury*, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the *English* Nation, from the first coming of the *Saxons* into *Britain*, to his own Time; which Work he dedicated to *Robert* Duke of *Glocester*, base Son of King *Henry* the First, and lived to the first Year of King *Henry* the Second.
18. *Florentius*, a Monk of *Worcester*, compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the Year 1118, in which Year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the Year 1163.
19. *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, writ the Lives of *William* the First, *William* the Second, and King *Henry* the First, in whose Time he lived.
20. *Caradocus*, born in *Wales*, writ the Acts of the *Britain* Kings, from *Cadwallader* to his own Time, and lived in the Time of King *Stephen*.
21. *Gervasius Dorobornensis*, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the *English* Nation, and lived about the Year 1200.
22. *Johannes Fibertius*, commonly called *De Bever*, or *Castorius*, writ short Annals of the *English* Nation, and lived about the Year 1306.
23. *Henry*, Archdeacon of *Huntington*, writ a History of the Kings of *England*, to the Reign of King *Stephen*, in whose Time he lived.
24. *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of *Asaph*, writ a History of the *Britains*, and was the first that makes mention of *Brute*, and of *Merline's* Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own Time, and after; he lived about the Year 1150, in the Time of King *Stephen*.
25. *William* of *Newborough*, born at the Beginning of King *Stephen's* Reign, writ a History of the *English* Nation, and bitterly inveighs against *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, as a Deviser of Fables.
26. *Sylvester Gyraldus*, born in *Wales*, and therefore called *Cambrensis*, after long Travel Abroad, was called Home, and made Secretary to King *Henry* the Second; and after was sent Tutor to his Son *John* into *Ireland*;



## A Catalogue of AUTHORS.

- Ireland*; he writ the History of that Nation very exquisitely; also an *Itinerarium* of *Wales* and *Britain*; the Life of *Henry* the Second; the Acts of *King John*, and a Chronicle of the *English* Nation, and lived about the Year 1190, in the Time of *King Richard* the First, and *King John*.
27. *John* of *Hagulfstad*, a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in *Durham*, writ the most memorable Things from the ninth Year of *King Henry* the Second, to the first Year of *Richard* the First, in whose Time he lived, about the Year 1190.
28. *Roger Hoveden*, a Priest of *Oxford*, writ the Annals of the Kings of *England*, and the memorable Passages under the *Romans*, *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; he lived in the Time of *King Richard* the First, and died in the Time of *King John*.
29. *Richardus Canonicus*, travelled with *King Richard* the First into *Palestine*; and writ of his Journey and Acts there.
30. *Aluredus Rivalensis*, or *de Rivallis*, a Cistercian Monk, in the Diocese of *York*, writ the Life of *Edward* King of *England*, and *David* King of *Scots*, and died in the Year 1166.
31. *Simeon Dunelmensis*, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the *English* Nation, from the Death of Venerable *Bede*, to the 1164, and lived in the Time of *King Henry* the Second.
32. *John* de *Oxford*, first Dean of *Salisbury*, and after Bishop of *Norwich*, writ the *British* History, and continued it to his own Time; wherein he agreeth much with *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, and lived about the Year 1174, in the Time of *King Henry* the Second.
33. *Johannes Sarisburiensis*, writ an Excellent Book *De Nugis Curialium*; and lived about the Year 1182, in the Time of *King Henry* the Second.
34. *Gulielmus Parvus*, a Canon regular in the Province of *York*, writ an History of the *Norman* Kings; and lived about the Year 1216, in the Time of *King John*.
35. *Johannes Campobellus*, a Scotchman, writ the History of the *Scots*, from the first Original of the Nation to his own Time; and lived in the Year 1260.
36. *John Breton*, an *Englishman*, Bishop of *Hereford*, writ a Book *De Juribus Anglicanis*, and lived in the Year 1270, in the Time of *King Henry* the Third.
37. *Thomas Wyke*, an *Englishman*, a Canon Regular of *Osney* near *Oxford*, writ a short History, from the coming in of *William* the First, to his own Time; and lived in the Year 1290, in the Time of *King Edward* the First.
38. *Thomas Langford*, an *Englishman*, a Dominican Frier of *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, writ an Universal Chronicle, from the Beginning of the World to his own Time; and lived in the Year 1320, in the Time of *King Edward* the Second.
39. *Radulphus de Diceto*, an *Englishman*, writ a Chronicle of the *English* Nation, and lived about the Year 1210, in the Time of *King John*.
40. *Robertus Montensis*, a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the Year 112, to the Year 1210, at which Time he lived.
41. *Johannes Burgenfis*, an *Englishman*, a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the *English* Nation.
42. *Thomas Spot*, an *Englishman*, a Benedictine Monk of *Canterbury*, writ the Chronicles of *Canterbury*, and lived about the Time of *King Edward* the Second.
43. *Matthæus Westmonasteriensis*, called *Florelegus*, for Collecting *Flores Historiarum*, chiefly of *Britain*, containing from the Beginning of the World, to the Year 1377, about which Time he lived.
44. *Ranulphus Higden*, a Benedictine Monk of *Chester*, writ a Book which he called *Polychronicon*, containing from the Beginning of the World to the 16th Year of *King Edward* the Third, in whose Time he lived.
45. *Matthew Paris*, a Benedictine Monk of *St. Albans*, writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the *English* Nation, and brought it down to the Year 1259.
46. *William Pachenton*, an *Englishman*, writ a History of the *English* Nation, and lived about the Time of *King Edward* the Third.
47. *Bartholomeus Glanville*, a Franciscan Frier, writ a Book intituled *De Proprietatibus rerum*, and a History *de Sanctis*, and lived in the Year 1360, in the Time of *King Edward* the Third.
48. *Nicholas Trivet*, born in *Norfolk*, of a Worshipful Family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the *English* Kings, from *King Stephen*, to *King Edward* the Second; and lived in the Year 1307, in the Time of *King Edward* the Third.
49. *Alexander Effebeiensis*, Prior of a Monastery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned Works; amongst other, an Epitome of the *British* History; and lived in the Year 1220.
50. *John Froyssart*, born in the *Low Countries*, writ a Chronicle in the *French* Tongue, containing seventy four Years; namely, beginning with *King Edward* the Third, and ending with *King Henry* the Fourth, in whose Time he lived; whose Chronicle, *Sir John Bourchier*, Kt. translated into *English*, and *John Sleyden* a *Frenchman* hath lately contracted into an Epitome.
51. *Thomas de la Moore*, born in *Gloucestershire*, in the Time of *King Edward* the First; by whom, as having twenty Pounds Land, holden by Knight's Service, he was made a Knight; and afterwards being very inward with *King Edward* the Second, writ a History of his Life and Death.
52. *Thomas Rodbourn*, an *Englishman*, and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation; and lived in the Year 1420.
53. *John Trevisa*, born in *Cornwal*, a Priest, translated



## A Catalogue of AUTHORS.

- translated *Polychronicon* into *English*, adding to it an Eighth Book, intituled *De Memorabilibus eorum temporum*, containing from the Year 1342, to the Year 1460. He writ also of the Acts of King *Arthur*, and Descriptions both of *Britain* and *Ireland*; and lived in the Time of King *Edward* the Fourth.
54. *John Harding*, a Gentleman of a good Family in the *North*, writ a Chronicle in Verse of the Kings of *England*, to the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth; wherein he alledgeth many Records which he had got in *Scotland*, that testify the *Scottish* Kings Submissions to the Kings of *England*. He lived in the Year 1448, in the Time of King *Henry* the Sixth.
55. *John Capgrave*, born in *Kent*, an *Augustin* Friar, writ many learned Works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the *English* Saints, and lived in the Year 1464, in the Time of King *Edward* the Fourth.
56. *John Lydgate*, Monk of *St. Edmondsbury* in *Suffolk*, writ divers Works in Verse, and some in Prose; as the Lives of King *Edward* and King *Ethelstan*, of the Round Table of King *Arthur*; and lived in the Year 1440, in the Time of King *Henry* the Sixth.
57. *John Weatbamstead* Abbot of *St. Albans*, in his Work of *English Affairs*, accuseth *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* of meer Fabulousness; and lived about the Year 1440.
58. *Gulielmus Elphinston*, a *Scotchman*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, writ the Antiquities of *Scotland* and the Statutes of Councils; and lived in the Year 1480, in the Time of *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*.
59. *George Buchanan*, a *Scotchman*, writ the Story of *Scotland* from *Fergusius* to Queen *Mary*, in whose Time he lived.
60. *William Caxton* an *Englishman*, writ a Chronicle to the three and twentieth Year of King *Edward* the Fourth, which he calls *Fruetus Temporum*; also a Description of *Britain*, the Life of *St. Edward*, and the History of King *Arthur*; and lived in the Year 1484.
61. *Thomas Walsingham*, born in *Norfolk*, a *Benedictine* Monk of *St. Albans*, writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the Year 1273, and continued to the Year 1423; the other beginning at the coming in of the *Normans*, and continued to the beginning of King *Henry* the Sixth; to whom he dedicateth his Work.
62. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriff of *London*, writ a Concordance of Histories, from *Brute* the first King of the *Britains* to the last Year of King *Henry* the Second; and another Work from King *Richard* the first to *Henry* the Seventh; in whose Time he lived.
63. Sir *Thomas More*, born in *London*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, besides many other learned Works, writ the Life of King *Richard* the Third; and died for denying the King's Supremacy, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, in the Year 1535.
64. *Hector Boetius* a *Scotchman*, writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of *Scotland*; also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the Year 1526, in the Time of *James* the Fifth, King of *Scotland*.
65. *Polydor Vergil* an *Italian*, but made here in *England* Archdeacon of *Wells*; amongst other his learned Works, writ the History of *England* from its first Beginning to the thirtieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth; to whom he dedicated his Work.
66. *Edward Hall*, a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls *The Union of the two Roses, the Red and White*; containing from the Beginning of King *Henry* the Fourth, to the last Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, and died in the Year 1547.
67. *John Leland*, a *Londoner*, amongst divers other Works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of *Britain*, and of the famous Men and Bishops in it; and lived in the Year 1546, in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth.
68. *John Rogers*, first a Papist, and afterwards a Protestant; amongst other his learned Works, writ a History from the Beginning of the World; and lived most in *Germany* in the Year 1548, in the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth.
69. *Philip Commynes*, a Knight of *Flanders*, writ the Life of *Lewis* and *Charles* the Eighth, Kings of *France*, wherein he handles many Passages between them and the Kings of *England* their Contemporaries.

### Of the Modern, These:

70. *Richard Grafton* a Citizen of *London*, writ a Chronicle from the Beginning of the World, to the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; in whose Time he lived.
71. *Raphael Hellingshed*, a Minister, writ a large Chronicle from the Conquest to the Year 1577; and was continued by others, to the Year 1586.
72. Doctor *Godwin* Bishop of *Landaff*, writ the Lives of King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*; and died in the Year 1638.
73. Doctor *Heyward* writ the History of the first Kings, *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the First; also the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, and *Edward* the Sixth; and lived to the Time of King *James*.
74. *Samuel Daniel* writ a Chronicle of the Kings of *England*, to the End of King *Edward* the Third, and is continued by *John Trussel* to the Beginning of *Henry* the Seventh.
75. Sir *Francis Bacon* Viscount *St. Albans*, hath written an History of the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in a most elegant Style, and lived in the Time of King *James*.
76. *John Fox* writ three large Volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the *English* Martyrs in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Mary*, and lived in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

77. *Thomas*



## A Catalogue of AUTHORS.

77. *Thomas Cooper* Bishop of *Winchester*, writ a Continuation of Chronicle Notes of all Nations, especially of *England*, from the Beginning of the World to his own Time, and lived in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth*.
78. *William Camden* King at Arms, writ the Life of *Queen Elizabeth*, and a Description of *Britain*; and lived in the Time of *King James*.
79. *William Martin* Esq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of *England*, from *William* the First, to the End of *King Henry* the Eighth; to which was afterwards added the Reigns of *King Edward* the Sixth, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*.
80. *Francis Biondi* an *Italian* Gentleman, and of the Privy-Chamber to *King Charles* the First, hath written in the *Italian* Tongue, the Civil Wars between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, from *King Richard* the Second, to *King Henry* the Seventh: Translated elegantly into *English* by *Henry Earl* of *Monmouth*.
81. *Henry Isaacson* a *Londoner*, hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the Beginning of the World, to the Year 1630; being the Fifth Year of *King Charles* the First's Reign.
82. *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, hath written an Ecclesiastical History of *England*, to which *Edmund Campian* the Jesuite made an Addition.
83. *John Stow* Citizen of *London*, writ a Chronicle from *Brute* to the End of *Queen Elizabeth*; and is continued to the Eighteenth Year of *King Charles* the First, by *Edward Howes* a *Londoner*.
84. *John Speed* a *Londoner*, writ the Story of *Britain*, from the first Beginning, to the Year 1605; being the Second Year of *King James*.
85. *William Habington* Esq; hath written the Reign of *King Edward* the Fourth in a very fine Style.
86. *Thomas Fuller* Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of *Sarum*, hath written the Holy War in very fine Language; wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of *England* in the Holy Land.
77. *Andre du Chesne* a *Frenchman*, Geographer to the King of *France*, hath written the History of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, from their first Beginning to the Seventeenth Year of *King Charles* the First, 1641.

*The End of the Catalogue of Authors.*

## REMARKS on the foregoing CATALOGUE; from Bishop *Nicholson's English Historical Library*.

**N**ennius a Monk, &c. He flourished more probably about two hundred Years later; though the Age here mentioned is that which is generally ascribed to him.

*Afferius Menevensis*, &c. A Piece has been published under the Title of *Afferius's Annals*; but whether it be his genuine Work, is not quite so certain. As to *King Alfred's* Life, there is no doubt of his having been the Author of it.

*Alphredus* a Priest, &c. It should have been a Monk. *Leland* says he saw his entire History, which ended *An. 21. Hen. I.* So that he lived somewhat later than is here set down.

*Sylvester Gyraldus*, &c. It is very doubtful whether he ever wrote an *English Chronicle*.

*John of Hagulstad*, &c. This Author and his Writings are not mentioned in *Bishop Nicholson*.

*Alfredus Rivalensis*, &c. His Name was *Ealredus*.

*Gulielmus Parvus*, &c. This is the same with *William* of *Newborough*, mentioned above.

*Thomas Langford*, &c. The *Historical Library* makes no mention of this Author; any more than of *Robertus Montensis*, who is named soon after him.

*Thomas Spott*, &c. *Mr. Somner*, a very inquisitive and diligent Antiquary, could never light upon this Work of *Spott's*.

*Bartbol. Glanville*, &c. He is not mentioned by *Bishop Nicholson*.

*John Trevisa*, &c. That Eighth Book is not *John Trevisa's*, who died near a hundred Years before. The Mistake is however excusable, because so great a Man as *Mr. Selden* fell into it first.

*John Lydgate*, &c. He wrote the Praises of *St. Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*, which is all we find of him.

*Sir Thomas More*, &c. He wrote also the short Life and Reign of *Edw. V.* but did not complete that of *Rich. III.*

*John Leland*, &c. He made a vast store of Collections and Compositions besides these, relating to the History and Antiquities of our Country.

*John Rogers*, &c. It does not appear who this was, or what he wrote; he being passed over in Silence by the Right Reverend Author from whom these Remarks are borrowed.

*Andre du Chesne*, &c. He has only published a Body of *Historians*.



## The Beginning, Continuance, and Ending of the REIGNS of the KINGS of *England*, to the Year 1727, after the Time of the *Roman* Govern- ment.

1. **K**ING *Vortigern* a *Britain*.
2. King *Vortimer* his Son, a *Britain*, reigned four Years. Then deposed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman*, reigned thirty two Years.
4. King *Uter*, began his Reign *Anno Christi* 497, and reigned eighteen Years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned twenty six Years.
6. King *Constantine* his Cousin, reigned three Years.
7. King *Aurelius Conan*, Nephew to King *Arthur*.
8. King *Vortiporus* reigned four Years.
9. King *Malgo Conan* reigned six Years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned three Years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned twenty two Years.
12. King *Cadwallo* his Son, reigned forty eight Years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the last of the *British* Kings, who died at *Rome* in the Year 689, after he had reigned three Years. After which, *Britain* was a Colony of the *Saxons*; who divided it into seven Kingdoms: But the *Saxons*, before the Death of King *Cadwalladar*, took *Kent* from the *British* Kings, and had it in their Possession: Which Kingdom of *Kent* began by *Hengist* the *Saxon*, in the Year 455, in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, before mentioned, and lasted three hundred seventy two Years, during the Reigns of seventeen Kings of *Kent*. The last of which *Kentish* Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, who made *Kent* a Province to his Kingdom, in the Year 827. The second Kingdom was of the *South-Saxons*, begun by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the same *British* King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, containing *Suffex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113 Years, during the Reigns of five Kings only; the last of which Kings were overcome by *Ine* King of the *West-Saxons*, and so became a Province to that Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, in the Year 601. The third Kingdom was of the *West-Saxons*, which began by *Cerdic* in 519, in the Reign of the *British* King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somerfetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, and continued three hundred and one Years, during the Reigns of eighteen Kings; the last of whom, *Egbert*, became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the *East-Saxons*, begun by *Erchenwin*, in the Year 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued two hundred eighty one Years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; the last of which Kings, *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, subdued, and so made the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, begun by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the Year 547, containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and continued three hundred seventy Years, during the Reigns of twenty three Kings; after the last of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*. The sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, begun by *Crida*, in the Year 522, containing *Huntingdon*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire* and *Hartfordshire*; and continued two hundred twenty Years, during the Reigns of twenty Kings; after which, they were subdued by the *West-Saxons*. The seventh Kingdom was of the *East-Angles*, begun by *Uffa*, in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Isle of Ely*, and continued three hundred fifty three Years, during the Reigns of fifteen Kings; and at last was subject to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*: But this Kingdom of the *East-Angles* was enjoyed by the *Danes* fifty Years before the *West-Saxons* had it; so the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* continued distinct from the rest of the Nation in the whole four hundred and three Years: So it appears that after King *Vortigern* the first of the *Britain* Kings in the Year 455, had called in the *Saxons* out of *Germany*, to assist him in defending the Kingdom against the Invasions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every *Britain* King who succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at last, in the Year 689, *Cadwalladar* the last *Britain* King lost all at his Death; and then the *Saxon* Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last, in the Year 818, *Egbert*, or some under him, reduced them all under his Subjection, who then caused all the *South* of the Island to be called *England*; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Successors, till the *Danes* in the Year 1017, made the great Interruption.



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## *The Beginning and Ending of the Reigns of the Kings of England.*

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14. King *Egbert* began his Reign in 818, reigned eighteen Years, at whose Time the *Danes* began first to infest *England*; he was buried at *Winchester*.
15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned twenty one Years.
16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign in 857, reigned two Years, and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, then an Episcopal See.
17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his Reign in 857, reigned one Year, and was buried at the same Place.
18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.
19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 Years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, and began the Foundation of the University of *Oxford*, in the Year 895, and is counted the Founder of the Town of *Shaftsbury* in *Dorsetshire*, and was buried in *St. Peter's* in *Winchester*, but removed afterwards.
20. King *Edward* the First, called *Edward* the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901, reigned twenty four Years, and was buried in the new Monastery at *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished.
21. King *Athelstan* his eldest Son, began his Reign in 924, reigned fifteen Years, who was knighted by his Grand-father, King *Alfred*, with his own Hands in an extraordinary Manner, putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He caused the Bible to be translated into the *Saxon* Tongue, then the Mother Tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltshire*, in the Year 940, having never been married.
22. King *Edmund* the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 929, reigned five Years and seven Months, he was buried at *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*.
23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned nine Years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwyn*, Son of King *Edmund*, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in use; which King *Edred* died, and was buried in the old Minster, without the City of *Winchester*, when his said Nephew was but fourteen Years old, who notwithstanding upon his Death, was crowned King by the Name of King *Edwin*. Which
24. King *Edwin*, his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned four Years, and was buried in the New Abby of *Hyde* at *Winchester*.
25. King *Edgar*, his Brother, began his Reign at sixteen Years of Age, in 952, reigned sixteen Years, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp in the Abby of *Glastenbury*.
26. King *Edward* the Second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his Reign, being but twelve Years of Age, in 979, reigned thirty seven Years and six Months; and was buried at *Winchester*; afterwards removed to *Shaftsbury* in *Dorsetshire*.
27. King *Ethelred*, his half Brother, began his Reign at twelve Years old in 982, reigned thirty four Years, and was buried in *St. Paul's* Church in *London*.
28. King *Edmund* the Second, his Son, called *Edmund Iron-side*, began his Reign in 1016, reigned seven Months, and was buried at *Glastenbury*.
29. King *Canutus* a *Dane*, began his Reign in 1017, reigned nineteen Years, and was buried in the Old Monastery at *Winchester*.
30. King *Harold* the First, his Son, surnamed *Harefoot*, began his Reign in 1036, reigned four Years, and seven Months, and was buried at *Westminster*; afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in *St. Clement-Danes* Church at *Temple-Bar*, having never been married.
31. King *Hardicnute*, his half-brother, the third and last of the *Danish* Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned two Years; which *Danes* had afflicted the Kingdom for the Space of two hundred and forty Years, though in Regal Government but only twenty six: He was buried at *Winchester*, having never likewise been married.
32. King *Edward* the Third, surnamed the *Confessor*, half-brother by the Mother to the last King, King *Hardicnute*, began his Reign in 1042, reigned twenty three Years, and six Months; he was the first King that cured the *King's-Evil*, built the *Abby* Church of *Westminster*, and *St. Margaret's* Church there: He was buried at *Westminster*, and died in the *Painted Chamber* at *Westminster*.
33. King *Harold* the Second, began his Reign in 1065, reigned nine Months, and was buried in *Waltham-Abby*.
34. King *William* the First, a *Norman*, began his Reign in 1066, reigned twenty Years and ten Months, and was buried at *Caen* in *Normandy*; whose Bones after in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and some of them afterward brought into *England*.
35. King *William* the Second, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned twelve Years and ten Months; he died *August* 2, 1099, and was buried in *St. Switbin's* in *Winchester*, having never been married.
36. King *Henry* the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 1099, reigned thirty five Years; he died *December* 1, 1134, and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his Body; the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died.
37. King *Stephen*, his Sister's Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned nineteen Years and ten Months; he died at *Dover*, *October* 25, 1154, and was buried at *Faversham-Abby*.
38. King *Henry* the Second, his Kinsman, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the first King of that Name,



## *The Beginning, and Ending of the Reigns of the KINGS of England.*

- Name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned thirty five Years; he died at *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Founteverard*.
39. King *Richard* the First, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned nine Years and eight Months; he died *April* 6, 1199, and buried, as to part of his Body, at *Founteverard*, by his Father, and the other Part at two other Places.
40. King *John*, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned seventeen Years and six Months; he died *October* 19, 1216, and was buried, as to part of his Body, at *Worcester*, and the other at *Croxton Abby*.
41. King *Henry* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned fifty six Years; he died *November* 16, 1272, and was buried at *Westminster*.
42. King *Edward* the Fourth, otherwise called *Edward* the First, being the first King *Edward* of the *Norman* Line, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned thirty four Years and seven Months; he died *July* 7, 1307, and was buried at *Westminster*.
43. King *Edward* the Fifth, otherwise called *Edward* the Second, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned eighteen Years; he was forced to resign, and then something more than half a Year after, murdered in 1327, and was buried at *Gloucester* in the Monastery of *St. Peter's*.
44. King *Edward* the Sixth, otherwise called *Edward* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned fifty Years and four Months; he died *June* 21, 1377, aged sixty three Years, and was buried in *Westminster Church*, who created *Edward* his eldest Son, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Anno Christi* 1337, being the first Duke that ever was created in *England*.
45. King *Richard* the Second, his Grandson, his Son's Son, began his Reign in 1377, reigned twenty two Years and three Months; he was forced to resign, and then shortly after murdered in 1399, aged thirty three Years, and was buried in the Church of the *Fryers* Preachers at *Langley* in *Buckinghamshire*; but after the Remains of his Body were removed to *Westminster*: Who created *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, being the first Marquis that ever was created by a King of *England*.
46. King *Henry* the Fourth, his Cousin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned thirteen Years and six Months; he died *March* 20, 1413, aged forty six Years, and was buried at *Canterbury*.
47. King *Henry* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned nine Years and five Months; he died *Aug.* 31, 1422, aged thirty eight Years; he was buried at *Westminster*.
48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged eight Months, reigned thirty eight Years, six Months, and four Days, and then removed *March*, 4, 1460 from the Government; after which, more than eleven Years, viz. *May* 21, 1472. he was murdered in the Tower of *London*, by *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, afterwards King *Richard* the Third; he was buried at *Chersey-Abby*, but afterwards removed to *Windfor*; aged at his Death fifty two Years, or thereabouts: Who created the first Viscount that ever was created in *England*.
49. King *Edward* the Seventh, otherwise called *Edward* the Fourth, his Cousin, began his Reign in 1460, aged nineteen Years, reigned twenty two Years and one Month; he died *April* 9, 1483, aged forty one Years, and was buried at *Windfor*.
50. King *Edward* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged ten Years, reigned ten Weeks: Then removed *Jan.* 18. 1483; shortly after which he was murdered.
51. King *Richard* the Third, his Uncle, the last of the Family of *Plantagenet*, began his Reign in 1483, reigned two Years and two Months; slain at the Battle at *Bosworth*, *August* 22. 1485, aged thirty seven Years; and was buried at *Leicester* in the *Grey-Friers* Church, but afterwards all, or the most part of, the Remains of his Body carried no one knows whither; he died without Issue.
52. King *Henry* the Seventh, his Kinsman, of the surname of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began his Reign in 1485, reigned twenty three Years and eight Months; he died at *Richmond* *April* 22. 1509. aged fifty two Years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
53. King *Henry* the Eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned thirty seven Years nine Months and six Days; he died *Jan.* 28. 1546, aged fifty five Years, and was buried at *Windfor*.
54. King *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned six Years five Months and nine Days; he died *July* 6. 1563. aged fifteen Years; and was buried at *Westminster*.
55. Queen *Mary*, his eldest Sister of the Half-blood, began her Reign in 1553, reigned five Years four Months and eleven Days; she died *November* 17. 1558, aged forty three Years; and was buried at *Westminster*.
56. Queen *Elizabeth*, her only Sister of the Half-blood, the last of the Family of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began her Reign in 1558, aged twenty five Years, reigned forty four Years four Months and seven Days; she dieth *March* 24. 1602, aged sixty nine Years six Months and seven Days; and was buried at *Westminster*.

57. King



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*The Beginning and Ending of the Reigns of the Kings of England:*

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57. King *James* her Cousin, the first of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*, began his Reign in 1602. reigned twenty two Years and three Days; he died *March* 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, aged fifty eight Years, and was buried at *Westminster*; who in the Year 1611, in the ninth Year of his Reign, erected the Degree of Baronet of *England*, in that Year creating Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and others, unto the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of *England*.
58. King *Charles* the First, christened by the Name of *Charles-James*, his only Son surviving, the second of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1625. reigned twenty three Years ten Months and three Days; he died *Jan.* 30. 1648. aged forty eight Years two Months and eleven Days, and was buried at *Windfor*.
59. King *Charles* the Second, christened by the Name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldest Son surviving, the second of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1648, reigned thirty six Years and seven Days; he died *Friday, Feb.* 6. 1684. aged fifty four Years eight Months and eight Days; and was buried at *Westminster*.
60. King *James* the Second, his only Brother surviving, the fourth of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1684. reigned three Years nine Months and eleven Days, having abdicated the Government, *Dec.* 11. 1688. whereby the Throne was vacant two Months and three Days.
- 61, 62. King *William* the Third, christened by the Name of *William-Henry*, the only Son of *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. and of the Princess *Mary*, eldest Daughter of King *Charles* the First, and Sister to King *Charles* the Second, and *James* the Third, Kings of *England*: And Queen *Mary* the Second, his Royal Consort, the Fifth of the Family of *Stuart*, eldest Daughter of the late King *James* the Second, began their Reigns the 13th of *February* 1688. Her Majesty reigned five Years ten Months and fifteen Days; she died *Dec.* 28. 1694. aged thirty two Years seven Months and twenty eight Days; and was buried at *Westminster*. King *William* reigned thirteen Years and twenty four Days; and died *March* 8. 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ . aged fifty one Years four Months and four Days; and was buried at *Westminster*.
63. Queen *Anne*, the sixth of the Family of *Stuart*, youngest Daughter of the late King *James* the Second, began her Reign in 1702; she reigned twelve Years and five Months, wanting seven Days; died *Aug.* 1. 1714. aged forty nine Years five Months and twenty five Days; and was buried at *Westminster*.
64. King *George* the First, the first of the illustrious Family of *Brunswick*, began his Reign in 1714; he reigned twelve Years ten Months and ten Days; died *June* 11. 1727. aged sixty seven Years and fourteen Days; and was buried at
65. King *George* the Second, second of the Family of *Brunswick*, began his Reign in 1727. He was born *October* 30. 1683. His Majesty reigns in this present Year 1729.

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*E R R A T A.*

THE Reader is desired to take Notice of the following Errors of Importance. Page 5. Col. 2. lin. 51. for 561 Years, read 301 Years. P. 712. Col. 2. lin. 40. for Sir *William Prichard*, read Sir *John Moore*. P. 748. Col. 1. lin. 4. for *four* read *forty*. P. 827. Col. 1. lin. 40. for *King's* read *States*.

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## The KING's Pedigree in a direct Line from King EGBERT.

E<sup>G</sup>bert King of England.

King Ethelwolp.

King Alfred.

Edward the First, called Edward the elder.

King Edgar.

King Ethelred.

Edmund the Second, called Edmund Ironside.

Edward called Edward the Out-law, a private Person, tho' Son and Heir to the last King.

Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown. He had a Sister named Margaret the Wife of Malcolme King of Scotland.

Matbilda the Wife of Henry the First, King of England.

Maud Empress of Germany, the Wife of Geoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou.

Henry the Second.

King John.

Henry the Third.

Edward the First, alias the Fourth of that Name.

Edward the Second, alias the Fifth of that Name.

Edward the Third, alias the Sixth of that Name.

Lyonel Duke of Clarence, Third Son, died in the Life-time of his Father, but his Issue were afterwards True Heirs to the Crown.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March.

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.

Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge.

Richard Plantagenet Duke of York.

Edward the Fourth, alias the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldest Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, Son of Edmund Tudor, furnished of Hadham Earl of Richmond, who was Son of Owen ap Meredith, ap Theodore, vulgo Tudor, called the Seventh King of England.

Margaret their eldest Daughter, the Wife of James Stuart, called James the Fourth, King of Scotland; the Issue of which Margaret were and are now, true Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of Scotland.

Mary Queen of Scots, the Wife of Henry Stuart, Duke of Albanie and Earl of Rothsey; but before his marrying the Queen, he was called Lord Darnely, as being the eldest Son of Matthew, Earl of Lenox.

James King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.

Elizabeth, Daughter of King James the First, married to Frederick Elector Palatine, who was elected King of Bohemia.

Sophia, married to Ernest-Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, first Elector of Hanover.

George the First, King of Great-Britain, &c.

George the Second, now reigning.



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I

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A  
CHRONICLE  
OF THE  
Kings of *ENGLAND*;  
FROM THE  
Time of the ROMANS Government,  
Unto the DEATH of  
King GEORGE I.

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*Of the first known times of this Island.*

**A**LTHOUGH we begin the *Æra* of our Computation from *William*, called the Conqueror, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*; yet before him were many other excellent Kings, and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after-Ages can know nothing of former Times, but what is recorded by writing; it hath happened, partly by the Devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies before Printing came up, that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very Names: And besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been Fictions. And nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient Times, but very Fables; such as the Story of *Albina*, of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*; (though others say, *Ab albis rupibus*, of the white Cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of *Dioclesian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one Night killed all their Husbands: For which Fact, they were put in a Ship themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their Adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Giants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of *Albion*, the Son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took his Name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a Fable as these; namely, the story of the *Trojan Brute*, of whom

the Island they say, was called *Britain*: *Brute's Story* (though many other Causes are given of the Name:) As likewise the Story of *Brute's* Cousin *Corinæus*; of whom they say, the Countrey of *Cornwal* had its Name; to whom it was given for overcoming the Giant *Gogmagog*: And that *Brute* having three Sons, *Lochrine*, *Albanaet*, and *Camber*, he gave at his Death to his eldest Son *Lochrine*, all the Land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegria*; to his second Son *Albanaet*, all the Land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*;) and to his youngest Son *Camber*, all the Land beyond the River of *Severn*, of whom it was called *Cambria* (now *Wales*); with other such stuff which may please Children, but not riper Judgments, and were first broached by *Geoffery*, Archdeacon of *Monmouth*: For which all the Writers of his Time cried Shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* (afterward made, by the Favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a Book written in *Welsh*, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter* Arch-Deacon of *Exeter*, of the *British* Affairs, and translated by *Geoffery*, in which, though there were many notable Passages that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendered even what Truths he wrote suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some Truth; yet that Truth is delivered in such slender Draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small Benefit can be gotten

Why England  
called *Albion*.

*Geoffery* of  
*Monmouth* a  
fabulous Writer.



ten by the knowing of it; and was not till the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, a thousand Years after the Fable of *Brute*; at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for Defence without, so had they neither any Forts for Defence within: Scarce any Houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of Trees fastned together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Cæsar* calleth them) four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which Division, as it made the *Britains* the more easy to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battels might have made a Conquest of the whole; whereas being thus divided, there was need to be as many Battels as there were Divisions: So as it was many Years before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, to the Time of the Emperor *Domitian*; not much less than two hundred Years. It is true, after *Cæsar*'s first coming, the Island grew sensible of this Defect of their Division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his Seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings. But after the loss of a Battel or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former Defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, than by a general power to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*. Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nation's Valour seeking to keep themselves free; and afterward by Reason of the Insolency of the Garrison Soldiers, that fought to make them Slaves, many great Oppositions were made; amongst which the most memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the *Roman* Soldiers her self abused, and her Daughters ravished, used means to levy an Army of sixscore thousand Men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the *Romans* in their chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (according to some *Maldon* in *Essex*, according to others *Colchester*) of whom she slew above seventy thousand: But then in a second Battel, had fourscore thousand of her own Army slain; after which Defeat, for avoiding of Slavery, she poisoned her self.

How long the  
Romans were  
in conquering  
England.

*Julius Cæsar*  
invading En-  
gland, *Cassibe-*  
*lan* resists him.

*Voadicia* dis-  
comfitteth the  
Romans; and  
after is dis-  
comfited her  
self.

The Emperor  
*Adrian* comes  
into England.

This Island for a long time was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperors sometimes came hither in Person; as first the Emperor *Adrian* in the Year 124, who re-edified that great Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero*'s General in *Britain*, and Father-in-law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set

the Countrey in Order, returned. The same Wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperor, in the Year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incurfions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a Battel near *York*, he was wounded, and thereof died; or as others say, he died of Age and Sicknefs. Afterward in the Year 305. *Constantius* the Emperor came into *Britain*, and ended his Life at *York*, making that City famous for the Death and Burial of two great Emperors; and yet more famous for the Honour done to *Constantine the Great*, Son of *Constantius*, who in that City was first saluted Emperor. But notwithstanding the great Estimation the *Romans* a long Time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred Years they had kept it in Subjection, they voluntarily left it: The Charge of keeping it, being greater than the Benefit; for to keep it in Subjection, they maintained no fewer than fourscore thousand Soldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at Home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them Home: But then though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great Part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their Service, and the rest planted in that Part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this Day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good Case, being freed from them that kept them in Subjection: But it proved to be in worse Case being at Liberty, than it was before in Servitude; for being deprived of their ablest Men, and at the same Time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without Issue, they were left as a few loose sticks, without the bond of a Governor; which the *Picts* and *Scots* observing, thought now was the Time to make the Countrey their own, and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: And he whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellor, the propheticall *Merlin*, or finding his own Strength too weak to make Resistance, implores first Aid of the *Romans*; and they making Answer, they had Business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for Aid, a warlike People of Germany, and who had greater swarms than their Hives could well hold.

The Emperor  
*Severus* comes  
into England.

The Emperor  
*Constantius*  
comes into  
England.

The Romans  
leave England,  
and why.

*Vortigern* is  
chosen King.

He calls in  
the Saxons.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a Thing it is for a Nation to call in Strangers to their Aid, and especially in any great Number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters, as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

The *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them Diversity of Idols, after whose Names they gave Appellations to the several



ral Days of the Week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first Day *Sunday*, or *Sunday*. The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another God, they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third Day, naming it *Tuesday*. The Tradition is, that this *Tuisco* was the Son of *Ashkenaz*, Grandchild to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their Forefathers out of *Asia* into *Europe*, from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a God, was *Woden*, representing an armed Man, and they named the fourth Day from him *Wodensday*, or *Wednesday*, they honoured him as the God of *Battel*: He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengist* and *Horfa*, their first Leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crown'd King, his Head encompassed with twelve bright golden Stars, of whom they denominated the fifth Day *Thursday*. *Friday*, took the Name of *Friga*, an Idol representing both Sexes, with a Bow in one Hand, and a Sword in the other: And though the Statue exprest an *Hermaphrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a God called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saterday*; this Idol was like an old Man, with a long Beard and Hair, Bare-headed and Bare-footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us Occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something of the State of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the Year 63, what Time *Arviragus* reign'd here, *Joseph of Arimathea* (who buried the Body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the Foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western Parts, at a Place called then *Thurdet*, now *Glastenbury*, and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martba*: And more than this, that *Simon Zelotes*, one of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom here in *Britain*: And more than this, that both *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* came into this Island, and preached the Gospel; all which, and more to this Purpose, is recorded by Authors of good Account: Though it be hard in believing, that Persons, and specially Women, of so great Age as these must needs be at this Time, should take so long a Journey. But howsoever it was, certain it is, That the Doctrine of Christianity was about this Time planted in this Island, though it made afterward but small Progress, and that with some Persecution; as in which Time *St. Alban* suffered Martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Litchfield* shortly after no fewer than a thousand.

*Joseph of Arimathea* plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

*St. Alban* suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

After this, in the Year 180, what Time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Elutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him; upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon* (now *St. David's*) were made the Metropolitans of the Pro-

vince. And there is a Table remaining at this Day, in the Parish Church of *St. Peter*, or *Cornhill London*, which recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishop's See. In the Year 359, a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*; which last were all orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their Voices against the *Arian* Heresy. After this, about the Year 420, rose up in this Island one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the Poyson of his Heresy first in this his native Countrey, and afterward all the World over. And these had been the chief Passages in Matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the Year 450.

*Pelagius* the Heretick riseth up.

And now under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons*, with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Isle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which Assistance the *Britains* gave their Enemies *Battel*, and overcame them; so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from Heaven; and then allow'd them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the Property of so much Ground as he could enclose with a Bull's Hide; which cutting into Thongs, he there built the Castle, *facti de nomine*, called *Thong-Castle*. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in Love with *Rowena*, the Daughter, or rather the Niece of *Hengist*; for when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30 Years of Age: Howsoever, *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of Boldness, that he began to aspire, sending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to make this Island his Inheritance: Which the *British* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean the King from his new Wife, and her Father *Hengist*, they depose him; and in his Place set up his Son *Vortimer*, a true Lover of his Countrey; who presently in a pitched *Battel* near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, set upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horfa*, or *Hengist*, in single Fight Hand to Hand slew each other. In which Place, *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in Memory of him erected, the Stones whereof at this Day are standing in a great Plain in the Parish of *Aylesford*; which instead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Cotyhouse*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horfa*, though now defaced; remembered only by the Town where it stood, called *Horstead*. Three other Battels after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*; one upon *Craford*, another at *Weppedsfleete*, the third upon *Colmore*; in which last, the *Britains* got so great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet*

*Hengist* and *Horfa* *Saxons*, come into England.

*Thongcastle* why so called.

*Vortigern* marries *Rowena* the Daughter of *Hengist*.

*Vortigern* is deposed and his Son *Vortimer* set up.

*Catigern* and *Horfa* fight a single Combat.

The *Saxons* forced to flee England.



net also not suffered to rest: So as shortly after, *Hengist* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of Hope to make his Fortune in this Island. But while *Vortimer* was thus intente for his Countrey's Liberty, *Rowena* the former King's Wife, being Daughter to *Hengist*, was as intente to bring it into Servitude; which knowing she could not do as long as *Vortimer* lived, she used means by Poyson, to take away his Life, after he had been King the space of four Years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair Words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist* (relying upon his Son *Vortigern's* Love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly Conference for continuance of Amity; which Motion seeming reasonable, a Place and Time of Conference was appointed; the Time, upon the first of *May*; the Place, upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*, whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarm'd, according to Agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short *Skeynes* hidden, with which upon a Watchword given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarm'd Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in Possession of these four Counties, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*: Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet-Council, or the propheticall *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his Safe-guard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this Time over-run all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman* born, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great Troops of *Britains*. His first Expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first Cause of the *Britains* Misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by Wild-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle; and all that were in it, were burnt to Ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*\*, in the Place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughter'd and interr'd, and of whom the Town of *Amberbury* bears its Name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many Battels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester*, a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in Habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Physick, ministred Poyson, whereof he died in the Year 497, after he had reign'd two and thirty Years.

*Vortigern* is again received.

The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

*Aurelius Ambrosius* burns *Vortigern* and his Castle which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

\* More probably a *British* Heathen Temple; and consequently erected long before *Ambrosius's* Time.

Is poysoned.

*Uter Pendragon* why so called.

it is at this Day born for the imperial Standard. And he also in many Battels discomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteen Years Reign he came to his end by Treachery; dying by Poyson put into a Well, whereof he usually drank; in the Year 515.

After him succeeded his Son *Arthur*; begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of *Cornwal*, to whose Bed the Art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeness of her Husband; and he in twelve set Battels discomfited the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Callibourn*, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his own Hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderful Deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckon'd amongst the fabulous, if there were not enough true to give them Credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the round Table, to the end there might be no Question about Precedence; and to teach heroical Minds not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great Valour, was at last in Battel wounded, whereof he died in the Year 522, after he had reigned six and twenty Years.

After King *Arthur*, succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*, and after his three Years Reign, *Aurelius Conan* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose Reign is so uncertain, that some say he reigned only two, some three Years, some again thirty, and some three and thirty. After *Conan*, succeeded *Vortiporus*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and four Years Reign, died. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conan*, and reigned six Years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons*, and being beaten, fled into the Town of *Cirencester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows, and fastening Fire to their Feet, let them fly into the Town, where lighting upon Straw, and other Matter apt to take Fire, the whole City in short Space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he died after he had unprofitably reigned three Years: And from that Time forth the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East Part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and *Dee*. After *Careticus*, succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned two and twenty Years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty Years, and then died; whose Body was buried in *St. Martin's* Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of Brass placed upon the same Gate, for a Terror to the *Saxons*. In his Time the Doctrine of *Mabomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his Son *Cadwalladar*; in whose Time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven Years, that the Land became in a Manner desolate; insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Countrey, and *Cadwalladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan*, King of *Little Britain* in *France*. At which time

*Arthur* the Son of *Uter Pendragon*, kills eight hundred *Saxons* with his own Hands.

He institutes the Order of the round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

*Cirencester* burnt by chance.

*Cadwallo's* Image placed upon *Ludgate*.



The Saxons get Possession of the whole Island.

Cadwalladar the last King of the Britains leaveth his Kingdom, and is shorn a Monk at Rome.

time the Saxons taking Advantage of his Absence, came over in Swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn Britains of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon Cadwalladar, obtaining Assistance from his Cousin Alan, was coming over to restrain their Insolencies; when making Prayers to God for good Success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a Voice that forbad him the Enterprize, declaring that it was not God's Will the Britains should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him hie him to Rome, and receive of Pope Sergius the Habit of Religion, wherein he should dye, and rest in Peace; which accordingly he did: And in him ended the Blood of the British Kings, in the Year 689: So as Britain now was no longer Britain, but a Colony of the Saxons.

And now 'tis time to speak of the Heptarchy of the Saxons, so much spoken of by all Writers, and to shew by what Degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole Possession of this Island: For this Heptarchy or Division of this Island into seven Kingdoms, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equal Partition, but some good Distance of Time one after another, and as the Invader had Strength to expel the Natives.

#### The first Kingdom being of KENT.

THE first Kingdom of the Saxons began by Hengist, in the Year 455, containing all Kent, and continued 372 Years, during the Reigns of seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remember'd; and for the rest, it will be no loss to pass them over in Silence. Of these seventeen Kings, Ethelbert being the fifth, was the first Saxon Christian King of this Island, converted by Austin the Monk, whom Pope Gregory sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the Year 596; to whom the King Ethelbert gave his chief City of Canterbury, and his own Royal Palace there, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to Reculver in the Isle of Thanet, where he erected a Palace for himself and his Successors. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East Wall of the City, which he honoured with the Name of St. Pancras, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to St. Peter and St. Paul, appointing it to be the Place of the Kentish Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of Austin the Procurer, both Pancras, Peter and Paul, were soon forgotten; and it was, and is to this Day called St. Austin's; which Abbey St. Austin enriched with divers Reliques, which he brought with him from Rome; amongst which was a part of Christ's seamless Coat, and of Aaron's Rod. This King, after his own Conversion, converted also Sebert King of the East Saxons, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London; as also the Church of St. Peter on the West of London, then called Thorny; and himself at Rochester built the Cathedral Church there,

Ethelbert the first Saxon Christian King.

St. Austin's in Canterbury, why so called.

St. Paul's and Westminster builded.

which he dedicated to the Apostle St. Andrew; and dying when he had reigned six and fifty Years, was buried at Canterbury. And thus by his first Saxon Kingdom, was all Kent lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was the first impairing, and this happened in the Reign of Ambrosius before spoken of. The sixth King of Kent was Ethelbald, who, at first an Apostate, was afterwards converted, and built a Chapel within the Monastery of St. Peter and Paul at Canterbury. The seventh King was Ercombert, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of Lent; and in his Days the Archbishop Honorius divided Kent into Parishes. The eighth King was Egbert, who obtained the Kingdom by murdering his Nephews; whose Sister the Lady Depnena founded the Abbey of Minster in Kent. The eleventh King was Wubred, who founded the Church of St. Martin's in the Town of Dover, and stored it with 22 Canons, which he took out of a Church which had been before erected in the Castle by Edbald the Son of Ethelbert the first Christen'd King of the Saxons. The last was Baldred, who overcome by Egbert King of the West Saxons, left Kent a Province to that Kingdom, in the Year 827.

Lent first observed. Kent divided into Parishes.

#### The second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

THE second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South Saxons, and began by Ella, in the Year 488, containing Sussex and Surrey, and continued 113 Years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom Cissa being the second, founded the City of Chichester, and reigned, as some say, threescore and six-teen Years. And then Berthan being the last King, was overcome by Ina King of the West Saxons, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom in the Year 601. And thus, as Kent before, so now Sussex and Surrey were lopped off from the Britains Dominion: And this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Reign of the British King Ambrosius.

#### The third Kingdom being of the West SAXONS.

THE third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the West Saxons, and began by Cerdic in the Year 519, containing Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and continued 301 Years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this Cerdic was the first; in whose Time Portb, a Saxon, landed in the West, at a Place from him called afterward Portsmouth, and aided Cerdic in his Conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King Arthur: And as Kent, Sussex and Surrey before, so now these seven other Shires were lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the West Saxons was Kinglis, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by Berinus an Italian Divine, to whom he gave the City of C Dorchester,

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Portsmouth, why so called.



*Dorchester* an *Dorchester*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an Apostate, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and the Abbey of *Malmesbury*; whose Wife *Segburg* also built a House of Devotion in the Isle of *Sheppy*, wherein her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of *Ely*. The eleventh King was *Ina*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* Tongue, and are translated into *Latin* by the learned Master *William Lambard*. This King built a College at *Wells*, bearing the Name of *St. Andrew's*, which afterward King *Kenulf* made an Episcopal See. He also, in most stately manner new built the Abbey of *Glastenbury*; and out of his Devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoined every one of his Subjects that was possessed in his House of any one kind of Goods, to the value of nineteen Pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas-Day*, one Penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the Name of the King's Alms, but afterward was paid by the Name of *Peter-Pence*. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the Habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterwards was made Abbess of *Barking*, near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the Bodies of the Dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the Fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his Cruelty and Exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods to hide himself, where by a Swine-Herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kerwolp*, who founded the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrew's* at *Wells*, and was afterwards slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birtbrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg* having prepared a Poison for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died. In fear of which Chance the Queen fled into *France*, where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent Beauty, offered her the Choice of himself or his Son in Marriage: But she out of her lustful Humour chusing the Son, was thereupon debarred of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her Life in great Misery. For her sake the West Saxons ordained a Law, that no King's Wife should hereafter have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many Years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these Parts, named *Wazmund*, and who was the Founder of *Warwick* Town: That he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of Stature, and of good Constitution of Body, but blind till he was seven Years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty Years old, and then spake.

*The fourth Kingdom of the East Saxons.*

THE fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy was of the East Saxons, and began by

*Erchenwyn*, in the Year 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 Years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of *St. Paul, London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of *St. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a Place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the Service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater Beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty Years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a religious Habit, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul, London*. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the Beauty of his Countenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands, the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight Years Reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that Habit died.

The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West Saxons subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus, besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was a fourth impairing.

*The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.*

THE fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, (so called because it lay North from the River *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the Year 547; containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 Years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The second King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a Slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East Angles. The thirteenth King was *Ofred*, whose Wife *Cuthburga*, out of a loathing Weariness of Wedlock, sued out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious Habit she ended her Life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulp*, who after eight Years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesfarn*, or *Holy Island*. Unto this King, the Venerable *Bede*, a Saxon and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter and Paul*, at *Werimouth* near to *Durham*, dedicated his Work of the *English History*, which he continued from the first Entrance of the Saxons in this Island, to the Year 731; containing after his own Account 285 Years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty Years Reign forsook the World also, and shorn himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite Number of learned Books. The last King of

*Paul's and Westminster founded.*

King *Sebba* buried in *Paul's Church*

King *Ethelfryd* kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at *Westchester*, anciently called *Caerlegion*. Queen *Cuthburga* loathing the Acts of Marriage, becomes a Nun.

*Bede* dedicated his History to King *Cednulp*.

A Library erected at *York*.



Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all England.

Northumberland was Oswald, after whose Death this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of Egbert, King of the West Saxons, who was now in the Year 926, become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the Erection of the fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern Shires lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was a fifth impairing.

*The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.*

THE sixth Kingdom was of Mercia, and began in Crida, in the Year 522, containing Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwickshire, Leicester, Northampton, Derby, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, and continued 220 Years, during the Reigns of twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued Succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy; for tho' others reigned as Kings in their own Territories, yet among them, ever one was the supreme Head of the rest, and was called King of Engleland, till Egbert the West Saxon brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of Mercia was Penda, who was the first Christian King of the Mercians, and laid the Foundation of the fair Church at Medeshamstead, now called Peterborough. The seventh King was Ethelred, who reigned thirty Years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of Bradney in Lincolnshire, where in the Year 716 he died. The eighth King was Kenred, who after four Years Reign went to Rome, where he took upon him the Habit of a Monk, and after other four Years died. The tenth King Ethelbald, who at first was given to much Lasciviousness of Life; but being reprehended for it by Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, was so far converted, that he founded the Monastery of Crowland, driving in mighty Piles of Oak into the Marsh Ground, where he laid a great and goodly Building of Stone; and after two and forty Years Reign, was slain in a Battel by Cuthbert King of the West Saxons. The eleventh King was Offa, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, reigned nine and thirty Years, and founded the Monastery of St. Albans. The thirteenth King was Kenwolph, who reigned two and twenty Years, and founded the Monastery of Winchcomb in the County of Gloucester, where his Body was interred. The eighteenth King was Witblase, who, overcome by Egbert King of the West Saxons, held his Countrey afterward as his Substitute and Tributary, acknowledging Egbert as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by Erection of this Mercian Kingdom, were seventeen Shires more lopped off from the Britains Dominions, and this was a sixth, and a great impairing; so as now they were driven into a narrow Room.

*The seventh Kingdom being of the East ANGLES.*

THE seventh Kingdom was of the East Angles, and began by Offa in the Year

575, containing Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, and the Isle of Ely, and continued 353 Years during the Reign of fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was Sigebert, who first brought the Light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for Education of Youth, whether at Oxford, or Cambridge, is left a Quære; and after three Years Reign shored himself a Monk in the Abbey of Cumburg, which himself had built: But being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East Angles to resist the Mercian King Penda, and refusing to use any other Weapon but only a white Wand, was in a Battel by him slain. The seventh King was Anna, who after thirteen Years Reign, was also slain by Penda the Mercian King. This King Anna was memorable chiefly for the Holiness of his Children, of whom his Son Erkenwald was Bishop of London, and built the Abbey of Barking, near London. His eldest Daughter Etheldred was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun, and is remembered to Posterity by the Name of St. Audrie. His second Daughter named Sexburg, his third named Ethelburg, his fourth (a natural Daughter) named Witburg, all entered into Monasteries, and are canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was Ethelbert, a learned and religious Prince, who being invited by Offa the Mercian King to marry Elfred his Daughter, came for that Purpose to Offa's Court, then seated at Sutton Walleys in the County of Hereford, and there by him was cruelly murdered: In whose Memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at Hereford, the Cathedral of that See, as tho' he could expiate a Murder of the Living, by a Monument to the Dead, and were not rather a Monument of his own Impiety. The fifteenth King was Edmund, who assaulted by the Danes for his Possessions, was more assaulted for his Profession; for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with Bats, then scourged him with Whips, and lastly bound him to a Stake, and with their Arrows shot him to death, whose Body was buried at the Town where Sigebert the East Anglian King, one of his Predecessors, had built a Church, and where afterward (in Honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful Frame of Timber, and the Name of the Town, upon the occasion of his Burial there, called to this Day St. Edmundsbury. This Church and Place, Suenus the Danish King burnt to Ashes: But when his Son Canutus had gotten Possession of the English Crown, terrified with a Vision of the seeming St. Edmund, in a religious Devotion to expiate his Father's Sacrilege, he built it a new most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyr's Tomb. After the Death of this Edmund, the East Angles Countrey was possess'd by the Danes, and so continued the Space of fifty Years, until that Edmund, surnamed the Elder, expelled those Danes, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West Saxons.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears,

Oxford or Cambridge founded.

The Abbey of Barking built. Ethelred twice married, and yet a Virgin still.

Ethelred treacherously murdered by King Offa.

The Cathedral of Hereford built.

St. Edmund's bury founded.

Peterborough anciently called Medeshamstead.

The Monastery of Crowland founded.

The Monastery of St. Albans founded. The Monastery of Winchcomb founded.



pears, by what Degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole Possession of this Island. For after that *Vortigern*, in the Year 455, had called in the Saxons, every Britain King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the Saxons, till at last, in the Year 689, *Cadwallader* the last Britain King lost all; and then the Saxon Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the Year 818, *Egbert* King of the West Saxons reduced them all under his Subjection, and then caused all the South of the Island to be called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himself came: After whom they were no longer properly called Saxon Kings, but Kings of *England*, and so continued till the *Danes*, in the Year 1017, made an Interruption; of whose Succession now comes the Time to speak.

When first called *England*.

*Of the Saxons that reigned sole Kings of this Island, and may properly be called English Kings.*

**E***gbert* the eighteenth King of the West Saxons, is now become the first of the Kings of *England*, in whose Time the *Danes* began first to infest the Land, as thinking they might do as much against the Saxons, as the Saxons had done against the Britains; but tho' they made divers Invasions, and did great Spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned six and thirty Years, and dying in the Year 836, was buried at *Winchester*. Of his Issue, his Daughter *Edith* was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a Place which the King her Brother had given her, called *Pollefworth*, situate in *Arden*, in the north Part of the Countrey of *Warwick*, where she died and was buried, and the Place in Memory of her, call'd *St. Edith's of Pollefworth*.

The *Danes* begin to infest *England*.

*St. Edith's of Pollefworth*, why so called.

To *Egbert* succeeded his Son *Ethelwolp*, who in his Youth was so addicted to a religious Life, that he was first made Deacon, and after Bishop of *Winchester*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his People to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the Fourth was to that end absolved of his Vow. His Reign was infested with many and great Invasions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible Overthrows. In the Time of his Reign, remembering his former religious Profession, he ordained, That Riches and Lands due to the Holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or regal Services, and in great Devotion went himself to *Rome*, where he lived a Year: confirmed the Grant of *Peter-Pence*, and agreed besides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred Marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, then Emperor; in Honour of whom, in his own Court, he ever placed her in a Chair of State, with all other majestic Complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West Saxons formerly made, which so much dis-

Church Lands free from Tribute.

*Peter-Pence* confirmed.

pleased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him: But howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty Years. His youngest Son *Neote* was much addicted to Learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the University of *Oxford*, and founded a Monastery in *Cornwal*, which of him was called *Neotestock*; and being dead his Body was interred in the Countrey of *Huntington*, at a Place then called *Arnulphsbury*; and afterward, in regard of his Interment, *S. Neote's*, and now *S. Nede's*. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land successively.

*St. Nede's in Huntingdonshire*, why so called.

First after him reigned his eldest Son *Ethelbald* in the Year 857, who to his eternal Shame, took to Wife *Judith* his Father's Widow, reigned about two Years, and dying, was buried at *Sbirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, at that time the Episcopal See. From this *Judith*, married afterward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers Descents, came *Maude* the Wife of *William* the Conqueror, from whom are descended all our Kings every since.

King *Ethelbald* marries his Father's Widow.

Next to the eldest reigned his second Son *Ethelbert*; all whose Reign, which was only five Years, was perpetually disquieted with Invasions of the *Danes*, which yet were at last repelled. He died in the Year 866, and was buried at *Sbirborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

The *Danes* invade *England* again.

Next to the second reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whose Reign was more disquieted with the *Danes* than any other before: For they invaded the Land, under the Leading of *Hungar* and *Hubba*, spoiled all the Countrey as they went, not sparing religious Places; amongst other, the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the Ground: The Monks and Nuns they murdered or ravished: At which time a rare Example of Chastity and Fortitude was seen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*: For to avoid the barbarous Pollutions of these Pagans, they deformed themselves by cutting off their upper Lips and Noses: Nine Battels in one Year this King fought with the *Danes*, in most of them victorious; but at last received a Wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

Monasteries demolished by the *Danes*.

The Nuns of *Coldingham*, their Chastity.

Next to the third reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whose Time came over greater Swarms of *Danes* than ever before, and had now got Footing in the North, the West, and South Parts of this Island, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerset*, *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*, and not these neither altogether free; so that he was forced sometimes to fly into the Fens and Marsh Grounds to secure himself; where he lived by Fishing and Fowling, and hunting of wild Beasts, till at last learning Policy from Adversity, and gathering Courage from Misery, he ventured in the Habit of a common Minstrel to enter the *Danes* Camp; where having viewed the Manner of their encamping, and observed their Security, he returned back, shewing his Lords in what Condition he found them. Whereupon setting upon them at unawares, he not only made

King *Alfred's* Policy against the *Danes*.

of



of them a great Slaughter, but brought upon them a greater Terror; for presently upon this the *Danes* sue for Peace, and deliver Hostages for Performance of these Conditions: That their King should receive Baptism, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this Agreement they departed for the present into *France*, yet the Year following they returned with greater Forces, foraging all parts of the Countrey in most cruel manner, though still encountered by this valorous Prince, till he ended his Life in the Year 901, after he had reigned nine and twenty Years. The Virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at least admirable, whereof these may be Instances. The Day and Night containing 24 Hours, he designed equally for three special Uses, observing them by the burning of a Taper set in his Chapel (there being at that time no other way of distinguishing them). Eight Hours he spent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: Eight in Provision for himself, his Health and Recreation; and the other eight in the Affairs of the Commonwealth and State. His Kingdom likewise he divided into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings: Ordained that no Man might remove out of his Hundred without Security: By which course he so suppressed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly increased by the long Wars, that it is said a Boy or a Girl might openly carry a Bag of Gold or Silver, and carry it safely all the Countrey over: Besides his great Piety, he was also learned, and as far as it might be a Commendation in a Prince, a skilful Musician, and excellent Poet. All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made Choice of the best, which he translated into the *English* Tongue; as also the Pastoral of St. *Gregory*, the History of *Bede*, and *Boëtius* his Consolation of Philosophy; the *Psalms* of *David* likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a Love he had to Learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom possessing two Hides of Land, should bring up their Sons in Learning, till they were fifteen Years of Age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of Understanding, and to live happily. His Buildings were many, both for God's Service, and other publick Use: As at *Edlensy* a Monastery, at *Winchester* a new Minster, and at *Shaftesbury* a House of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbess. But his Foundation of the University of *Oxford* exceeded all the rest: Which he began in the Year 895, and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales*, *Affer*, (who wrote his Life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own Presence: And for a Stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom, and had all the Particulars of his Estate registred in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. He reigned seven and twenty Years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed afterwards into the Church of the new Mo-

nastery, without the North Gate of the City called *Hyde*. His Wife *Elfewith* founded a Monastery of Nuns at *Winchester*, and was there buried. Their second Daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Father's appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*, *Shaftesbury*, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the Founder of the Town it self.

King *Alfred* being deceased, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward* the Elder) succeeded: Not so learned as his Father; but in Valour his equal, and superior in Fortune; for first he overcame his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspir'd to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whose chief Leader he slew in Battel; lastly the *Welsh*, but these last more by Humility shewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, than by force of Arms. But yet he must not have all the Glory of his Time: Some must be imparted to his Sister *Elfede*; who being married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with so grievous Pains in her Travel, that ever after she refused the Nuptial Bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish Pleasure that brought with it so excessive Pains: And thereupon after her Husband's Death, *Elfede* forsook the Wars; assisting her Brother both against the *Welsh*, and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying, she was buried at *Glocester*, in the Monastery of St. *Peter*, which her Husband and her self had built. King *Edward* himself, after four and twenty Years Reign, deceased at *Foringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the Year 924, and was buried at the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished: Having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own Hands knighted in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son *Elfred* he so loved, that he caused him to be crowned King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elfeward*, presently upon his Father's Death died himself also. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelstan*, out of Jealousie of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himself. His fifth and his sixth Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, came in Succession to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Editba*, was married to *Sithricke* the Danish King of *Northumberland*; and he deceasing, she entered into a Monastery which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there died. His second Daughter *Elfede* took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsay*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died and was interred. His third Daughter *Eugina*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his Decease, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermansdois*.

King *Alfred's*  
Virtues.

He divides  
the Kingdom  
into Shires.

His Love to  
Learning.

*Oxford* found-  
ed.

*Elfede* forsook  
the Wars;  
assisting her  
Brother both  
against the  
*Welsh*, and  
against the  
*Danes*, whom  
she brought  
to be at her  
disposing.

Knighting in  
an extraordi-  
nary Manner.



Wilton the  
head Town  
of Wiltshire.

dois: His fourth Daughter *Ethelbeld*, became a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Edandon*, that we may see in those first times of Religion, when there was least Knowledge, there was most Devotion. His fifth Daughter *Edbold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. And *Edgith* his sixth Daughter to *Otbo*, the Emperor of the West, surnamed the Great. His seventh Daughter *Elgina* was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His eighth *Edigna* to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

Perjury pun-  
ished by the  
Divine Hand.

After the Death of King *Edward*, his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded, and was crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey* by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 924. The Beginning of whose Reign was molested with the Treason of one *Elfred* a Nobleman; who being apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himself, and there denying the Act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and within three Days died, to the eternal Terror of all perjured Persons. Presently upon this, another Disaster befel King *Athelstan* for having caused his Brother *Edwyn's* Death, (as before is shewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearer's Suggestions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer in his Service at a Festival, stumbled with one Foot, and recovering himself with the other, and saying merrily, *See how one Brother helps another*; his Words put the King in Remembrance of his Brother, whose Death he had caused, and with Remorse thereof not only caused his Cup-bearer to be put to Death, but did also seven Years Penance; and built the two Monasteries of *Middleton* and *Michelnefs*, in the County of *Dorset*, in Expiation of his Offence. This King ordained many good Laws, and those to bind as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongst which, one was the Attachment of Felons that stole above twelve Pence, and were above twelve Years old. Of this King there is one Act related that may seem ridiculous; another that may seem miraculous: For what more ridiculous than that going to visit the Tomb of *St. John of Beverly*, and having nothing else of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in Devotion to the Saint! Yet the miraculous is more apparent; for going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good Success, he prayed withal that God would shew some Sign of his rightful Cause; and thereupon striking with his Sword, he struck it an Ell deep into a hard Stone, which stood so cloven a long time after. But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great Victories against the *Danes*, against the *Scots*, against the *Irish*, and against the *Welsh*, whose Princes he brought to be his Tributaries, entering Covenant at *Hereford* to pay him yearly twenty Pound Weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred Head of Cattle; besides a certain Number of Hawks and Hounds. Lastly he joyned *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Prede-

Felons pun-  
ished.

A Miracle of  
King *Athel-  
stan*.

King *Athel-  
stan* makes  
*Wales* tribu-  
tary.

cessors: Which made all neighbouring Princes to seek his Friendship, and to gratify him with rare Presents, as *Hugh* King of *France* sent him the Sword of *Constantine* the Great, in the Hilt whereof was one of the Nails which fastened *Christ* to his Cross: He sent him also the Holy Reliques sent to King *Athelstan*. Spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced *Christ's* Side; as also part of the Cross whereon *Christ* suffered, and a piece of the thorny Crown put upon his Head. Likewise *Otbo* the Emperor, who had married his Sister, sent him a Vessel of precious Stones, artificially made, wherein were seen Landscips with Vines, Corn and Men, all of them seeming so artificially to move as they were growing and alive. Likewise the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly Ship with a gilt Stern, purple Sails, and the Deck garnished all with Gold. Of these accounted holy Reliques, King *Athelstan* gave part to the Abbey of *Saint Swithin* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his tutelar Saint. He new built the Monasteries of *Winton*, *Michelnefs*, and *Middelton*; Founded *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal*, *Saint Petrus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefest of his Works for the Service of God and Good of his Subjects, was the Translation of The Bible into the Saxon Tongue, which was translated into the Saxon Tongue. then the Mother Tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen Years, died at *Glocester*, and was buried at *Malmesbury* in the Year 940, having never been married.

After the Death of *Athelstan*, his Brother *Edmund*, the fifth Son of his Father, succeeded, and was crowned at *Kingston* upon *Thames*: but no sooner was the Crown set upon his Head, but the *Danes* were upon his Back, and in *Northumberland* made Insurrections; whom yet he not only repressed in that part, but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptism, and to become his Subjects, so as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* also, which had been an entire Kingdom of it self, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *South-wales*, he utterly wasted, and gave it *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* to hold of him by Fealty. His good Laws. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the Good of his People, which Master *Lambert* hath since translated into *Latin*. But after all his noble Acts, both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable End; for at his Manour of *Pucklekerks* in the County of *Glocester*, interposing himself to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thrust through the Body, and so wounded that he died; or as the *Saxon* Annals relate, was slain by one *Leof* a noted Thief, whom meeting at a Feast among his Nobles after he had banish'd him the Court, he fell upon in great rage. He was buried at *Glastenbury* after he had reigned five Years and seven Months; leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn* and *Edgar*. His unfortu-  
nate End.

King *Edmund* dying, his Brother *Edred* in the



the Minority of his Nephews was crowned at *Kingston upon Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 946; not as Protector, (it seems that kind of Authority was not yet come in use) but as King himself, tho' with purpose to resign when the right Heir should come of Age, which at this time needed not; for while the right Heir was scarce yet fourteen Years old, he resigned to him the Kingdom, by resigning his Life to Nature after he had twice repressed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiven their rebelling, which yet was not a simple Rebellion: For they had sent for *Anlaf* the Dane out of *Ireland*, and made him their King; which Place for four Years he held; and then weary of his Government, they thrust him out, and took one *Henricus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down also; and then partly allured by the Lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they submit themselves to him, and ask Forgiveness; to whom he, as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into Protection. The Prince was so devout and humble, that he submitted his Body to be chastised at the Will of *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and committed all his Treasure and Jewels to his Custody. The stately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Ina*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified, endowing it with Revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *German* in *Cornwal* to be a Bishop's See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopal See of *Kyrton* in *Devonshire*; both which Sees were afterward by *K. Edward* the Confessor translated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred* and *Bertferd*, and was buried in the old Minster, without the City of *Winchester*, whose Bones with other Kings are to this Day preserved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the Wall, in the South Side of the Quire.

King *Edred*'s Devotion.

*Exeter* made the Episcopal See.

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldest Son of King *Edmund*, succeeded, and was anointed and crowned at *Kingston upon Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 955. This Prince, tho' scarce fourteen Years old, and in Age but a Child, yet was able to commit Sin as a Man; for upon the very Day of his Coronation, and in Sight of his Lords, as they sat in Council, he shamefully abused a Lady of great Estate, and his near Kinswoman; and to mend the matter, shortly after slew her Husband, the more freely to enjoy his incestuous Pleasure. And whether for this infamous Fact, or for thrusting the Monks out of the Monasteries of *Malmesbury* and *Glastenbury*, and placing married Priests in their room, as also for banishing *Dunstan* the holy Abbot of *Glastenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects Hearts was so turned against him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and swore Fealty to his younger Brother *Edgar*; with Grief whereof, after four Years Reign, he ended his Life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hyde* at *Winchester*.

King *Edwyn*'s shameful Fact at his Coronation.

After *Edwyn*, succeeded his younger Brother *Edgar*, at the Age of sixteen Years; but his Coronation, when and where, and by whom, is so uncertain, that some say he was crowned at *Kingston upon Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the first Year of his Reign; others say not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth. Another Chronicle saith, in his eleventh Year; and that in the City of *Bath*, by the Hands of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reason of the Tranquillity of his Reign, was surnamed the *Peaceable*; for as he was something inclined to the *Danes*, so the *Danes* never offered to stir in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their sole Sovereign, without Division of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were some virtuous, some politick, some just, some pious; and yet all these not without some mixture of Vice.

King *Edgar*, called the *Peaceable*.

To repress Drunkenness, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a Size, by certain Pins in the Pot, with Penalty to any that should presume to drink deeper than the Mark. It was a politick Device which he used for the Destruction of Wolves that in his Days did great Annoyance to the Land: For the Tribute imposed on the Princes of *Wales*, by King *Atbelstan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof a certain Number of Wolves yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of North *Wales* for his part was to pay three hundred, which continued for three Years space: And in the fourth Year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and so the Tribute ceased. He had in his Navy Royal three thousand and six hundred Ships, which he divided into three Parts, appointing every one of them to a several Quarter, to scour the Seas, and to secure the Coasts from Pirates: and lest his Officers might be careless, or corrupted, he would himself in Person sail about all the Coasts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Justice, that in all his Circuits and Progresses thro' the Countrey, he would take special Account of the Demeanour of his Lords, and specially of his Judges, whom he severely punished, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his Reign, only towards his End the *Welshmen* moved some Rebellion, against whom he went with a mighty Army, and chastised the Authors: But when his Soldiers had gotten great Spoils, and made Prey upon the innocent Countrey People, he commanded them to restore it all back again; which, if it made some few *English* angry, it made the whole Countrey of the *Welsh* well pleased, and sound forth his Praises. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared seven and forty Monasteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by Death. But now his Mixture of Vice marred all; especially being a Vice opposite to all those Virtues, which was Lasciviousness. For first, he de-flower'd a sacred Nun, called *Wolfsbilde*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaste *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Etbelfleda*, for her excellent Beauty surnamed the *White*, on whom he begot his eldest Son *Edward*; for

A Law to repress Drunkenness.

How Wolves came to be destroyed in *England*.

King *Edgar*'s Navy Royal of 3600 Ships.

Soldiers made to restore their Booties.

King *Edgar* builds seven and forty Monasteries.

King *Edgar*'s Lasciviousness.



for which Faſt he did ſeven Years Penance, enjoined him by the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Weſtern Duke, exceedingly praiſed for her Beauty; and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughter's Honour, brought in the dark her Maid to him; who in the Morning making haſte to riſe, and the King not ſuffering her to depart, ſhe told him what great Work ſhe had to do, and how ſhe ſhould incur her Lady's Diſpleaſure if it were not done; by which Words the King perceiving the Deceit, turned it to a Jeſt: But ſo well liked her Company, that he kept himſelf true to her ever after, till he married. But now his Marriage itſelf happen'd by a greater Vice than any of theſe; for hearing of the admirable Beauty of *Elfrida*, the only Daughter of *Ordangus* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Founder of *Taveſtock* Abbey in that Countrey, he ſent his great Favourite *E. Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of Beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commiſſion, that if he found her ſuch as Fame reported, he ſhould ſeiſe her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl upon Sight of the Lady, was ſo ſurprized with her Love, that he began to woo for himſelf, and got her Father's good Will, ſo as the King would give his Conſent. Hereupon the Earl poſted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing answerable to the Fame that went of her; yet deſired the King that he might marry her, as being her Father's Heir, thereby to raiſe his Fortunes. The King conſented, and the Marriage was ſolemnized. Soon after the Fame of her Beauty began to ſpread more than before; ſo as the King much doubting that he had been abuſed, meant to try the Truth himſelf, and thereupon taking occaſion of hunting in the Duke's Park, came to his Houſe; whoſe coming *Ethelwold* ſuſpecting, acquainted his Wife with the Wrong he had done both her and the King; and therefore to prevent the King's Diſpleaſure, intreated her by all the Perſuaſions he could uſe, to cloath her ſelf in ſuch Attire, as might be leaſt fit to ſet her forth: But ſhe conſidering that now was the time to make the moſt of her Beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be acceſſory to her own Wrong, but decked her ſelf in her richeſt Ornaments, which ſo improved her Beauty, that the King at the firſt Sight was ſtruck with Admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet diſſembling his Paſſion, till he could take him at Advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrida* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monastery of *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, reigned ſixteen Years, lived ſeven and thirty, and with great funeral Pomp was buried in the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury*. He had Children by his firſt Wife *Ethelfreda*, one Son named *Edward*, and by his ſecond Wife *Elfrid* two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had alſo one natural Daughter

A treacherous Favourite.

*Ramſey* Monastery in *Hampſhire* founded.

named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolſcilde*, the Daughter of *Wolbolme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Nefing*; which two latter bear in their Names the Memory of their Fortunes; the laſt of them being found in an Eagle's Neſt by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monastery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

A Child found in an Eagle's Neſt: and thereof called *Nefing*.

After the Death of King *Edgar* ſucceeds his Son *Edward*, but not without ſome Oppoſition; for Queen *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords to make her Son *Ethelred* King, ſaying, that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other ſide, the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and the Monks ſtood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully born; but while the Council was aſſembled to argue their Rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his Banner and Croſs, and not ſtaying for debating *de Jure, de Faſto* preſented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King; and the Aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy-men, drew the Approbation of the reſt; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve Years of Age, and was crowned King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, in the Year 975. In the Beginning of his Reign, it fell into Debate whether married Priests were to be allowed to live in Monasteries upon the Revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alferus*, favouring the Cauſe of the married Priests, deſtroyed the Monasteries in his Province, caſt out the Monks, and reſtored again the ancient Revenues to the Priests and their Wives. On the other ſide, *Edelwyn* Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Suffex*, who ſtood for the Monks, caſt married Priests out of their Provinces. The Matter being debated in a Council at *Weſtmiſter*, the Monks Cauſe was like to have the Foil, till he had referred to the Rood, placed on the reſectory Wall where the Council ſate: For to this great Oracle Saint *Dunſtan* deſired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent Ear for an Answer; when ſuddenly a Voice was heard to ſay, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo*. This was thought Authority ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Priests, till they perſuaded the People, that this was but a cunning Practice of the Monks, in placing behind the Wall a Man of their own, who thro' a Trunk uttered theſe Words in the Mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Aſſembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltſhire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with moſt of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being ſet, and the Matter at the Height of diſcuſſing, it happened that the Joists of the Room where the Synod was held ſuddenly brake, and the Floor with all the People thereon fell down, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlain; only the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, then Preſident, and Mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by Practice, or were miraculous, it ſerved the Monks turn for juſtifying their Cauſe, and married Priests were thereupon diſcarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to ſpeak of all the Miracles reported to be done by this St. *Dunſtan*, which may

Married Priests excluded from living in Monasteries, by what Verdict.



may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

But now a most lamentable Disaster comes to be remembred: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Island of *Purbeck*, not far from *Corfe Castle*, where his Mother-in-law Queen *Elfrid*, with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then residing, he, out of his Love to both, would needs himself alone go visit them; where the cruel Woman, out of Ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to run him into the Back with a Knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horseback at his departing; who feeling himself hurt, set Spurs to his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his Company; but the Wound being mortal, and he fainting thro' loss of much Blood, fell from his Horse; but one Foot being entangled in the Stirrup, he was thereby rufully dragged up and down through Woods and Lands; and lastly, left dead at *Corfe's Gate*: For which untimely Death, he was ever after called by the Name of *Edward the Martyr*. He reigned only three Years and six Months and was buried, first at *Winchester* without all Funeral Pomp, but after three Years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great Solemnity interred in the Minster of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody Fact, built the two Monasteries of *Almesbury* and *Worwel*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, in which latter, with great Repentance, she lived till her Death.

After the Death of *Edward the Martyr*, dying at the Age of sixteen Years, his half Brother *Ethelred*, at the Age of twelve Years, in the Year 979, was crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though much against his Will; which King, by reason of his Backwardness in Action, was commonly called the *Unready*. At the Coronation of this Prince, St. *Dunstan* in a prophetick Spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the Wrath and Indignation of Almighty God in these Words following; *Because (saith he) thou hast aspired to the Crown by the Death of thy Brother whom thy Mother hath murdered; therefore hear the Word of the Lord: The Sword shall not depart from thy House, but furiously rage all the Days of thy Life, killing of thy Seed, till such time as thy Kingdom shall be given to a People whose Customs and Language the Nation thou now governeest know not. Neither shall thy Sin, the Sin of thy Mother, and the Sin of those Men who were Partakers of her Counsels, and Executors of her wicked Designs, be expiated, but by a long and most severe Vengeance.* Which Prediction of the holy Archbishop was seconded by Prodigies, and by the disastrous Calamities which fell on him and his House, and the whole confirmed for Truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the Prophecies of a holy Man in the Time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whose Time for two and twenty Years past the *Danes* had lived as quiet Inmates with the *English*: But whether weary of so long doing nothing, or finding now Opportunity of doing something, in the second Year of

this King, they began to stir, and inviting from home, Forces who in seven Ships arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, they spoiled all the Countrey, specially the Isle of *Thanet*, and continued this Course of forraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one Part, and sometimes in another, for eleven Years together: Till at last, in the Year 991, the King, by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius* the now Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand Pounds, upon Condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the Turn for the present, but was so far from satisfying them, that it did but give them the greater Appetite; for the Year following they came again, and that with a greater Fleet than before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfrick* Earl of *Mercia*; but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did whom the King employed against the *Danes*, as with whom they were allied in Blood) the *Danes* so prevailed, that for the next Composition they had sixteen thousand Pounds given them, and a Year after twenty thousand; and so every Year more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: By which means, the Land was emptied of all Coin, and the *English* were brought so low, that they were fain to till, and ear the Ground, whilst the *Danes* sate idle, and eat the Fruit of their Labours, abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Hosts, where they lay, and yet in every Place for very Fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a Word of derision when one would signify a lazy Lubbard). In this distressed State, the King at last bethought himself of a Course. He sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions, that at an appointed Time they should massacre all the *Danes* that were amongst them: The Day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the Festival of St. *Bricius*, in the Year 1002. His Command was accordingly performed, and with such Rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for Refuge took into the Church of St. *Fridefwide*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *English* neither regarding Place nor Person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that *England* by this Fact had clean shaken off the *Danish* Yoke for ever? Yet it proved clean otherwise: For the News of this Massacre, adding a new Edge of Revenge, to the old Edge of Ambition, made the *Danes* sharper set against the *English* than ever they had been before; so as the Year following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy entered the Countrey, raised and levelled with the Ground the City of *Exeter*, all along from the East Gate to the West: Against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl *Edrick*, his great Favorite, whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*, and given him his Daughter *Edgith* in Marriage: Yet all this great Favour could not keep him from being treacherous; for being sent Ambassador to the *Danes* to medi-

The *Danes* prevail, and are called *Lord-Danes*.

The *Danes* massacred.

In Revenge whereof K. *Sweyne* the next Year invades the Kingdom, and by the Treachery of *Edrick*.

E ate

King *Edward's* lamentable End by the Wick- edness of his Mother-in-law, and called the *Martyr*.

King *Ethelred*, called the *Un-ready*.

The *Danes* having been long quiet, begin now to stir.



ate for Peace he revealed to them the Weakness of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave Order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should build a Ship, and every eight Hides find a compleat Armour furnished; yet all this great Preparation came to nothing, but only to make a Show. After this, the King seeing no End of their Invasions, nor promise kept upon any Composition; (for three *Danish* Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his Cause to God, by the Fortune of a Battle. To which End he secretly gathered a mighty Power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared he had certainly given an End to the Quarrel, if the wicked *Edrick* had not dissuaded them from fighting, and put him into a causeless Fear, by forged Tales. After this the *Danes* foraged many Countries, burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*; and lastly entered *Wiltshire*, which was the seventh shire in number they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The Year after they make a new Expedition, and besiege *Canterbury*; which by Treason of a Church-man they won, took *Alphegus* the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and Men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all Mercy; for they tythed the People, slaying all by nines, and only reserving the tenth to live; so that of all the Monks in the Town there were but four saved, and of the Lay-people, four thousand eight hundred; by which account Master *Lambert* collecteth, that there died in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred Persons. The Archbishop *Alphegus*, for that he refused to charge his Tenant with three thousand Pounds to pay for his Ransom, they most cruelly stoned to Death at *Greenwich*. *Turkillus* the Leader of these Murtherers, took into his Possession all *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the *English* for eight thousand Pounds, quietly for a while sojourned among them. The Year following came King *Sweyne* again, and with a great Navy arrived in the Mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainsborough*, to whom the *Northumbrians*, and the People of *Lindsey* yielded themselves; so that now over all the North, from *Watling-street*, he reigned sole King, and exacted Pledges of them for their further Obedience. From the North he passed into the South, subduing all before him till he came to *London*, where he was so valiantly encountred by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithstanding he entred *Bathe*, where *Ethelmore* Earl of *Devonshire*, with his Western People, submitted himself to him. Yet after this, between him and the *English* was struck a fierce Battle, which had been with good Success, if the Treachery of some in turning to the *Danes* had not hindered it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriously, and had gotten most part of the Land, and even *London* also by Submission: Whereupon the unfor-

tunate King *Ethelred*, sending his Wife *Emma*, with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother Duke of *Normandy*, himself also the Winter following passed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realm. *Sweyne* now as an absolute King extorted from the *English* both Victuals and Pay for his Soldiers; and demanding such a Composition for preserving of *St. Edmund's* Monastery in *Suffolk*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refused to pay: He thereupon threatned Spoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyr's bones that were there interred; when suddenly in the midst of his jollity (saith *Hoveden*) he cried out that he was struck by Saint *Edmund* with a Sword, being then in the midst of his Lords, and no Man seeing from whose Hand it came; and so with great Horror and Torment, three Days after, upon the third of *February*, he ended his Life at *Thetford*, or (as others say) at *Gainsborough*. And now who would not think but this was a fair Opportunity offered to the *English*, to free themselves wholly from the *Danish* Yoke? But when all was done, either crossed by Treachery, or frustrated by Misfortune, nothing prospered. It is true, upon this occasion of *Sweyne's* Death, K. *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*; but at his coming *Canutus* the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the People of *Lindsey* to be at his Devotion, and to find him both Horse and Men, against their own King; so as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well with his own Subjects as *Danes*, which he did so valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeless of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed Root and Branch out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the Appearance of Probability for it that could be. But it is a true Saying, *That which will be, shall be, let all be done that can be*. For now *Turkil* the Dane, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing sensible of his Fault, which was this, or no way, to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens case, which was now or never to be helpt; with nine of his Ships failed into *Denmark*; and first excusing himself to *Canutus* for his former Defection, as though he had done it of purpose, to learn all Advantages against the *English*, which now he could discover to him: He so prevailed with *Canutus* once again to try his Fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he set sail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *English* a great Overthrow, and passed victoriously through the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wilts*. When (*Ethelred* lying dangerously sick at *Cossam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* Battle, had suddenly Notice given him, that his Brother-in-Law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him suspend his Proceeding: And *Edrick* perceiving his Design to be discovered, cast off the Masque, and with forty of the King's Ships fled openly to the Enemy:

K. *Sweyne* is struck by the Divine Hand, for offering Violence to St. *Edmund* the Martyr's Bones.

*Canutus* in Despair returns into *Denmark*.

Is persuaded by *Turkil* the Dane to return into *England*.

*Edrick* continues treacherous still.

Enemy:



Enemy: And thereupon all the West Countries submitted themselves unto *Canutus*. By this Time *K. Ethelred* having recovered his Sickness, prepared to go on with the Battel which his Son *Edmund* had intended; but his Forces being assembled, he likewise had suddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himself to *London*, as the Place in which he most confided; where falling into a Relapse of his former Sickness, he ended his unfortunate Days in the Year 1016, when he had reigned 37 Years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, whose Bones as yet remain in the North wall of the Chancel, in a Chest of grey Marble, adjoining to that of *Sebba*, King of the East Saxons. He had by his two Wives eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngest named *Goda*, was married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, by whom she had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by *K. William* the Conqueror Baron of *Sudley* in the County of *Glocester*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that Place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley*, now being.

The Lord Chandois of Sudley, from whom descended.

*Edmund Ironside* crowned King.

*Ethelred* being dead, his third Son *Edmund*, called *Ironside* (of his Ability in enduring Labour) but the eldest living at his Father's Death, succeeded, and was crowned at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 1016. A great part of the *English* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of Fear favoured *Canutus*; especially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and swore Fealty to him: But the *Londoners* stood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal Authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the Death of *K. Ethelred*, had besieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompassed it: But the new King *Edmund* coming on, raised the siege, and made *Canutus* fly to the Isle of *Sheppey*; where having staid the Winter, the Spring following he assailed the West of *England*, and at *Penbam* in *Dorsetshire* a Battle was fought, and the *Danes* discomfited. After this, in *Worcestershire*, at a Place called *Sherostan*, another Battel was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be discomfited: But the traitorous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the Head of a Soldier like unto King *Edmund* both in Hair and Countenance, and shaking his bloody Sword, with the gasping Head, crying out to the Army of the *English*, Fly ye, Wretches, fly, and get away, for your King is slain; behold, here is his Head. But King *Edmund* having notice of his treacherous Stratagem, hastened to shew himself where he might best be seen; whose Sight so encouraged his Men, that they had gotten that Day a final Victory, if Night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuses his Fact, as being mistaken in the Countenance of the Man, and desirous to save the Blood of the *English*; upon which false Colour he was received into Favour again. After this, *Canutus* secretly in the Night brake up his Camp, and marched towards *London*, which in a sort was still besieged by the *Danish* Ships: But King *Edmund* hearing of his Departure,

Drives *Canutus* from the Siege of *London*.

*Edrick* treacherous still.

followed him, and with small ado removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entered the City. After this, near unto *Oxford* in *Kent* was another great Battel fought, in which *Canutus* lost 4500 Men, and *K. Edmund* only 600; the rest of the *Danes* saving themselves by Flight: Whom if King *Edmund* had pursued, it is thought that Day had ended the Wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever-traiterous *Edrick*, kept *K. Edmund* from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other Dangers: So as *Canutus* had leisure to pass over into *Essex*; but thither also *K. Edmund* followed him; where at *Ashdon*, three Miles from *Saffron-Walden*, another Battel was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the Point to be overthrown, the traitorous *Edrick* with all his Forces revolted to their Side; by which Treachery the *English* lost the Day. There died of *K. Edmund's* Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Godwyn*, Duke *Athelwald*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earl *Urcbil*, *Codnot* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Wolsey* Abbot of *Ramsay*, with many others. The Remembrance of which Battel is retained to this Day, by certain small Hills there remaining, whence have been digged the Bones of Men, Armour, and Horse-bridles. After this at *Dereberst*, near to the River *Severn*, another Battel was ready to be fought; when suddenly a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of Blood, used great Persuasions, that either they should try the Battel by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a small Island called *Alney*, adjoining to the City of *Glocester*, in compleat Armour assailed each other, at first on Horseback, and after on Foot: When *Canutus* having received a dangerous Wound, and finding himself overmatched in Strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud Voice used these Words, What Necessity should move us, most valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our Lives? Were it not better to lay Malice aside, and condescend to a loving Agreement? Let us therefore become sworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This Motion was by King *Edmund* accepted; and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the Coast of *France*, and *Canutus* the rest. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his last and greatest Act of Treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a Place for Nature's Necessity, he thrust from under the Draught a sharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his Head, presented it to *Canutus* with these fawning Words, All hail, thou sole Monarch now of *England*; for here behold the Head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off. *Canutus*, tho' ambitious enough for Sovereignty, yet abashed at so disloyal a Fact, replied and vowed, that in reward of that Service, his own Head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: Which soon after he performed; for by his Command the false *Edrick's* Head was cut off, and placed upon the highest Gate of *London*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* and *Huntington*, relate this Murther to have been

*K. Edmund* and *Canutus* try the Matter by a single Combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

*Edrick* treacherous still, murders *K. Edmund*.



been acted by *Edrick's* own Son at the Commandment of his Father: *William Malmesbury* writes, that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, hired by the same disloyal *Edrick*; notwithstanding *Roger Hoveden* reports that he died a natural Death at *London*. The Death of this King in this manner, some say was acted at *Oxford*; others, that he died of a natural Sickness in *London*. But howsoever he came to his Death, his Reign was but only seven Months, and his Body was buried at *Glastenbury*, near to his Grandfather *K. Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth* two Sons; the eldest named *Edward*, surnamed the *Out-law*, because he lived out of *England* in *Hungary*, as a banished Man for fear of King *Canutus*: But when his Uncle *K. Edward* the Confessor had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married *Agatha*, Sister to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the Second; by whom he had *Edgar*, surnamed *Atbeling*, the right Heir of the *English* Crown, tho' he never enjoy'd it. The second Son of *Ironside* was called, after his Father's Name, *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had also two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*, of whom the younger became a veiled Nun at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*; the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolm* the third King of *Scotland*, from which princely Bed in a lineal Descent, King *James* the First united the *British*, *Saxon*, *Norman*, and *Scotish* Imperial Crowns in one.

*Edgar Atbeling*, his Father.

*K. James* descended from *Margaret* Daughter of *K. Edmund Ironside*.

#### Of the first DANISH King in ENGLAND.

*Canutus* possessed of the whole Kingdom.

*Canutus* being possessed of half the Kingdom by Composition with King *Edward*, now after his Death seized upon the whole, and to prevent all farther Question, he call'd a Council of the *English* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the Agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any Claim of Title to the Crown had been reserved for King *Edmund's* Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all his Opposites, he prepared with great Solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London* by the Hands of *Levingus*, surnamed *Elstane*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 1017, being the first *Dane* that reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himself sufficiently safe, as long as any that might pretend were in the People's Eye, caused first *Edwin* the Son of *K. Ethelred*, and Brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterwards recalled, and treacherously murdered by his own Men, and his Body buried at *Tavestock* in *Devonshire*. Next were the two Sons of *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward* and *Edmund*, whom, to the end People might not see him shed the Blood of Innocents, he sent to his half Brother *K. of Sweden* to be made away; but the *K. of Sweden* more compassionate and noble than this jealous and cruel *Dane*, sent the young Princes into *Hungary*, to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in

whose Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mention'd. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of *K. Ethelred*, and then their Mother *Q. Emma*, He marries *Q. Emma*. had sent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in Safety. So as none of the royal Blood was now left in the Land, to give to *Canutus* any Fear of Competition. After this he took to Wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of *K. Ethelred*, by which Match he procured to himself three great Benefits: One, that he won the Love of the People, by marrying a Lady whom they so entirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great Power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he secured himself against the Sons: As likewise *Q. Emma* was not unwillingly persuaded to the Match, upon Agreement to make her Issue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the Love of the People yet more, he now set himself to the making of good Laws, He makes in a grand Convention of his Nobles which good Laws. he held at *Oxford*; whereof for a Pattern of those Times, some that concern Religion may not unfitly be here related. First, for the Celebration of divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the Increase of Reverence and Devotion should be used as need required. Secondly, that upon The Sabbath the Sabbath-day, all publick Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all secular Actions should be forborn, unless some urgent Necessity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the Year receive the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Communion to be received thrice a Year. Fourthly, that if a Minister of an Altar killed a Man, or committed any notorious Crime, he should be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married Woman convicted of Adultery should have her Nose and Ears cut off. Sixthly, that a Widow marrying within a twelve-month after her Husband's Decease, should lose her Jointure. A married Woman convicted of Adultery to have her Nose and Ears cut off. These and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained, during all his time, in a most peaceable State and Government. In the third Year of his Reign he heard how the *Vandals* taking Advantage of his Absence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *English* he passed over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill Success the first Day; when preparing for the next Day's Battel, the Earl *Godwyn*, who was the General of the *English*, secretly in the dead of the Night set upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great Slaughter of their Soldiers, made their two Princes, *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to fly the Field. In the Morning it was told *Canutus* that the *English* were fled, for that their Station was left, and not a Man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his Patience: But he going in Person to see the Truth, found the great Overthrow the *English* had given, for which Service ever after he held the *English*,



*English*, and especially the Earl *Godwyn*, in great Estimation. After this, returning home, he made a prosperous Expedition against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*; and at last, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable Troubles of the World, and out of Devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to visit the Sepulchre of *St. Peter and Paul*, from whence he writ to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, that they should carefully administer Justice, and never seek to advance his Profit by any undue Ways, or with the detriment of any Man. At his Return from *Rome*, he built in *Essex* the Church of *Ashdon*, where he got the Victory against *K. Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abbey of *St. Benet's*, which Saint he greatly revered; and in *Suffolk* the Monastery of *St. Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Winchester* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Cross, valued to be worth as much as the whole Revenue of *England* amounted to in one Year. To *Coventry* he gave the Arm of the great *St. Austen*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid 100 Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One strange Act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning Flatterers; who used to tell him that his Powers were more than humane; for being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his Chair of State should be set on shore when the Sea began to flow, and then sitting down there in the Presence of his many Attendants, he spake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou presume not to enter my Land, nor wet these Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his Command, but keeping on his usual course of Tide, first wet his Skirts, and after his Thighs; whereupon suddenly arising, he thus spake in the Hearing of them all: *Let all the World's Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the Power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the Name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth, and Sea in Obedience.* After which time he would never suffer the Crown to be set upon his Head: But presently crowned therewith the Picture of *Christ* on the Cross at *Winchester*; from which Example arose perhaps the Custom, to hang up the Armour of worthy Men in Churches; as Offerings consecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had reigned nineteen Years, he deceased at *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, the twelfth of *November*, in the Year 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery of *Winchester*: Which being after new built, his Bones, with many other *English Saxon* Kings, were taken up, and are preserved in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the Walls of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first Wife *Alfgive*; and *Hardiknute* by his second Wife *Q. Emma*; and two Daughters, of whom the eldest called *Guinbilda*, was married to the *Roman* Emperor *Henry* the Third; who being accused of Adultery, and none found to defend her Cause, at last an *English* Page, a very Boy and Dwarf, who for the Littleness of his Stature, was generally, and jestingly

furnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency against a mighty Giant-like Combatant; who in Fight, at one Blow, cutting the Sinews of his Adversary's Leg, with another he felled him to the Ground, and then with his Sword, taking his Head from his Shoulders, redeemed both the Empress's Life and Honour. But the Empress after this hard Usage forsook her Husband's Bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her Life.

## Of the second DANISH King in ENGLAND.

**K**ING *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his youngest Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his Wife *Emma*; but he being at the time of his Father's Death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking Advantage of his Absence, lays claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where Queen *Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their Marriage, and his Last Will at his Death; as also Earl *Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and Keeper of his last Will. But *Harold's* Presence, together with the Favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 1036.

*Harold* having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother-in-law Queen *Emma*, and her Sons by *K. Ethelred*, who were beyond Sea; and therefore now to secure himself against these was his first Care: For effecting whereof he framed a Letter, as written by *Q. Emma* to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold* against their Right: To which Letter coming first to the Hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no Fraud, returned answer, That he would shortly come over and follow her Counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Soldiers lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to Shore, Earl *Godwyn* met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his Guide to his Mother *Q. Emma*; but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Gilford*, making known to *K. Harold* what he had done; who presently committed them all to Slaughter, sparing only every tenth Man for service of Sale. Prince *Alfred* himself he sent Prisoner to the *Ile of Ely*, where having his Eyes inhumanly put out, in Grief and Torment he ended his Life. Some add a more horrible kind of Cruelty, as that his Belly was opened, and one end of his Bowels drawn out and fastened to a Stake, his Body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his Entrails were extracted. This done then he set upon *Q. Emma*, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further

*Harold succeeded his Father Canutus.*

*His Plot to intercept Competitors.*

*His Cruelty against his Brother-in-law Alfred.*



Called *Harefoot* for his swift running.

to secure himself, he kept the Seas with sixteen *Danish* Ships, to the Maintenance whereof he charged the *English* with great Payments, by which, if he procured the Safety of his Person, he certainly procured the Hatred of his Subjects. This King for his Swiftness in Running was called *Harefoot*; but tho' by his Swiftness he out-run his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could not he run so fast, but that Death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four Years and some Months, he died at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

Of the third and last DANISH King in ENGLAND.

*Hardiknute* succeedeth *Harold*.

**K**ING *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former Neglect, sent now for *Hardiknute*, and offered him their Allegiance; who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth Day after he had set Sail out of *Denmark*; and with great Pomp conveyed to *London*, was there crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Year 1040. His first Act was to be revenged of the deceased Brother *Harold*, whose Body he caused to be digged up and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of *St. Clement* without *Temple-Bar*, commonly called *St. Clement Danes*, because it was the Burying-place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true natural Affection, inviting them both to return into *England*, where he received them with all the Honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

*St. Clement Danes*, why so called.

His Intemperance in Diet.

But now as the King *Harold*, for his Swiftness in running, was surnamed *Harefoot*; so this King, for his Intemperance in Diet, might have been surnamed *Swinesmouth*, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were spread every Day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious Dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State he committed it wholly to his Mother *Q. Emma*, and to the polittick Earl of *Kent*, *Godwyn*; who finding this Weakness in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all means to alien the Subjects Hearts from the Prince. Amongst other Courses he caused to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Shipmony to pay his *Danes*, amounting to 32000 Pounds: which was so offensive to the People, that the Citizens of *Worcester* slew two of his Officers, *Thurstan* and *Feudax*, that came to collect it. But this King had soon the reward of his Intemperance; for in a solemn Assembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carousing, he suddenly fell down without Speech or Breath, after he had reigned only two Years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His Death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the Day of his Death was commonly celebrated with open Pastimes in the Street, and called

He imposeth Ship-money upon his Subjects.

He dies suddenly.

A Day called *Hocks-tide*, and why.

*Hocks-tide*, signifying Scorn or Contempt which fell upon the *Danes* by his Death. For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in Eng-

land, after they had miserably afflicted the Kingdom for the space of 240 Years; tho' in regal Government but only six and twenty.

Of ENGLISH Kings again; and first of EDWARD the Confessor.

**K**ING *Hardiknute*, dying without Issue, as *Edward* the Confessor succeedeth *Hardiknute*.

having never been married, and the *Danish* Line clean extinguished, *Edward* for his Piety called the *Confessor*, half Brother to the deceased *Hardiknute*, and Son to *K. Ethelred* by his Wife *Q. Emma*, was by a general consent admitted King of *England*, and was crowned at *Winchester* by *Edsine* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on *Easter-Day* in the Year 1042, being then of the Age of 40 Years. He was born at *Islip* near to *Oxford*, and after his Father's Death, for Safety sent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy* his Mother's Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the People's Love, were first, the remitting the yearly Tribute of 40000 Pounds, gathered by the Name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been imposed by his Father, and for forty Years together paid out of all Mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one Body certain, and written in *Latin*, being in a sort the Fountain of those which at this Day we term the Common Laws, tho' the Forms of Pleading and Process therein, were afterwards brought in by the Conqueror.

He remits *Dane-gilt*.

He ordained the Common Laws.

The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in the sixth Year the *Danish* Pirates entered the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coasts of *Essex* they spoiled, and then in *Flanders* made Merchandize of their Prey. As likewise the *Irish*, with thirty Ships entered *Severn*, and with the Assistance of *Griffith* King of *South-wales*, burnt or slew all in their way, till at last *Reese* the Brother of *Griffith* was slain at *Bulenden*, and his Head presented to *K. Edward* at *Glocester*. His domestical Troubles were only by Earl *Godwyn* and his Sons, who yet after many Contestations and Affronts were reconciled, and *Godwyn* received again into as great Favour as before. But altho' *K. Edward* forgave his Treason, yet the Divine Providence did not; for soon after as he sat at Table with the King on *Easter-Monday*, he was suddenly stricken with Death, and on *Thursday* following died, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some make his Death more exemplar, as that justifying himself for Prince *Alfred's* Death, he should pray to God, That if he were any way guilty of it, he might never swallow down one Morsel of Bread; and thereupon by the just Judgment of God was choaked by the first Morsel he offered to eat.

Earl *Godwyn* punished by the Divine Hand.

In this King's Time such abundance of Snow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almost all Cattel and Fowl perished, and therewith an excessive Dearth followed.

Two Acts are related of this King, that seem nothing correspondent to the general Opinion had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife; that concerning his



his Mother *Q. Emma*, was this, That because after *K. Ethelred's* Death, she married the Danish *K. Canutus*, and seemed to favour her Issue by him, more than her Issue by *K. Ethelred*, therefore he dispossest her of all her Goods, and committed her to Custody in the Abbey of *Worwel*; and more than this, so far hearkned to an Aspersion cast upon her of unchast Familiarity with *Alwyne* Bishop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation, she was fain to pass the Trial of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner: Nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distance, which she must pass bare-foot and blind-fold; and if she passed them unhurt, then she was judged innocent; if otherwise, guilty. And this Trial she passed and came off fairly, to the great Astonishment of all Beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; he had married *Editba* the beautiful and indeed virtuous Daughter of Earl *Godwyn*; and because he had taken Displeasure against the Father, he would shew no Kindness to the Daughter; he had made her his Wife, but conversed not with her as a Wife, only at Board, but not at Bed; or if at Bed, no otherwise than *David* with *Abishag*: And yet was content to hear her accused of Incontinency, whereof if she were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as what the Virtues were, for which after his Death he should be reputed a Saint, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without Injury to his Wife: Pious, but not without Ungratefulness to his Mother: Just in his present Government, but not without neglect of Posterity; for thro' his want of Providence in that Point he left the Crown to so doubtful Succession, that soon after his Decease it was translated out of *English* into *French*, and the Kingdom made servile to a fourth foreign Nation. One Ability he had which raised him above the Pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this Day is ordinary with Kings, That by his only touching and laying his Hand upon it, he cured a Disease, which from his curing is called *the King's-Evil*. His Mother *Q. Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-shares she had passed in her Trial, gave nine Manors to the Minster of *Winchester*; and himself remembring the Wrong he had done her, bestowed on the same place, the Island of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven Miles in compass. He made also of a little Monastery in the West of *London*, by the River of *Thames*, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place *Westminster*) where he provided for his own Sepulchre; and another dedicated to *St. Margaret*, standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who used that large and stately Impression in their Charters and Patents. He founded also the Colledge of *St. Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Bishop's See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*, as a place of far more Dignity. And when he had reigned the space of three and twenty Years and six Months, he ended his life the fourth of Ja-

nuary, in that Room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber* in the Year 1066, and was buried in the Church at *Westminster* which he had builded.

Of HAROLD the second ENGLISH King  
after the DANES.

KING *Edward* the Confessor being himself without Issue, had in his Life-time sent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward*, called the *Out-law*, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, with a purpose to design him his Successor in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into *England*, *K. Edward* then gave his Son *Edgar* the Name of *Atheling*; as to say, Prince *Edgar* meaning to design him for his Successor; but being prevented by Death before the Successor was fully established, and *Edgar Atheling*, tho' he had Right, yet being young, and not of Power to make good his Right, *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwyn* steps into the Throne, and never standing upon Ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own Head; wherein, tho' as a Violator of holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either Clergy or Laity durst oppose him, as being at that time the most Martial Man in the Kingdom; and such a one as the State of the Realm stood at that time in need of; and besides his own Worthiness, had the assistance of *Edwyn* and *Marcher*, the two great Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Cheshire*, whose Sister *Algyth* he had married. It is true withal, That *K. Edward* had appointed the Crown after his own Decease, sometimes to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, sometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and sometimes to this *Harold*, so as he was crown'd by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, as not coming in by Intrusion or Wrong, but by the Appointment of *K. Edward*; tho' that Appointment of *K. Edward* was rather to make him Regent during the Minority of *Edgar*, than to make him absolute King: But howsoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title; and to make Prince *Edgar* some amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to use him like a Child, take away a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himself with great Valour and Justice for the Time he sat in it, which was but very short (only nine Months) as being indeed but tottering from the very Beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Toustayne*, who by diverting his Forces to suppress a Rebellion, made him of less Force to resist an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how *Harold* entered the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was cast out, till we come to him that cast him out; who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the Beginning from a deeper Root: And indeed, seeing in him we shall join our Island to the Continent which is a larger World, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse, than heretofore they have done.

*Q. Emma*  
passeth the  
Trial of Fire  
Ordeal.  
*Ma. West.*

The first King  
that cured  
the King's-  
Evil.

He builds  
*Westminster*.

He first used  
the Broad  
Seal.

He died in  
the Painted  
Chamber at  
*Westminster*.

*Harold* suc-  
ceeds *Edward*  
the Confes-  
sor, setting  
the Crown  
upon his own  
Head.

*Edgar Athe-*  
*ling* made  
Earl of *Ox-*  
*ford*.



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
King *William* the First,  
C A L L E D T H E  
C O N Q U E R O R.

*His Parentage and Descent:*

The Race of  
the Dukes of  
Normandy.

**T**HERE were six Dukes of Normandy in France, in a direct Line succeeding from Father to Son. The first was *Rollo*, who of a private Man in Denmark, coming forth with the Exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by Force of Arms from *Charles the Simple* King of France, to be made Duke of Normandy. The second was *William* his Son, call'd *Long-Espée*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, call'd the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of England, Father of *Edward the Confessor*. The fourth was *Richard* the Second his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the Third his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by a second two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldest Son by his first Wife, succeeded him by the Name of *Richard* the Fourth, and dying without Issue, the Dukedom descended to *Robert* his second Son by his first Wife: Which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conqueror, of whom it is thus recorded: That riding one time abroad, he happen'd to pass by a Company of Country Maids that were a dancing, where staying a while to look upon them, he was so taken with the handsomness and graceful Carriage of one of them, whose Name was *Arlotte*, a Skinner's Daughter (from whence as some think our Word *Harlot* comes) that Affection commanding him, and Authority her, he caused her that Night to be brought to his Bed, where being together, what was done or said between them, is no matter for History to record, tho' some Historians have recorded both, making her not so modest as was fit for a Maid; only ten Months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a Man of extraordinary Spirit, we may attribute it to the Heat of Affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his Birth, fore-running Tokens which presaged his future Greatness: For his Mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a Dream like that of *Mandane* the Mother of *Cyrus*, the first Persian Monarch; namely, that her Bowels were

extended and dilated over all Normandy and England. Also as soon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber-Floor, with both his Hands he took up Rushes, and shutting his little Fists, held them very fast; which gave occasion to the gossiping Wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the Birth of such a Boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the Child would prove a King.

*His succeeding in the Dukedom, notwithstanding his Bastardy.*

**I**T appears by many Examples, that Bastardy in those Days was no Bar to Succession, till a Law was afterward made to make it a Bar. It brought some Disgrace where the Mother was mean, but no Impediment where the Father was noble; and even his Bastardy seemed to have some Allay, if it be true (as some write) that his Father took the said *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom so much by Succession as by Gift. For when he was about nine Years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, caused them to swear Allegiance to this base Son of his, and to take him for their liege Lord after his Decease. Neither was this in those Days unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own Deceases upon whom they pleased, counting it as lawful to appoint Successors after them, as Substitutes under them; even in our Time and Kingdom the Duke of Northumberland prevailed with K. *Edward* the Sixth to exclude his two Sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to succeed him.

*His Education and Tuition in his Minority.*

**H**IS Father having declared and appointed him to be his Successor, went soon after (whether out of Devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brother's Death, whereof he was suspected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the Tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of France, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange Confidence to commit the Tuition of a Son that was base, to Pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of France who aimed at nothing more than to reannex this



this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his Confidence was grounded upon the Proximity of Blood in his Brothers, and upon the Merits of his own Service formerly done to the King of *France*; which tho' it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into Example to follow.

*His Troubles in his Minority.*

**F**IRST *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedigree from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his Valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes Exception to his Bastardy, and invites Complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: A fair Pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who tho' he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own Person, yet the divine Providence raised him up Friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose Valour this *Roger de Tresney* with his two Brothers was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle lays Claim to the Duchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a Battel, but by the Valour of Count *Gifford*, the Duke's General, was likewise defeated; and these were Troubles before he arrived to seventeen Years of Age. After this, one *Guy* Earl of *Burgoigne*, Grandchild to *Richard* the Second Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his Right to the Dukedom, and joining with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William's* Death, and had effected it, if a certain Fool about him had not stolen away in the Night to the Place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate till he was admitted to his Presence, willing him to fly for his Life instantly, or he would be murdered. The Duke considering that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be Danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away all alone toward *Falaise* his principal Castle; but missing his way, he happen'd to pass where a Gentleman was standing at his Door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the Conspirators came presently, enquiring if such a one had not passed that way; which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their Guide to overtake him; but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*, and from thence journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his Injuries, and imploring his Aid, as one that was his Homager, and committed to his Care by his Servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his Distress, and Remembrance of his Father's Merits, though he wished he was less than he was, yet so aided him, that he made him greater than he was; for himself in Person suffered much in the Battel which procured him the Victory. By which we may see that Folly and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves, are all Assistants to the Destinies; or to say better indeed, to the Divine Providence. Many other

Affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterward by the K. of *France* himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encounter'd with such Dexterity, that made his Bastardy as it were become legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his Person.

*His Carriage afterwards in Peace.*

**B**Y this time he was come to the Age of 22 Years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his State; wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

*His Incitements for invading of England.*

**D**UKE *William* had Incitements to invade *England*, and some Shew of a Title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some Passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessor, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwyn*. And this Recapitulation will give some Light, and is very pertinent to our intended Purpose.

Earl *Godwyn* falling out with K. *Edward*, the Business was carried with such Heat on both Sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwyn* makes his Refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the King's Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles; but *Edward*, jealous of *Godwyn's* Arts and Treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last, upon Conditions they are restored to the King's Favour and their Countrey, Hostages are deliver'd, *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwyn*, and *Harun* his Grandchild, whom the King for more Security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William* his Kinsman. After the Death of *Godwyn*, *Harold* succeeds him Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman: The King in this manner answers him, *Harold*, you may do your Pleasure, and I may permit, tho' I will not consent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the Ruin of the Kingdom, and your own Confusion. *Harold*, notwithstanding obstinate in his Resolution, after a tempestuous Voyage, arrives in *France*, where he is taken Prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the Command and Threats of Duke *William* dismiss'd; and tho' first robb'd of his Treasures and choicest Things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where relating the Cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the Obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time, the Duke taking his Opportunity, enter'd into private Discourse with him, and told him, That King *Edward* being brought up in his Youth together with him, had faithfully

A Fool saves  
Duke *William's*  
Life.



fully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his Heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you shall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our Tie of Friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords: You shall also promise me to secure the Castle of *Dover* for my Service: And I promise you, that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: But seeing himself in such Straits, that he must either venture on a Promise, or hazard an Imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded; and for more Security, with a solemn Oath confirms his Agreement: and returning into *England*, acquaints *Edward* with all these Passages, who replied, *Did not I know William's Disposition, and foretel thee how much Mischief this Journey would bring upon England?* Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient Obligations to expect the Kingdom: But hearing of the Death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was crowned King, he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward*, than wronged by *Harold*; and therefore sent a Messenger to put him in mind of King *Edward's* Promise, and his own Oath. *Harold* returns Answer, That he could not send his Sister over, because she was dead; but if *William* would have her Carcass, he should. Secondly, That he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom which was none of his own. Lastly, He should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their Consent and Advice take a Stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his Answer, was as yet patient; and again, sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by Force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the Promise of *K. Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that as he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus slighted by *Harold*, endeavours to make him honest by Force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a Friend. These were the Incitements which caused *William* in his declining Age to undertake this Expedition; but who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba* above 73 Years of Age, buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy Limbs for the attaining of a Roman Empire?

*The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.*

**D**UKE *William* incensed with *Harold's* Answers, acquaints the Nobility with his Purpose, who with some ado consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of *France*, but specially *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, whose Daughter he had married; and who being at that time Guardian of the

young King of *France*, procured Aid from him also; and to make the Enterprize the more successful, Pope *Alexander* the Second sent him a Banner, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the Hairs of *St. Peter*. So as the Preparation of the Duke both by Sea and Land was very great, having 300 Sail of Ships, and as some write 890, and as one *Norman*, above 1000; and as *Gemeticensis*, 3000; and tho' *Harold* had likewise provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way. For *Toustayne* his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and *Harold Hartfager* King of *Norway* at the same time invading those Parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, That the Duke's Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where tho' he got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the Death both of his Brother *Toustayne*, and of the King of *Norway*, yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he enter'd the Kingdom as easily as one may enter a House when the Doors are all left open. By this means *K. Harold's* Shipping (the best Wall of Defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakened and impaired; yet hearing that Duke *William* was landed at *Pevensey*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke *William* in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his Men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory: And then going himself on Land, it is said his Foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that stood by taking for an evil Sign, No, (saith he) I have by this taken Possession of this Land. And indeed Presages are but as *animus ejus qui præsagit*, as in this Duke's Fall it afterwards fell out. The like Confidence of Spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to join; for he that put on the Duke's Armour, whether out of haste, or out of Perturbation of Mind, putting the fore-part behind, and the back-part before, the Duke seeing it, merrily said, *I see now by this Inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom; taking that for a good Omen, which some other of weaker Spirits would have taken for a bad.* Many Ways of Composition between Duke *William* and *K. Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of Success, and perhaps thinking it a Disgrace to capitulate for that which was now his own; and when one of his Brothers, called *Gyrth*, being less interested, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath which he so solemnly had sworn, *Harold* seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did, being a private Man, could be of force to bind him, now being a Prince. And so on the 14<sup>th</sup> Day of *October*, being *Saturday*, in the Year 1066, (which Day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day,

Duke *William's* Number of Ships to invade *England*.

*K. Harold* prepares to resist Duke *William*.

Duke *William* at his Landing takes a Fall.



A.D. 1066. Birth-day, hoping that the Day of his Birth would not so much degenerate to prove the Day of his Death, tho' this also even bred no good Blood to the Action; for the Soldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their King's Birth-day, spent the Night before in revelling and drinking, where the Soldiers of the Duke, out of Consideration of their next Day's Work, spent the Night in Quietness and Devotion) they joined Battel, (the *Kentish-men* being placed in the fore Front, as by an ancient Custom is their Due, and *K. Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the main Battel) where tho' their Armies were not much unequal in Number, (for they were each of them near about 60000 Men) yet there was great Odds in the Expertness of their Soldiers, and more in the Advantage of their Weapons: For the Duke had with him all the Flower of *France* and *Flanders*, whereas *K. Harold* had lost his best Men in his late Battel; and for Advantage of Weapons, the *Normans* had long Bows and Arrows, which among the *English* at that time were not at all in use. What marvel that the *Normans* got the Victory, tho' *K. Harold* losing his Life, yet lost no Reputation; and tho' the *English* Soldiers shewed no less Valour in being conquered, than the *Normans* did in conquering? One Circumstance may not be omitted, that King *Harold*, as an expert General, had order'd his Men in so firm a Body, that no Force of the *Normans* could disorder their Ranks, till

*Kentish-men* are to be placed in the fore Front of the Battel.

Duke William useth a Stratagem.

*K. Harold* is slain.

Duke William used a Stratagem, commanding his Men to retire, and to counterfeit Flight; by which he drew the *English* on upon a hollow Ground cover'd with Earth, whereinto many of them fell and perished; and besides into an Ambush of his Horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there seems one great Error to have been committed (at least, if it were an Error, and not rather a Necessity) that there was not a supplemental Army provided, (as his Brother *Gryth* would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed; and would have been of great Advantage against a wearied Army. But when, *sic visum est superis*, all human Force is weak, and cannot withstand, all human Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke William that Day fought so valiantly, that he had three Horses killed under him; but *K. Harold* shewed no less Valour in killing many *Normans* with his own Hands; so as the Fight continued doubtful a long time: Till at last *K. Harold* being struck into the Brains with an Arrow, fell down dead; upon whose falling, a base *Norman* Soldier cut off one of his Thighs, while he was yet breathing; which Duke William hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Soldier to be disarmed, and with Shame cashiered. The Body of *K. Harold* his Mother *Thyra* offered a great Sum to have it delivered to her; but the Duke, out of the Nobleness of his Mind, would take no Money, but deliver'd it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham Abbey*, which himself had begun to build, at least to repair. But here *Gyraldus Cambrensis* tells a strange Story, That *Harold*

was not slain in the Battel, but only wounded and lost his left Eye, and then escaped by Flight to *Chester*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorite's Life, in the Cell of *S. James's*, fast by *St. John's Church*.

How Duke William proceeded after his Victory at Hastings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly become a young King: And indeed, nothing so much renews Life, and makes the Years in a manner young again, as Addition of Honour, especially when it is the Fruit of Merit. First therefore, having given publick Thanks to God for his happy Success, he led his Army towards *London*, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new Encounter) but coasting about thro' part of *Kent*, thro' *Sussex*, *Surry*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, where at *Wallingford* he passed over the *Thames*; and then thro' *Oxfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Hertfordshire*, until he came to *Barkhamsted*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Wilfere* Bishop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers, and Men of the greatest Sway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the Defeat at *Hastings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar* had a purpose to set up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal Blood, and Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, and so beloved of the People, that he was called their Darling: But considering his young Years, and other Inabilities, but especially finding the Minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the Sway) to be otherwise inclined, they desisted from that Course. And thus the Duke, without any opposition coming to *London*, was received by Bishops and Lords and all, with great Joy, tho' small Gladness; and if he had not their Hearts, yet he had their Knees; for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord; and upon *Christmas Day* after, he was crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that Office, for some Defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some Asperion in his Manners.

A.D. 1067.

Duke William is crowned King of England.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THO' he hath had the Name of Conqueror, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest; for he took no Man's Living from him, nor dispossest any of their Goods, but such only whose Demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one *Warren* a *Norman*, to whom he had given the Castle of *Sbarnborne* in *Norfolk*. For when *Sbarnborne*, who was Owner of it, acquainted the King, That the Castle was his, and that he had never born Arms against him, he presently commanded *Warren* to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only Vacancies of Offices, and filling up the Places of those who were slain or fled, were the Present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers.

One



A.D. 1067. One special Preferment we cannot omit, That whereas one *Herlowyn*, a Nobleman in *Normandy*, had married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*; he gave to the said *Hugh* the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown; by virtue of which Grant the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons; *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Halton*; *Malbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*; *Eustace*, Baron of *Maupas*; and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrook*: Such an Honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Britain*, all the Lands which sometimes belonged to Earl *Edwyn*. And this Earl of *Britain*, the better to secure the King's Gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*: from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their Titles of Honour.

*What Means be used for securing himself in the Kingdom.*

BESIDES the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal at his Coronation; in Lent following, going into *Normandy*, he took along with him the greatest part of the great Men of the Kingdom, of whom *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheof* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, were the chief; leaving the Care of the Kingdom in his Absence to *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother, and to *William Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*. And to abate the Greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common People are no less to be feared for their Number, than the Nobility for their Greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without Stings, they might afterwards be but Drones. And because there is seldom any Danger from singular Numbers, but all the Danger ariseth from Plurality, therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the Night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at eight a Clock in the Evening, and that in every House they should then put out their Fire and Lights, (which was called *Couvre-feu*) and go to bed. And for more Security, he erected Castles in the most doubtful Places of the Kingdom, one at *York*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his Aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in this very Person find something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For

He takes from the Clergy all temporal Authority.

He takes from the People all their Armour.

He ordains *Couvre feu* at eight a Clock.

first, the People might think themselves in a fort advanced, being now made Members of a great Body, when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former King's chusing; and though a Stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many Veins of the same Blood, and therefore likely also to have some Veins of the same Goodness of their good K. *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a Commending as strong as a Commanding, the Pope's Benediction.

*What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.*

BUT the Body of a State being more obnoxious to Crudities and Ill-humors, than the State of a natural Body, it is impossible to continue long without Distempers; notwithstanding any Preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second Year of his Reign, brake forth the Discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late *Royal Blood*, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of Servitude; who taking along with him his Mother *Agatha* and his two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Countrey where he was born; but by contrary Winds was cast upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a stricter bond of Kindness took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a Match was found, by which in the Person of K. *Henry* the Second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* Blood were conjoined, the Union whereof continues in the Race of our Kings of *England* to this Day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers to *Agatha* the late K. *Harold's* Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrik*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost: And assisted by the *Scots*, they invade the North Parts, spoiling the Countrey, and killing many for the Fault they had themselves committed; but all they could do, was but to forage the Countrey, and so return.

After this, in the third Year of his Reign, A.D. 1069. the two Sons of *Sweyne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a Fleet of 240 Ships entered *Humber*, and invaded the North Parts; with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joined, and foraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *York*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the Fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent Wind, took hold of

A.D. 1068.  
An. Reg. 2.

*Edgar Atheling* is cast upon the Shore of *Scotland*.

Whose Sister *Margaret* K. *Malcolme* marries.

The Danes invaded *England*, and at *York* slay 3000 *Normans*.



A.D. 1069. of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth than the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the Normans that were left in Defence of the City, to the number of 3000, were all slain. K. William hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entred Northumberland, waisting the Countrey that already lay waste; and yet for all this great Rage, was contented with a great Sum of Money to purchase the Danes departure. By these Devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, especially in Northumberland, so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that Men were glad to eat Horses and Dogs, Cats and Rats, and what else is most abhorrent to Nature; and between York and Durham, the space of 60 Miles for nine Years together, there was so utter Desolation, as that neither any House was left standing, nor any Ground tilled.

K. William purchaseth their Departure with a great Sum of Money. Northumberland left desolate sixty Miles together.

A.D. 1076. Many other Insurrections there were in his Reign, as at Exeter, at Oxford, in the Isle of Ely, and many times by the Scots in the Northern Parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most distasteful of him, was that of Roger Fitz. Aubrey Earl of Hereford, Ralph Waler Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, Waltbeoff Earl of Northumberland, with Eustace Earl of Bologne, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of France into England, to incite and join with the Conspirators.) Ralph Waler married the Sister of Roger the young Earl of Hereford, contrary to the express Commandment of K. William: At the Solemnization of the Marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in Normandy, and dispossess him of his Sovereignty; which to perform, they agreed to join theirs with the Danish Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous Combination of all, it happening when he was out of England, at the Siege of Dole, a Castle in Britain belonging to Ralph Waler, and defended against him by the King of France; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their Jealousies of him, and ill Affections towards him; the King of Scotland, and Princes of Wales, ready to assist the Rebels at home; Swaine King of Denmark invading England with a Navy of 200 Sail, to which Drone King of Ireland added 65 Ships. How much such an Action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, in that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinsmen, or in Affinity nearly allied to him: But William's Fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the Field against his Enemies. This grand Conspiracy is discovered by Waltbeoff to Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury, who persuades the Earl to go over to K. William, and inform him in what Danger he was. Notwithstanding this Discovery, Roger and Ralph persist in their intentions, raise Forces to prosecute their Designs: But by the Diligence of Odo the King's Brother, Bishop of Bayeux, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Abbot of Evesham, were so prevented, that they could never unite their Forces; Ralph flies into France; Roger Earl of Hereford is taken, put in Prison, and, as some report, to

death; Waltbeoff, of all lamented, beheaded. A.D. 1076. But all these were easily suppress'd, for they were but scattered Forces, *Et dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*; whereas, if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more than Routs and Riots. Yet some write, That K. William granted Cumberland to Malcolme King of Scots, to hold from him, conditionally, that the Scots should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of England, for which Grant K. Malcolme did him Homage.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in Normandy by his Son Robert, the more dangerous, because unnatural; for by the Instigation and Assistance of Philip King of France, (emulous now of K. William's Greatness) he entred Normandy, and claimed it in his own Right. His Father indeed had made him a Promise of it long before; but Robert impatient of Delay, as counting so long staying to be little better than disinheriting, endeavoured by strong Hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father K. William hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into Normandy, where in a Battel meeting Hand to Hand with his Son, he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the Arm: But his Son perceiving him by his Voice to be his Father, suddenly leaps off his Horse, takes up his Father, cast himself down at his Feet, and humbly intreats his Pardon; which as a Father he easily grants, embraceth his Son, and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly Love, and the Father from the Son a filial Obedience. But tho' his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a Nemesis, or to say better, a Divine Providence that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the King's Severity begat his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the King's Severity: But which of them soever was the Mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, K. William so far trusted his Son Robert, that he sent him with an Army against Malcolme King of Scotland, who had invaded Northumberland, but at the coming of Duke Robert retired. At which time Duke Robert began the Foundation of a Castle upon the River of Tyne; whereof the Town of New-Castle did after take both Beginning and Name, which before this time was called Moncafter. In his twentieth Year in Whitfun-week, he honoured his Son Henry with the Order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his Time, the Custom among the Saxons was, first, he who should receive the Order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the Evening to a Priest; then he continued all that Night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private Devotion: the next Morning he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a Benediction put about his Neck. Lastly, he communicated the Mysteries of the Blessed

Malmesbury.

His Son Robert riseth in Arms against him.

He unhorseth his Father.



A.D. 1076. Body of Christ; and from that time remained a perfect Knight. But this Custom of consecrating Knights, the Normans abhorred.

*His Aptness to forget Injuries.*

CERTAINLY there is no such Goodness of Nature, as Aptness to be reconciled; of which Virtue it seems K. William had a large Proportion, for he seldom remembered Injuries after Submission. Edrick the first that rebelled against him, he placed in Office near about him. Gospatrick, who had been a factious Man, and a Plotter of Conspiracies against him, he made Earl of Gloucester, and trusted him with managing a War against Malcolme King of Scots. Eustace Earl of Boloigne, who in the King's Absence in Normandy, attempted to seize upon Dover Castle, he received afterward into great Favour and Respect. The Earls Marchar and Syward, with Wolnoth the Brother of Harold, a little before his Death, he released out of Prison. Edgar, who was next Heir to the Saxon Kings, and had often attempted by Arms to recover his Right, he not only after twice Defection pardoned, but gave him also Allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty Shillings a Day, or rather a Pound Weight of Silver, and other large Livings besides; so as Edgar finding the Sweetness of Safety, and the Pleasures of a Countrey Life, spent the rest of his Days (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only Walthoeff, Earl of Northumberland and Northampton, of all the English Nobility, was put to Death in all the time of this King's Reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Walthoeff  
Earl of Northumberland  
the only Nobleman put  
to Death in  
all this King's  
Time.

*Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this King's means.*

A.D. 1079. IN the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he subdued Wales, and made it tributary to him, as before in the seventh Year of his Reign he brought Malcolme King of Scots to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if England made him greater than he was before, a King of a Duke, he no less made England greater than it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

An. Reg. 13.

*Of his Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.*

AS his Taxations were many in Number, so they were various in Kind, not always bringing in Money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it: The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first Year of his Reign, after his return out of Normandy; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third Year of his Reign, he ransacked all Monasteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own Use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer Persons of the Realm, fearing K. William's Cruelty, and insatiable Desire of Monies, deposited their Treasures, Jewels, and chiefest Commodities in the Monasteries and Abbies, as in sure Sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own Uses; the King violently seized on all for himself, neither regarding the Sanctity of the Places, nor what Injustice he

did to his own Subjects, but as a conquering Tyrant made their Poverty his own Security. Likewise he seized all Bishops and Abbots what Number of Soldiers they should find to serve him in his Wars: Also the Strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into religious Houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their Charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of Roger Earl of Hertford, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a censual Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from K. Alfred;) so there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly Rent, and the Owner thereof was therein set down: How many Plough-Lands, what Pastures, Fens or Marshes, what Woods, Farms and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every Man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other Goods, what Rent or Commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of Winton, because it was kept in the City of Winchester. By the English it was called Doms-day Book, either by the reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, instead of Domus Dei Book, for that it was laid in the Church of Winchester, in a place called Domus Dei. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two Shillings, and at this time six Shillings upon every Hyde of Land (a Hyde containing, as Master Lambert proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those Lands which he gave to any Man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly Rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage; and if any died, his Heir being within Age, the King received the Profit of his Lands, and had the Custody and disposing of the Heir's Body, until his Age of one and twenty Years. To be short, his Greediness of Mony was so great, that he spared not his own Brother Odo, but found Accusations against him, to the end he might seize upon his Treasure, which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of Profit he forbore to meddle with, that is Vacancies of Abbies and Bishopricks, which he always reserved for the Successors: But then he took another course of far greater Profit, for he compelled all Men to make new Fines at his Pleasure, for Confirmation of any Grant or Privileges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which Device he got into his Possession the greatest part of all the Riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one Particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of Ely, to purchase their Peace, agreed to give him 700 Marks, when coming to pay it, they wanted a Groat in the Weight, (for in those Days greater Sums were not paid by Taile, but by Weight) which the King understanding, denied them all composition for Peace, until with much Suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

The Roll of  
Winton, or  
Doms-Day  
Book.

A Hyde of  
Land, how  
much it con-  
tains.

Wardships  
ordained by  
K. William.

For a Groat  
in Weight  
wanting, a  
1000 Marks  
exactd.

Of



A.D. 1079. Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

He brings in the Laws of Normandy, and causeth them to be written in French.

He brought in the trial by Verdict of twelve Men.

He ordained the four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffs and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their Rents in Corn and other Victuals.

ALTHO' at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of K. Edward then in Use; yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of Normandy; commanding them to be written in French; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all Matters of Forms dispatched in French; upon a Pretence to dignify the French tongue, but with a purpose to intrap Men thro' Ignorance of the Language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the Normans Language predominant in the Kingdom, as he had made their Persons; which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any Footsteps remaining of the Norman Language in the English Tongue. Forms of Judgment, and Trials by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary Use. And all Actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve Men, according to the Custom of Normandy, where the like Form is used, and called by the Name of *Enquest*, with the same Cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this Day; tho' by the Laws of *Ethelred* it appears, that the Trial by twelve Men was in use long before his time. And whereas before the Bishop and the Aldermen were the absolute Judges to determine all Business in every Shire, and the Bishop in many Cases shared in the Benefit of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergy within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in Business concerning Rule of Souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopal. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of K. Edward, all Matters in Question were upon special Penalty decided in their *Gemote*, which was a little Court held monthly in every Hundred: Now he ordained that four times in the Year, for certain Days the same Businesses should be determined in such Places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for Punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium*, corruptly called so, of the Word *Statarium*, or rather of the Board or Table where the Officers sate;) also his Courts of Justice, which always removed with his Court. These Places he furnished with Officers, and assigned four Terms in the Year for determining Controversies among the People. The Place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the King's Tenants who held the Lands of the Crown, paid him no Money at all, but only Corn and other

Victuals; and a just Note of the Quality and Quantity of every Man's ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for Maintenance of the King's House. Only the *Kentish-men* procured the Continuance of their ancient Laws by a Trick: For K. *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two Miles from *GraveSEND*, the *Kentish-men* met him, but in the Form of a moving Wood, by reason of the great Boughs they had cut, and carried in their Hands; and compassing the King about, they only made Suit for the Continuance of their Laws and Customs; of which one special was, That the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind* by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countries, but were partable between all the Sons; and the Privileges which the Owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to Services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conqueror considering that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their Request. But see the Levity of these *Kentish-men*, to hazard themselves more for the preserving a simple Custom, than for preserving the Liberty of themselves and their Countrey: But such is Violence of Conceit, till it be mastered by Time; or rather so very a Changeling is human Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to be abolished, without cutting down so much as a Twig. But one Law especially he made, extremely distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land: For where before they might at their Pleasure hunt and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great Penalty, no less than putting out their Eyes, that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own Delight. And indeed so great Delight he took in that kind of Sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty Miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and fourscore Religious Houses, and made it a Habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this Day is called the *New Forest*. But the lamentable Disasters that have happened to this King's Issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first Year of this King's Reign, he granted to the City of *London* their first Charter and Liberties in as large Form as they enjoyed them in the time of K. *Edward the Confessor*, which he granted at the Suit of *William a Norman*, Bishop of *London*; in grateful Remembrance whereof, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, upon the solemn Days of their Resort to *Paul's*, do still use to walk to the Gravestone where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first that brought the *Jews* to inhabit here in *England*: As likewise he made a Law that whosoever forced a Woman, should lose his Genitals: And in his time long Bows came first

The *Kentish-men* procure the Continuance of their ancient Laws.

He restrains Hunting.

He depopulates twenty six Towns to make the new Forest in *Hampshire*.

He grants to the City of *London* their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought *Jews* into *England*.



A.D. 1079. first into use in England; which as they were the Weapons with which France under this King conquered England, so they were the Weapons with which England under after Kings conquered France; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own Weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of Dover Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, with Immunities as they are at this Day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed, that it is said a Girl might carry a bag of Money all the Country over without Danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used, where before they were only Witnesses to Deeds.

*Affairs of the Church in his Reign.*

**I**N his Time, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was for divers Causes deprived of his Dignity, and kept private all his Life after in the Castle of Winchester: after whom succeeded Lanfrank, an Italian, in that See: who in the twelfth Year of this King's Reign, held a Synod at London, where amongst other things he removed the Bishops Sees from small Towns to great Cities; as from Silliway to Chichester, from Kyrton to Exeter, from Wells to Bathe, from Shirborn to Salisbury, from Dorchester to Lincoln, and from Lichfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry; and not long before, the Bishoprick of Lindisfern, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the River Twede, had been translated to Durham. In the sixth Year of his Reign, a Controversy arising between the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, they appealed to Rome, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of England. Hereupon a Synod is holden at Windsor, where Sentence was given on Lanfrank, then Archbishop of Canterbury's Side; that in Matters of Religion, the Archbishop of York should ever be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Only at Rome it was decreed for matter of Title, That the See of York should be styled Primas Angliæ, and the See of Canterbury Primas totius Angliæ, as it is at this Day. And as the Archbishop of Canterbury, so all the Bishops of Scotland owe Obedience to the Archbishop of York, as to the Primate of Scotland. It shall not be amiss here to write the Journey of Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury to Rome; who in the fifth Year of K. William's Reign made Bishop of Canterbury, went to Rome to obtain the Pall due to Archbishops, taking for his Companions Thomas Archbishop of York, and Remigius Bishop of Lincoln; arrived at Rome, and admitted to the Pope's Prefence, Pope Alexander rose from his Seat, and gently saluting him, faith withal, *This Honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master; to whose Labour I must acknowledge to be due what Learning I have.* The next Day having Audience, he accused the two Companions of his Journey.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they should exercise no temporal Authority at all: So in

Spiritualities he rather raised them, as may be seen by a Passage between Aldred Archbishop of York, and the King; for at a time, upon the Repulse of a certain Suit, the Archbishop in great Discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his Displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his Feet, desired Pardon, and promised to grant his Suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishop's Feet, the Noblemen that were present, put him in mind that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (saith the Archbishop) *let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint Peter.* And as by this Story we see the insulting Pride of a Prelate in those Days; so by another, we may see the equivocating Falsehood of a Prelate at that time: For Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury would often swear, He had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him, That a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost, and therefore to buy a Bishoprick was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;* which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say, (*and to the Holy Ghost,*) but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that Age so barren of Virtue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as William Bishop of Durham, Founder of University-Colledge in Oxford; but especially Bishop Wolston, whom, upon Lanfrank's reporting to be insufficient for the Place for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: When suddenly out of a Divine Inspiration, Wolston answered, *A better than you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them.* And therewithal going to St. Edward's Shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staff upon St. Edward's Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both Lanfrank and the King that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also Osmund Bishop of Salisbury, who devised a Form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *secundum usum Sarum*. In this King's Time was Berengarius, who denied the true Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament: Also in his Time, Pope Gregory the Seventh removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great Troubles arose in England: Also in his Time was instituted the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary: Also in his Time, Pope Gregory the Seventh, in a Synod holden at Rome, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of Rome, where before all Bishops were called Popes.

*Works*

Also long Bows.

Bishops Sees removed.

The Archbishop of York, Primas Angliæ; of Canterbury, Primas totius Angliæ.

Aldred Archbishop of York, his insulting over K. William.

An equivocating Bishop.

A Miracle done upon a Bishop.

A Miracle done by a Bishop.

Prayers devised secundum usum Sarum.

No Priests to be married. Eadmer.



A.D. 1079. Works of Piety, by him and others, in his Time.

**T**HIS King founded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Suffex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a Monument in Memory of his Victory; (but there succeeded a greater Monument in Memory of this *Battel*, if it be true which *Neubrigenfis* saith, that after every small Rain the Grasse where the *Battel* was fought, shews to be of the colour of Blood, and had continued to do so to his Days, who lived in the Time of King *Stephen*, almost 100 Years after the *Battel* was fought;) the Abbey of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called *St. Saviour's*. He founded also the Priory of *St. Nicholas* at *Exeter*, and gave great Privileges to *St. Martin's le Grand* in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward* the Confessor. He also builded the Tower of *London*: Namely, the great white and square Tower there. These were this King's Works of Piety in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded also an Abbey at *Caen*, where his Wife *Maude* built also a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of *St. Stephen's* in *Caen*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much Land in *Berkshire*, some in *Norfolk*, a Mansion in *Woodstreet*, *London*; with many Advowsons of Churches: And even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the said Church, being of his own Foundation: for the Redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this King's Time *Robert*, Son to *Hildebert Lacies* founded the Priory of *Pontefract*: *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyn Childe*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monastery of *S. Saviour's* at *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*. Also in this King's Time, *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, began the Foundation of the New Church, a Work so admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the Building of the East End whereof, the King gave the choice Stones of his Castle at the West End of the City, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*; which Castle having been at that Time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury* did afterwards found a Monastery of *Black-Fryers*. The King also gave the Mannor of *Starford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his Successors in that See; after whose Decease, *Richard* his next Successor bestowed all the Rents of his Bishoprick to advance the Building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony; and yet all he could do, made no great Shew, but the finishing of the Work was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fourteenth Year of this King's Reign, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury* founded the Abbey of *Shrewsbury*. He also built another at *Wenlock*. In the fifteenth Year of this King's Reign, *William* Bishop of *Durham* founded University-College in *Oxford*; Also one *Gilbert* a Norman Lord founded the Abbey of *Merton*

St. Paul's Church new builded.

University College in Oxford founded.

in *Surrey*, seven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, first builded the Minster of *York*. In this King's sixteenth Year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being sent against the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this Day standeth *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by *K. John*. Also in this King's Time, *Ledes* Castle in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Castle of *Oxford* by *Robert d'Oylie*, two Noblemen that came into *England* with him. *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the New Church there.

Casualties happening in his Time.

**I**N the twentieth Year of his Reign, so great a Fire happened in *London*, that from the West Gate to the East Gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of *St. Paul*; the most grievous Fire that ever happened in this City. Also this Year, by reason of Distemperature of Weather, Thunders and Lightenings, by which many Men perished, there ensued a Famine, and afterwards a miserable Mortality of Men and Cattel; and which is very strange, Hens, Peacocks, Geese, and Ducks, bred in and accustomed to Houses, forsook their wonted Hives, and turned wild. (*Mat. West. Anno Dom. 1087.*) Also this Year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-shore, was found the Body of *Gawen*, Sister's Son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*, reported to be fourteen Foot in Length. Also in this King's Time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice; and tho' he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice still followed him, and at last devoured him.

Of his Wife and Children.

**H**E had to Wife, and her only, *Matbilde*, or *Maude*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was crowned Queen of *England* the second Year of his Reign; the seventeenth Year of his Reign she died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert*, the eldest called *Court-cuyse*, of his short Thighs; or *Court-hose*, of his short Breeches; or *Courtois*, of his courteous Behaviour, (for so many are the Comments upon his Name) succeeded his Father in the Duchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Son was kill'd by Misfortune, hunting in the *New-Forest*. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Son, called *Beauclerk*, for his Learning, had by his Father's Will 5000 Pounds in Money, and the Inheritance also of his Mother. His Daughters were *Cecile*, *Constance*, *Adela*, *Margaret* and *Elenor*, of whom *Cecile* was Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constance* was married to *Allen* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married,

A.D. 1079.

New-Castle upon Tyne builded.

The Body of Gawen, Sister's Son to King Arthur, found. A Lord eaten up with Mice.

Robert Courtois, why so called.



A.D. 1079. and died young. *Elenor* betrothed to *Alphon-*  
*fus* King of *Gallicia*, but desiring to die a Vir-  
 gin, she had her Wish, spending her Time  
 so much in Prayer, that with continual kneel-  
 ing her Knees were brawned.

Good Devo-  
 tion.

*Of his Personage and Condition.*

HE was but mean of Stature, yet big of  
 Body, and therewithal so strong, that  
 few were able to draw his Bow: Growing in  
 Years he was bald before; his Beard always  
 shaven after the manner of the *Normans*; and  
 in his younger Time he was much given to  
 that Infirmary of Youth, which grows out of  
 Strength of Youth, Incontinency. After he  
 was once married, whether out of Satiety, or  
 out of Grace, he was never known to offend  
 in that kind. Of so perfect Health, that he  
 was never sick till that sickness whereof he  
 died. Of a stern Countenance, yet of an  
 affable nature: In War, as expert as va-  
 liant: In Peace, as provident as prudent:  
 and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as  
 bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting  
 and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant  
 than magnificent. He made no great Pro-  
 ficiency in Learning, as having had his Edu-  
 cation in the Licentiousness of the *French*  
 Court: yet he favoured learned Men, and  
 drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*,  
*Terberne*, and divers others, famous at that  
 Time for Learning and great Piety. Very  
 devout he was, and always held the Clergy  
 in exceeding great Reverence. And this is  
 one special Honour attributed unto him,  
 That from him we begin the Computation  
 of our Kings of *England*.

*His Places of Residence.*

HIS Christmas he commonly kept at *Glo-*  
*cester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, and his  
*Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*, and once in the  
 Year at one of these Places would be new  
 crowned; as tho' by often putting on his  
 Crown, he thought to make it fit the easier  
 upon his Head. And for the Houses which  
 the Kings of *England* had in those Days in  
*London*; I find that at *Westminster* was a Pa-  
 lace, the ancient Habitation of the Kings of  
*England*, from the Time of *Edward* the Con-  
 fessor; which in the Reign of *K. Henry* the  
 Eighth, was by casual Fire burnt down to  
 the Ground. A very large and stately Palace  
 this was, and in that Age for Building in-  
 comparable. The Remains whereof are the  
 Chamber of assembling the High Court of  
 Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein  
 anciently they were wont to begin the Par-  
 liament, called *St. Edward's* Painted Cham-  
 ber; because the Tradition holdeth, that the  
 said *K. Edward* died in it. Adjoining unto  
 this, is the *White-Hall*, wherein at this Day  
 the Court of Requests is kept. Beneath this,  
 is the great Hall, where Courts of Justice are  
 now kept. This Hall, which we now have,  
 was built by *K. Richard* the Second out of  
 the Ground; as appeareth by his Arms en-  
 graven in the Stone-work, (when he had  
 plucked down the old Hall, built before by  
*William Rufus*) and made it his own Habita-  
 tion. But the aforefaid Palace, after it was

*K. William*  
 new crowned  
 every Year.

*Westminster*  
 Palace the  
 ancient Ha-  
 bitation of  
 the Kings of  
*England*.

*Westminster-*  
*Hall* built by  
*Richard* the  
 Second.

burnt down in *Anno* 1512, lay desolate, and A.D. 1079.  
*K. Henry* the Eighth shortly after translated  
 the King's Seat to a House not far off, built  
 by Cardinal *Wolsey*, and is called *White-Hall*. *White-Hall*,  
 The Tower of *London* was anciently used by when made  
 the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other the King's  
 Houses they anciently had; one where *Bride-*  
*well* now standeth; out of the Ruins whereof,  
 the now *Bridewell* was built. Another called  
 the *Tower-Royal*, now the King's Wardrobe.  
 Another in *Bucklersbury*, called *Sernes* Tower.  
 Another where now the *Popes-Head* Tavern  
 is, over-against the *Old Exchange*, thought to  
 have been the Kings House; also another in  
*Limestreet*, called the King's *Artrice*; also  
 another in the *Old-Jury*; and oft-times they  
 made use of *Baynard's Castle*. But these are  
 all long since demolished, that we may see  
 Palaces and Places have their Fates and Peri-  
 ods as well as Men.

*His Death and Burial.*

TOWARDS the End of his Reign, he  
 appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and  
*Henry*, with joint Authority, Governors of  
*Normandy*. These went together to visit the  
 King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where en-  
 tertaining the Time with Variety of Sports,  
*Henry* played with *Lewis* the Heir of *France*  
 at Chesse, and winning much Money of him,  
*Lewis* grew so cholerick, that he threw the  
 Chesse-men at *Henry's* Face, calling him the  
 Son of a Bastard; and thereupon *Henry* struck  
*Lewis* with the Chesse Board, and had present-  
 ly slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not  
 stepp'd in and stayed him. Upon this the  
 King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and draws  
*Robert*, *K. William's* eldest Son, to join with  
 him against his Father: But *K. William* com-  
 ing presently over with an Army, was soon  
 reconciled to his Son; yet being corpulent  
 and in Years, was by this means much distem-  
 pered in Body, and so retired to *Roan*, where  
 he stayed, as not being well in Health. The  
*French* King hearing of his Sickness, scoffing-  
 ly said, That he lay in Child-bed of his great  
 Belly. Which so incensed *K. William*, that  
 he swore by God's Resurrection and his  
 Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he  
 should be church'd of that Child, he would  
 offer a thousand Lights in *France*: And in-  
 deed he performed it; for he entered *France*  
 in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-  
 fields on Fire, in which he was so violent,  
 that by reason of his Travel, and the unrea-  
 sonable Heat, being in the Month of *August*,  
 it brought upon him a Relapse of his Sick-  
 ness, and withal, leaping on Horseback over  
 a Ditch, his fat Belly did bear so hard upon  
 the Pummel of his Saddle, that he took a  
 Rupture in his inner Parts; whereupon re-  
 turning to *Roan*, his Sickness so increased,  
 that in short time he died. And that which  
 is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain,  
 the very same Day he died at *Roan*, his Death A.D. 1087.  
 was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off;  
 which if it be true, it seems there are certain  
 invisible Intelligencers, that can make such  
 Speed: Whereof *Froissard* tells us a strange  
 Story; and for the Strangeness not unworthy  
 to be here related. There was (saith he) in  
 the

The *French*  
 King scoffs at  
*K. William's*  
 great Belly.

*K. William's*  
 Death known  
 the same Day  
 he died a  
 thousand  
 Miles off.



A.D. 1087. the Time of K. Edward the Third, a Knight in France called *Corasse*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very Day it was done, or within a Day or two; how far soever it were off; and this he did by such an invisable Intelligencer. For he had gotten a familiar Spirit, called *Ortbone*; who brought him the News continually, and held on this course with him divers Years, till at last he lost him by this Occasion. He had only heard the Voice of his Spirit *Ortbone*, and now had great Longing to see his Shape; whereupon the Spirit seeing his earnestness, Well then (saith he) to Morrow Morning when you rise out of your Bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising in the Morning looked out, but could see nothing: Whereupon he blamed his Spirit *Ortbone*, for not keeping his Promise with him. *Ortbone* answered, He had kept his Promise: For, saith he, bethink your self, what it was you first saw after your rising. Then the Knight bethinking himself, remembered he saw two Straws upon the Ground, tumbling upon one another: Why, saith *Ortbone*, that was I. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a Shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then, said *Ortbone*, to Morrow Morning, when you arise, the first thing you see, that shall be I. So the next Morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it; and thereupon caused his Men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away; which being done, the Sow vanished away. After this his Spirit *Ortbone* never came to him any more. And this Relation *Froissard* had from the Knight's own Mouth: And by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the Death of K. William was known at Rome the very Day he died at Roan, tho' a thousand Miles asunder. And now to go on with the Story, William the Conqueror in all the time of his Sickness retained to the very last his Memory and Speech; and shewed many Demonstrations of his Devotion, and true Contrition, specially for his Severity used towards the English. And thus he who was a Conquerour of Men, was conquered himself by Death, the ninth Day of September, when he had reigned twenty Years, and near eleven Months, in the threescore and fourth Year of his Age; *Malmesbury* saith in the fifty ninth. I may well say, he was conquered by Death, seeing Death used him more despitefully than ever he living used any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the Breath out of his Body, but his Attendants purloining what they could lay Hands on, forsook him and fled, leaving his Body almost naked upon the Ground. Afterwards, William Archbishop of Roan, commanded his Body should be conveyed to Caen, but his command was little regarded: till at last, one *Herlewyne*, a Countrey Knight, at his own Charges caused his Body to be embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the Corps, suddenly in the midst of their

K. William being dead, how neglected and molested at his Burial.

Solemnities, a violent Fire brake out in the Town, with the Fright whereof, every man left the Place; and thus was his Body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Hearse to the Abbey Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the Body ready to be laid in the Grave, one *Anselm Fitz Arthur* stood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Father's House, which K. William had violently wrested from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful Face of God, not to cover his Body with the Earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after some Pause, Agreement was made with him, and three Pound was paid in Hand for the Ground broken up, and an hundred Pounds more afterwards for the Ground it self, paid him by Henry the King's youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his Body was to be put in the Earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of Stone which stood with the Grave, was hewen somewhat too strait for his fat Belly, so as they were fain to press it down with some Violence, with which, whether his Bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural Passage, such an intolerable Stink proceeded from him, that none were able to endure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his Miseries; for in the Year 1562, when the Admiral *Coligny* took the City of Caen, certain dissolute Soldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treasure they expected, threw forth his Bones with great Derision: Whereof some were afterward brought into England. So that if we consider his many Troubles in his Life and after his Death, we may well think, that notwithstanding all his Greatness, a very mean Man would hardly be persuaded to change Fortunes with him. He bore the same Arms as peculiar to the Crown of England, which all succeeding Princes have used: namely, Three Lions passant Gold in a Field Gules: For as for the Three Flower-de-luces, they were added by K. Edward the Third, upon his Claim of the Crown of France.

The Arms born by King William.

Men of Note in his Time.

MEN of Learning in his Time were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, an Historiographer, and \* *Aluredus* a Monk of *Beverly*, a Writer also of historical Argument. And as for the Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a Time of Servitude, but as if all the English Valour were now remaining in the Kentish Men, they only made Resistance, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this Time, what a private Norwegian Soldier did, who himself alone upon a Bridge resisted the whole Army of the English, slew forty of them, and maintained the Place for divers Hours together, till one getting under the Bridge, found Means to thrust up a Spear into his Body, and killed him.

\* He lived a long time after, his History being written about K. Stephen's Time. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of Crowland, should have been mentioned instead of him.



# T H E R E I G N O F

## King *William* the Second.

A.D. 1087.  
*William Rufus*  
is crowned.

**K**ING *William* the Second, called *Rufus*, third Son to *William* the Conqueror, appointed Successor by his Father's Will, was upon the fifth of *October*, in the Year 1087, by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the Example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: For with his Sword and Bow had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*, and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was Cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary Favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his Quarrel incurred no small Hazard of his Life, as wherein he received divers Wounds: And perhaps also, his Father thought the rough Disposition of this Son fitter to bridle the Insurrections of the *English*, than the softly Disposition of his Son *Robert*.

His Brother  
is incited to  
claim the  
Crown.

He is com-  
pounded with  
for 3000  
Marks a Year.

But though he had thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very Beginning is assaulted with two Troubles in one; for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first Mover of this Trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the Sway he expected, and specially for an old Grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former King's Time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, That though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent*, (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and temporal Lords to join with him, in Behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King: But tho' the Storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more Difficulty; but that of his Brother *Robert* with more Cost: For it was at last agreed, That *Rufus* should pay him 3000 Marks a Year during his Life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own Decease. But there was Difficulty in repressing his rebel Lords by reason of their spreading

themselves abroad in many Quarters. For A.D. 1087. *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*; *Roger Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandmenil*, in *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray*, Earl of *Northumberland*, possessed himself of *Bristol*; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North Parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy and Nobility, fortify themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all the Countries adjoining to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King, that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easy to repress them at leisure; for being thus divided, they were but as single Sticks, that are easily broken; whereas if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a Strength of far greater Resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side; partly by their Authority and Love amongst the People; but chiefly by his own Promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them Liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly wone the Hearts of all unto him, that some of the rebel Lords he reconciled with fair Words; as *Robert Montgomery* (a principal Sinew of the Faction;) some again he master'd by strong Hand; and *Odo*, the chief Engineer of all the Work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rochester*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that tho' so many hot Bloods were up, yet there was but little Blood spilt. A happy Rebellion for the *English*; for the rebel Lords and Bishops being all *Normans*, the King had none to trust to but the *English*, whom for their Faithfulness to him in this Service, he ever after respected more than he had done before.

The Rebel  
Lords are  
wone or o-  
vercome.

The *English*  
firmer to K.  
*William* than  
the *Normans*.

This Year died *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen Years, who had brought the Monks to some good Order, that before his Time follow'd Hunting and Hawking, Dicing and Carding, to the great Discredit of their Profession.

After this Storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; for now  
*Malcolme*



A.D. 1090. *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to do some Feats when King *William* was troubled at home, invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Countrey, returns home laden with Booties: Which King *William* hearing, he takes his Brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient Homage; and upon Faith given, returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his Brother *K. William* not to keep his Promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his Aid, assaults and takes some Towns, which he before had delivered in Pawn for Money to his Brother *K. William*; who hearing of it, hastens into *Normandy* with an Army, and by the Mediation of Money, takes off the King of *France*, and makes his Brother, being left destitute of Assistance, to ask him Pardon; a wise and merciful Course in *K. William*; for to buy his Peace with the King of *France*, did cost him but Money; where to have purchased it by War, must, besides Money, have cost the Lives of many.

A.D. 1093. After this, *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, came in Kindness to visit *K. William* at *Glocester*; but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him in so great an Indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great Spoil, and getting great Spoils; but by *Robert Mowbray*, the King's Lieutenant there, was taken in Ambush, and together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolme* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary Strain. For hearing of a Conspiracy plotted to murder him, whereof one was Author, whose Name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one Day a hunting, he took the Fellow apart from the Company, and being alone, said unto him, *Here now is a fit Time and Place to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your Weapon, and if you kill me, none being present, you can incur no Danger.* With which Speech of the King, the Fellow was so daunted, that presently he fell down at his Feet, confessed his Fault, humbly asked Forgiveness, and that being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The Death of King *Malcolme* and his Son was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen, the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to overlive them, and so within three Days after died. A Woman as full of Virtues all her Life, as at this Time of Sorrows, whom yet I should not break Order to mention, but for one pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous Custom of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a Man married, his Lord should lie the first Night with his Bride: which Custom by her Endeavour was altered to a Payment in Money.

With Grief of whose Death his Queen *Margaret* dieth within three Days.

A barbarous Custom in *Scotland* abrogated by her Means.

After these Troubles were ended in the North, a new Trouble ariseth in the West;

for now the *Welshmen* hearing of *K. William's* A.D. 1098. Distractions, enter upon the *English Borders*, making Spoil and Havock of Men and Towns; whom *K. William* went with an Army to encounter, but could do no Good upon them, till he was fain to return to *London*, and provide himself a stronger Army. About this Time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in *K. William's* Service formerly slain, finding his Service not rewarded as he expected, enters into Conspiracy against the King: But the King being informed of the Practice, seizeth suddenly upon many of his Complices; and himself, after many Devices and Shifts for Flight, is taken and put in Prison, in the Castle of *Windfor*. After this, *K. William*, to take a farther Revenge of the *Welsh*, and to make an absolute Conquest of that unquiet People, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinks with new Devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them; but they defending themselves with their Woods and mountainous Passages, tire and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the Business to two *Hughs*, one Earl of *Salop*, the other of *Chester*, who first invaded and took *Anglesey*, (their Island of Refuge) where they used all kind of Cruelty, pulling out of Eyes, and cutting off Hands and Noses: In prosecuting of which Business, *Hugh* Earl of *Salop* was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* entered *Wales*, and in the end with the Slaughter of *Rees* the last King of *Wales*, made an absolute Conquest of the Countrey: For after this, tho' they often rebelled, yet they were in a true Subjection. And these for the most part were all the Troubles of his Reign: Where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them; and from none of them he ever fled, but still was the Pursuer; and yet so many as might have well taken away all the Comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a Pair of Beads; but that Ambition, tho' sometimes weary, yet never tires.

*His Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.*

IN the second Year of his Reign, *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good Order; but as soon as he was dead, the King, as tho' he were then got loose, ranged without Reins, in all Licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When *Bishopricks* or *Abbies* were vacant, it was familiar with him to seize them into his own Hands, as this of *Lanfrank's* he kept to his own use for four Years together, and longer would have kept it, if a Sickness of his Body had not healed this Disease of his Mind: For finding himself in some Hazard of Death, he then conferred the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent Men of that Time: But as soon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done,

An. Reg. 11.

*Wales* absolutely conquered by *K. William*.

*Rees* the last King of *Wales* slain.

*K. William* keeps *Abbies* and *Bishopricks* vacant in his Hands.

K and



A.D. 1098. and he was not quiet till he had drawn from the said *Bloet* five thousand Pounds, and from *Anselm* also good Sums of Money. For he repented not more in Time of Sicknes for the Evil he had done in Health, than being in Health he repented of the Good he had done in Sicknes; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but Health, and nothing made him be in Health but Sicknes. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a Custom with him, that he kept in his Hands at one time three Bishopricks, *Canterbury*, *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, and twelve Abbies; all which he let out to farm, and received the Profits; and from this King the Use is said to have risen first in *England*, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalities of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great Sum of Money, he raised it in this manner: He caused twenty thousand Men to be levied, under pretence for his Wars in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be shipp'd, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten Shillings towards the levying of Soldiers in *Normandy*, should be excused from going, and stay at home, which was so plausible an Offer to the Army, that scarce a Man was found that accepted not that Condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land, he pawned his Duchy of *Normandy* to his Brother *K. William* for 6666 Pounds, or as some write, for 12600, which Money *K. William* took up, part by a grievous Imposition; so that Bishops melted their Plate, and the temporal Lords spoiled their Tenants for the Payment thereof, and part by Loan, but chiefly of religious Persons. He sold the Abbey of *Glastenbury* to *Thurstan* for five hundred Pounds; and when he built *Westminster-Hall*, he made that an Occasion to lay a heavy Tax upon the People, who grudged at it as done on purpose. He usually sold all spiritual Preferments to them who would give most, and took Fines of Priests for Fornication; as also he took Money of *Jews*, to cause such of them as were converted, to renounce Christianity, and return to Judaism, as making more Benefit by their Unbelief, than by their Conversion. He caused divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for transgressing his Laws, tho' the Fault were never so small. He set forth a Proclamation that none should go out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much Money from many; for either they must tarry at home and live discontented, or else content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Custom or Law of *Ne exeat Regno*, seems to have taken its Beginning: For Precedents of Servitude are sure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly still-born. These were his Ways for raising of Money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling Servants; and the most officious of all was *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, of whom he would often say, there was not such a Man in the World to serve a King's

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalities of Bishops Sees vacant.

Fines taken of Priests for Fornication.

*Ne exeat Regno*, whence it began.

Turn. And yet he was not so greedy of A.D. 1098. Lucre, but that he did some Acts that may serve for Examples; as one time, an Abbey being vacant, two Monks of the Convent came Suiters to him for the Place, offering great Sums, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and espying another Monk standing not far off, asked him what he would give for the Place? Who answering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it. Well (said the King) *thou hast spoken honestly, thou art fitter to be Abbot than either of these*; and so bestowed the Place upon him gratis.

A notable part of King William.

#### Of his Magnanimity.

WORD was brought him as he fate at Dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was besieged, and in great Danger to be taken, if not presently relieved: Whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay, and then caused *Masons* presently to take down the Wall, to make him Passage the next way, and so rode instantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, advising him to stay till his People were ready, No (saith he) *such as love me, I know will follow me*. And being come on Shipboard, and the Weather growing very tempestuous, he was advised by the Master of the Ship to stay for some calmer Season: No (saith he) *fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned*. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, presently dispersed the Besiegers, and took *Helias*, Count de la *Flesche*, who had been Author of the Tumult, Prisoner; who vaunting to the King, and saying, *Now indeed you have taken me by a Wile; but if I were at Liberty again, you should find me to do other kind of Feats*. At which the King laughing, Well then (saith he) *go your ways and do your worst, and let us see what Feats you will do*. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he assisted him to recover the Fort of Mount *St. Michael*, which their Brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: During which Siege, straggling one time alone upon the Shore, he was set upon by three Horsemen, who assaulted him so fiercely, that they drove him from his Saddle, and his Saddle from his Horse; but he taking up his Saddle, and withal drawing out his Sword, defended himself till Rescue came; and being afterward blamed for being so obstinate to save his Saddle, he answered, it would have angered me at the very Heart, that the Knaves should have bragged they had wone the Saddle from me.

*In what he was just in keeping his Word, in what he was failing.*

THIS Virtue especially was commended in him, and he would often say, That even God himself was obliged by his Word. But if we observe the Course of his Life, we shall find, that howsoever he might keep his Word in small Matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kept not his Word with his Brother *Robert*, to whom he promised to leave



A.D. 1098. leave his Kingdom of *England* after his Decease, but performed it not. He kept not his Word with his Subjects; for in the Rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promised the *English*, if they would now stick to him, they should have their ancient Laws restored, and be allowed Liberty to hunt in his Forests; which Promise he kept not at all, or at least soon brake. Lastly, he kept not his Word with God himself; for being sick at *Glocester*, and in some Hazard of his Life, he made a solemn Vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new Life, and give over all his disorderly Courses: But being recovered, he grew more disorderly than he was before: That if Denomination be made from the greatest Action, it cannot be truly said, that he was just to his Word. But such is the Privilege of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a Promise, it must be believed; and if they break it, it must not be questioned.

*Of his Incontinency and Prodigality.*

MUCH is spoken of his lascivious Life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any Violence he ever offer'd to any, nor is any Woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are seldom concealed. It is true, he was never married, and of a strong Constitution of Body, and so probably he might be inclined to that Vice: But Probabilities are not always concluding; and therefore whether it be a true Accusation, or but a Slander, it may well be doubted; one base Son is spoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in Honour, and matched in a noble Family. But why should we look more for Particulars of his Incontinency, than of his Prodigality? For he was taxed no less for being prodigal, than for being incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one Instance recorded, unless we take this for an Instance, that when his Chamberlain brought him a Pair of Hofs, which because they were new, he asked what they cost; and being told they cost three Shillings, in a great Chafe he threw them away; asking him if he thought a Pair of Hofs of three Shillings to be fit for a King to wear! Get thee gone (saith he) and let me have a Pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another Pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry, (saith the King) these are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, than with seeing what they were worth: And yet was this no Imputation to his Wisdom, for to say the truth, it is no Defect of Wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his Clothes are worth.

*Of his wavering in Religion.*

HE appointed a Disputation to be held between Christians and *Jews*, and before the Day came, the *Jews* brought the King a Present, to the end they might have an indifferent Hearing: The King took the

Present, encouraging them to quit themselves like Men; and swore by *St. Luke's* Face (his usual Oath) that if they prevailed by Disputation, he would himself turn *Jew*, and be of their Religion. A young *Jew* on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young Man answer'd, he wonder'd his Majesty would use such Words: For being a Christian, he should rather persuade him to Christianity: With which Answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young Man to get him out of his Sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his Money again: Nay, saith the King, I have taken Pains enough for it; and yet that thou mayest see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half, and the other half you cannot in Conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the King's Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemn'd to the Trial of Fire, which by God's merciful Judgment they passed through untouch'd; the King hearing it, and deceived of the Confiscation expected, is said in a great Chafe to say, How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted in many Points of Religion then in credit: For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any Man in God's Sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise, (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to *Peter*, or to any other, for Help.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

THE King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his Right, and forbade Appeals and Intercourse to *Rome*: For Appeals had been seldom used, till *Anselm* in this King's Reign appealed to the Pope; upon whose Complaint the Pope was about to excommunicate the King; but having a little before excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth, he forbore at that time to do it; lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this Time great Contention arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*; and *Anselm* not yielding to the King in any Point prejudicial to the Pope's Authority, nor the King yielding to *Anselm* in any Point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were Points indeed incompatible) the Contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the Second; another set up by the Emperor, called *Clement* the Third: For *Anselm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*: And thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves.

K. William never married.

A costly Suit for a King.

K. William takes Money to persuade a Christian Jew to turn to Judaism. Eadmerus.

A blasphemous Speech of K. William.

K. William trusted not to the Prayers of Saints.

Wilfred before this appealed to the Pope, as Bede largely relateth.

Contentions between the King and Archbishop Anselm.



A.D. 1098. selves. And this Contention, tho' palliated with Pretensions, sometimes of one side, sometimes of another; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this King's Time, and in the Time of many Kings after. *Anselm* often threatening his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm, but if he would go without his Leave, he would then keep him out during his Pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet *Anselm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to riste him in his Passage at Sea of all he had, neither suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the Profits of his Archbishoprick to his own Use. It may not be amiss to shew a Passage here concerning the first Cause of Contention between the King and *Anselm*, which some say was this: The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See; which *Anselm* refused to give, as judging it no less Simony to give after the Preferment, than before: But yet afterward offering five hundred Pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much; whereupon *Anselm* told him, *Your Grace may have me and all that is mine, to serve your Turn in a friendly manner; but in the way of Servitude and Bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine.* Which Words so angered the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this King's Reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Christian Princes to join together for Recovery of *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land: And by the soliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, they assembled for that Enterprize, under the Conduct of *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, to the Number of three hundred thousand Men; amongst whom was *Robert Duke of Normandy*, who so valiantly carried himself in the Action, that after *Jerusalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him: But he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*, and therefore refusing it, it is observed he never prospered all his Life after. In this King's Reign, altho' he had no Command in *Ireland*, yet their Bishop of *Dublin* was sent over to *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop, procured *Mercherdach King of Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his Consent. Also in this King's Days the Pope forbade the Marriage of Priests.

*Works of Piety by this King, or by others in his Time.*

THE King gave the Monks of *Southwark* the Church of *St. Saviour of Bermonsey*, and *Bermonsey* itself: He also founded at *York* the Hospital of *St. Leonard's*: He gave the Church of *St. Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishop's See. *Hugh Earl of Chester*, in this King's Days, builded the Abbey of *Chester*: *Oswald Bishop of Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*. *Remigius Bishop of Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick

might be removed to *Lincoln*, began to build A.D. 1098. the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of *St. John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired *Christ's Church*, and caused five and twenty Manors to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abbey of *St. Albans*, and the Church of *Rocheſter*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the Number of fifty Monks. In the sixth Year of this King's Reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suffex*. In his twelfth Year, *Robert Loſaunge* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

*His Buildings and Structures.*

THIS King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new Walls: He also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270 Foot in length, and 74 in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the *Thames* to the *King's-street*. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been waſted by the *Danes* two hundred Years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern Parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the Borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breast of *Wales*.

*Casualties happening in his Reign.*

IN the fourth Year of his Reign, on *St. Luke's Day*, above 600 Houses in *London* were thrown down with Tempest, and the Roof of *St. Mary-le-Bow Church* in *Cheapside*, was so rased, that in the Fall six of the Beams, being twenty seven Foot long, were driven so deep into the Ground, (the Streets being not then paved with Stone) that not above four Foot remained in Sight, and yet stood in such Rank and Order as the Workmen had placed them upon the Church. Also in this King's Reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwyn*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwyn's Sands* to this Day. In his eleventh Year, at a Town called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Berks*, a Well cast out Blood, as before it had done Water; and after by the space of fifteen Days, great Flames of Fire were seen in sundry Places, and at sundry Times.

*Of his Personage and Condition.*

HE was but mean of Stature, thick and square bodied, his Belly swelling somewhat round, his Face was red, his Hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*; his Forehead four square like a Window; his Eyes spotted, and not one like another; his Speech unpleasant and stammering, especially when he was moved with Anger. Concerning

*Anselm* fleeth the Realm, and not suffered to return during the King's Life.

Liberty of the Subject.

*Godfrey of Bulloigne* undertakes the Recovery of *Jerusalem*. *Robert Duke of Normandy* refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, never prospered after.

*Bathe* made a Bishop's See.

The Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suffex* is founded.

*Westminster-Hall* built by this King.

A strange Fall. The Streets in this King's Time not paved with Stone.

*Godwyn's Sands* in *Kent*.



A.D. 1098. cerning the Qualities of his Mind, they may best be known by looking upon the Actions of his Life; in which we shall find he was never more assured, than when he was least sure; never less dejected, than when in most Extremity; being like a Cube, that which way soever he fell, he was still upon his Bottom. For his Delights to pass the Time, there was none in more Request with him than Hunting, a Delight hereditary to him; which was the Cause that as his Father had begun the great *New Forest*, so he enlarged it to a far greater Extent. Other Delights of his we find not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for Delights; for tho' they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them; yet sometimes he enter'd into them when he needed not, but for his Pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest Virtues, was that which is one of the greatest Virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst Vice, was that which is the worst of Vices, Irreligion.

*Presages that preceded his Death.*

No Warning  
can prevent  
Destiny.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Berkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a Spring cast up Liquor for the space of fifteen Days, in Substance and Colour like to Blood. The Night before the King was kill'd, a certain Monk dreamed that he saw the King gnaw the Image of *Christ* Crucified with his Teeth; that as he was about to bite away the Legs of the same Image, *Christ* with his Feet spurned him down to the Ground; and that as he lay on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire, with abundance of Smoak. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz Mammon*, he made a Jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred Shillings, but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same Night, the King himself dreamed that the Veins of his Arms were broken, and that the Blood issued out in great abundance; and many other like Passages there were, by which it seems he had Friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Cæsar*, that did all they could to give him warning: But that, as *Cæsar's*, so his *malus Genius* would not suffer him to take.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

KING *William* having kept his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, his *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*; notwithstanding forewarned by many Signs of some great Disaster toward him, would needs the Day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the *New Forest*;

yet something resenting the many Passages, A.D. 1098. he staying within all the Forenoon: About Dinner-time an Artificer came and brought him six Cross-Bow Arrows, very strong and sharp; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*, his Bow-Bearer, saying, Here *Tyrrel*, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: And so having at Dinner drank more liberally than his Custom, as it were in Contempt of Presages, out he rides into the *New Forest*, where Sir *Walter Tyrrel* shooting at a Deer, at a Place called *Charingham*, (where since a Chapel hath been erected) the Arrow glanced against a Tree, or as some write, grazed upon the Back of the Deer; and flying forward, hit the King upon the Breast; with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common Consent of all; only one *Sugerus*, a Writer that lived at that Time, and was a familiar Acquaintance of the said *Tyrrel's*, against the Current of all Writers, affirms, that he had often heard the said Sir *Walter* swear, that he was not in the Forest with the King all that Day. I have been the longer upon this Point, because a more pregnant Example of God's Judgment remains not any where upon Record. For not only this King at this Time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great Hope, and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this Place to violent Deaths; that altho' *K. William* the Founder of the Forest escaped the Punishment in his own Person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his Issue. Thus died *K. William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth Year of his Age, and twelfth and some Months of his Reign: His Body was drawn in a Collier's Cart, with one Horse, to the City of *Winchester*, where the Day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Swithine*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble Stone; till afterwards it was translated, and laid by *K. Canutus's* Bones.

*Men of Note in his Time.*

FOR Men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: For Men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Bishop of *Canterbury*; also *Robert*, a *Lorain*, who epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: Also *Turgotus* an *English-man*, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own Time, and divers other Works; but especially *Osmond* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who composed the Ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.



# T H E R E I G N O F

## King Henry the First.

*Of his coming to the Crown.*

A.D. 1100.

**A**LTHO' Henry came not to the Crown, as his Brother William did, by the Gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate in Land between his two eldest Sons, giving to Henry his youngest only a Portion in Money, with which Division he perceived him to be much discontented, he said unto him, *Content thy self Harry, for the Time will come, that thy Turn shall be served as well as theirs.* And now the Time was come that his Prediction was accomplished; for on the fifth of August, in the Year 1100, he was crowned King of England at Westminster by Maurice Bishop of London, (as Dean of all the Bishops of England, and therefore might do it without any Prejudice to the Archbishop of Canterbury, tho' he had been present, who was indeed at this time in Exile.) But tho' it appears, *su-isse in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so; yet it would not have been so, if his own Endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Forest when his Brother King William was killed, he never stayed to complement the Disaster, but rode presently to Winchester; and there, not without some Opposition of the Keepers, seized upon his Brother's Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the first Means, he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withal there were Circumstances in his own Person that conduced to it; his Brother was born when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; Robert but a Foreigner, being born in Normandy; himself a Native, born at Selby in Yorkshire: And it was not the least Circumstance that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to say, a good Scholar, having been bred in Cambridge; not perhaps that his Learning was so great, but that it was great, either in respect of that Age which had but little, or in respect of his Brothers, who had none at all; and the People having been oppressed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that

were illiterate, could not chuse but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And tho' his Brother Robert, as being the elder, had Right unto it; yet he, as out of Sight was out of Mind, and perhaps neglected, as being himself negligent: Withal it was given out, that he was chosen King of Jerusalem, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give Force to all these Reasons, Henry Newborough Earl of Warwick was a principal Furtherer.

*His Course for establishing himself in the Kingdom.*

**I**T is a hard matter to keep that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he took all possible Care to overcome that Hardness, which he effected by these Means: First he called Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury home from Exile; placed William Gifford, a learned Man, in the Bishoprick of Winchester; and Monasteries that had been long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no less pleasing to the People to have bad Instruments punished, than the good to be advanced, he cast Ralph Bishop of Durham (a principal Cause of their late Oppressions) into Prison, then mitigated the Rigor of the new Laws, and promised Restitution of the old. And that there might be no Abuse in Measures, he ordained a Measure made by the Length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the Use of Lights and Fire in the Night, which before had been forbidden after eight a Clock at Night. He acquitted the People from the Tax of *Dane-gilt*, and from all other unjust Payments which had been imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free Liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to enclose Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Conies, and such like Game. And because he knew Scotland might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tied by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance; he therefore takes Matild, Sister of the present King Edgar, to be his Wife.

*His Troubles during his Reign.*

**R**alph Bishop of Durham, the late K. William's greatest Instrument for Exactions, that

K. Henry is crowned. The Bishop of London is as Dean to all the Bishops of England.

Why Henry preferred before Robert his Brother.

The Measure of a Yard ordained by K. Henry.

Dane-gilt remitted.

He marries the King of Scots Sister.

A.D. 1100. An. Reg. 2.



A.D. 1100. that had by this King been committed to the Tower, made an Escape, and passing over to Duke Robert in Normandy, incenseth him not to suffer himself to be baffled by a younger Brother; as for his Brother William there was some Reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will; but what could Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in Money? Besides, it was an Agreement with his Brother William, with Consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the Survivor of them should succeed. With such like Instigations, and withal assuring him, there were many in England would take his part, he easily persuaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have dissuaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at Portsmouth, while Henry waited for his coming about Hastings; and being landed there, much People resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody Business; but by Mediation of Friends, working upon the flexible Nature of Duke Robert, it was brought at last to this Agreement, That K. Henry should pay to Duke Robert three thousand Marks yearly, and Duke Robert should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus this Cloud, that threatned so great a Storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair Weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a Right, and he might now justify his being a King, without any Scandal or Usurpation. After this another little Cloud arose, but was soon dispersed; for Robert de Belsam, Earl of Shrewsbury, a rash young Man of Disposition, but more through Discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great Estate he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of Shrewsbury, and the Castle of Bridgenorth, and got many Welshmen to assist him; but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the Welsh, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a Prey to the King in his Person, and more in his Estate; for the King seized his Estate into his Hands, but for his Person he only banish'd it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of Blood, and putting to Death, though for great treasonable Practices, was not much in Use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of Severity. The like Attempt, and upon the like Occasion, was made by William Earl of Mortaigne in Normandy, and of Cornwall in England, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of Kent; which because he could not obtain, he entred into treasonable Practices, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these Troubles were but as the Labour of a Woman, that is safely delivered, painful for a Time but ended in Joy; and indeed for the most part, this King had the Fortune to be a Gainer by his Losses.

A.D. 1101. Duke Robert comes within an Army into England.

Is compounded with upon certain Conditions.

Robert de Belsam Earl of Shrewsbury, rebels.

A.D. 1102. An. Reg. 3. Banishment as yet the greatest Punishment, though for Treason.

William of Cornwall rebels.

A.D. 1104. An. Reg. 4. Duke Robert remits his Annuity.

he released to K. Henry the three thousand Marks which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into Normandy, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly cozened him. Which coming to K. Henry's Ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which foraged the Countrey, and wone many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke Robert but only Roan in all Normandy to put his Head in; and this done, returns into England. And now Duke Robert begins to be sensible of his own Weakness, and therefore comes over into England to try the uttermost of his Brother's good Nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in Siege he was ready to perish for want of Water: And it cannot be but that Gratefulness and natural Affection meeting together, must needs work something in the Mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all Differences and Debates to his Will and Pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous Words Duke Robert had given out of him, or whether aspiring to join Normandy to England, as his Father had done before, K. Henry scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any Answer, but in a fullen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful Usage put the Duke in such Indignation, that he resolved to set his whole State at stake, and either to redeem his Disgrace, or to forfeit his Life. So returning into Normandy, he used all his Force in raising of Forces; but K. Henry suspecting his Intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Battel before he was half ready to fight. In which Battel K. Henry received sundry Stripes on the Head at the Hands of one William Crispine, Count de Eureux; so as the Blood burst out of his Mouth: Yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his Enemies, and particularly the said Crispine who was there taken Prisoner at the King's Feet. And now Desire of Revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Soldiers, that never Battel was more fiercely fought, and the Normans seemed at first to have the better; till K. Henry shewing himself in the Army, put such Courage into his Soldiers, that they quickly made good the Advantage they had in Number, and King Henry obtained a compleat Victory, both in Slaughter of Men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the Number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of Mortaigne, William Crispine, and William Ferrers, was Duke Robert himself, whom the King (having first taken Order for all things, in his new State of Normandy) brought over with him into England, and committed him to the Castle of Cardiffe in Wales, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a great

A.D. 1105. He giveth out that his Brother had cozen'd him.

A.D. 1106. Duke Robert is invaded by K. Henry.

A.D. 1107. Is taken Prisoner, brought into England, and hath his Eyes put out.



A.D. 1107. a time with reasonable Liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an Escape, it was thought fit to put out his Eyes; which though it increased his Misery, yet it shortened not his Life, for he lived many Years after, in all, from the Time of his first Imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his Birth was the Joy of Nature, in his Life was the Scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the *English* wone *Normandy* the very same Day fortieth Year the *Normans* had wone *England*. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the State of all worldly Greatness. He died A.D. 1134, and lies buried at *Glocester*. *Matth. Westmin.* writes that K. Henry his Brother sent him, according to his custom, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it first on himself, perceived the Capouch to be somewhat strait: whereupon he said, *Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his Head is less than mine.* The Messenger delivering the Robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it; and being told him the King had first assayed it, and what Speeches he had used, the Duke replied, I have now too long protracted a miserable Life, since my Brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old Clothes to wear; and from that time would never eat any Meat, nor receive any Comfort.

And now is K. Henry as great as ever his Father was; and as Greatness draws Envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as Envy makes Enemies, as much opposed as ever his Father was. For now *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, upon small Occasions, and *Lewis* the *Gross* King of *France*, upon none but such as Envy suggested, seeking to place *William*, Son to Duke Robert, in his Right to *Normandy*, assaulted the King's Dominions, perhaps to try whether Greatness had not made him unwieldy; but K. Henry, to shew that Greatness had made him more active, went over into *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and at *Nice* encountered the *French* King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding Valour on both Sides: But at last K. Henry repelled the *French* King, and recovered *Nice*; and after many other Conflicts between them, with Variety of Fortune, at last the King

A.D. 1112. made Peace with the Earl of *Anjou*, confirmed by a Marriage of the Earl's Daughter with his Son *William*; and upon this also the two Kings grew to a Peace, in which *William*, Son to K. Henry, being about seventeen Years of Age, was invested into the Duchy of *Normandy*, doing Homage for the same to the King of *France*. From whence it was afterwards a Custom, that the King of *England*'s eldest Son (as long as *Normandy* remained in their Hands) was made always Duke of *Normandy*. After this, *Charles* Earl of *Flanders* being slain at *Bruxels* by a Conspiracy of his own People, and leaving no Issue behind him, *Lewis* King of *France* invested *William*, Son to Duke Robert, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, descended from Earl *Baldwyn*, whose Daughter *Maude* was Wife to King

The King of *England*'s eldest Son always Duke of *Normandy*.

K. Henry's Son *William* marries the Earl of *Anjou*'s Daughter.

*William* the First, and Grandmother to this A.D. 1112. *William*. So as *William* now having gotten this Step of Advancement, seeks to go on, and to recover *Normandy*, and was thereof by the Assistance of the King of *France* in a fair Possibility, when in a certain light Conflict, receiving a Wound in his Hand, the Thread of his fair Possibility was upon a sudden cut off; and of that light Wound he shortly after died.

*William*, Son to Duke Robert, is wounded, and dieth.

King Henry now in perfect Peace abroad, was not without some little Disquietings at home; and marching through *Powysland* in South *Wales* to repress some Insurrections of the *Welsh*, he came to certain Straits, where his main Army could not pass, in which Place the King was smitten with an Arrow full upon the Breast, whereat he swore by our Lord's Death (his usual Oath) that it was no *Welsh* Arm had shot that Arrow; yet in his Distress, for a thousand Head of Cattel, he had the passage left open, and came safely off; and these were his Troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his Reign.

K. Henry in Distress in *Wales*.

His Taxations and Ways for raising of Money.

TOWARDS the Marriage of his Daughter *Maude* with the Emperor, he obtained at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*, three Shillings upon every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn to Custom, to receive Aid from the Subjects whenever the King gave his eldest Daughter in Marriage. Besides this, he had no more in all his Reign, but only one Supply for his Wars in *France*; but he kept Bishopricks and Abbies void in his Hands; and that of *Canterbury*, five Years together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Bishops holden at *London*, he was authorized to punish Marriage and Incontinency of Priests, which the Bishops afterwards repented; for he suffered Priests to have Wives for Fines; or rather took Fines of them whether they had Wives or no, because they might have them if they would. Punishments which before this Time were Mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Provisions of his House, which were used to be paid in kind, were in his Time rated at certain Prices, and received in Money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this King's Days but few Troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be the Cause of the other; the first perhaps of the second, but certainly the second of the first.

The Custom of giving Aid for marrying the King's eldest Daughter, when it first began.

Punishments made pecuniary. His Rents paid now in Money.

Laws first instituted in his Time.

HE first instituted the Form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his Time, only certain of the Nobility and Prelates of the Realm were called to consultation about the most important Affairs of State: But he caused the Commons also to be assembled, by Knights and Burgeses of their own Appointment, and made the Court to consist of three Parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common People, representing the whole Body of the Realm, and

The Court of Parliament first instituted by K. Henry.



A.D. 1112. and appointed them to sit in several Chambers, the King, the Bishops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another, to confer together by themselves. Other Orders of that Court he ordained, as they are in Use at this Day. The first Council of this sort was held at *Salisbury*, on the nineteenth Day of *April*, in the sixteenth Year of his Reign. He forbade the wearing of long Hair, which at that Time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded Robbers upon the Highway to be hanged without Redemption; of whom a famous one at that Time was one *Dunne*, and of him the Place where he most used, by reason of the great Woods thereabout, is to this Day called *Dunstable*, where the King built the Burrough as now it standeth. Counterfeiters of Money he punished with pulling out their Eyes, or cutting off their privy Members, a Punishment both less than Death, and greater.

Long Hair forbidden.

*Dunstable*, why so called. Counterfeiters of Money, how punished.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

Contentions between the King and the Pope about Investiture of Bishops.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he forbore his Claim to the Investitures of Bishops; but after he had been King some time, he claimed, that both to invest Bishops, and to allow, or hinder Appeals to *Rome*, belonged to him. In these *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was now returned into *England*, opposed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The Contention at last was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* sent *William Warlewast*, elect Bishop of *Exeter*, who saying to the Pope that his Master would not for the Crown of his Realm, lose the Authority of investing his Prelates; the Pope started up, and answered, Neither will I lose the disposing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the King's Head that wears the Crown; before God (saith he) I avow it. So the Contention grew long and hot, and many Messengers were sent to and fro about it: The Conclusion was (which proved no Conclusion) That the King should receive Homage of the Bishops elect, but should not invest them by Staff and Ring: To which the King said nothing for the present, but forbore not to do it ever the less. For five Years after the Death of *Anselm*, *Ralph* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and not withstanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Investiture of the King. About this time a Council of Bishops was held at *London*, at which the Temporal Lords were present, to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any Man desire to know more of the Passages between the King and *Anselm*, and of the many great Virtues of *Anselm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was his Secretary, and hath written of purpose to set forth his Praises. About this Time, a Canon was made against the Marriage of Priests, to which purpose *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Priest Cardinal, by the King's License came into *England*,

*Eadmerus*.

Marriage of Priests forbidden.

and held a solemn Synod at *London*, where A.D. 1112. inveighing sharply against it, affirming it to be no better than professed Adultery, he was himself the Night following taken in Bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anselm* himself the most earnest Enforcer of single Life, died not it seems a Virgin; for else he would never in his Writings make such Lamentation for the Loss thereof. A little before this, *Anselm* being at *Roan*, *Boemundus*, one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jerusalem*, came thither; and amongst other Holy Reliques, gave unto him certain Hairs of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, which *Anselm* held always in great Veneration. About this time *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Westminster*, where divers Constitutions were made; of which these were two, That Priests should no more be suffered to have Wives; and that there should be no more buying and selling of Men in *England*, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anselm* about this time dying at the Age of seventy six Years, *Rodolph* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five Years after the Death of *Anselm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurſtane* succeeded him in the Archbishoprick of *York*; between which two Prelates there arose great Contention. *Rodolph* would not consecrate *Thurſtane*, unless he would profess Obedience; *Thurſtane* was content to embrace his Benediction, but profess Obedience he would not. In this Contention, the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurſtane*: after many passages in the Business, upon the Pope's threatening to excommunicate the King, *Thurſtane* entred upon his Bishoprick, and the King connived. In the tenth Year of his Reign, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Bishop's See, and *Cambridgeſhire* was appointed for the Diocese thereof, which because it belonged before to the Jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in Recompence thereof, the Mannor of *Spalding*. This King also created a Bishoprick at *Carlisle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his Time, the Order of the *Templers* began. In the twenty seventh Year of his Reign, the *Grey-Fryers* by the Procurement of the King, came first into *England*, and had their first House builded at *Canterbury*. Also in this King's Time, the first Legat to supply the Pope's Room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two Stories of Churchmen for refreshing of the Reader. *Guymond* the King's Chaplain, observing that unworthy Men, for the most part were advanced to the best Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of *St. James*, [It rained not upon the Earth III Years, and VI Months] he read it thus, It rained not upon the Earth one, one, one, Years, and five one Months. The King observed his Reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but for Ignorance *Guymond* answered, That he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were soonest preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled,

Cardinal Cremenſis taken in Bed with a Harlot.

Contention between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*.

*Ely* made a Bishop's See.

*Carlisle* made a Bishop's See.

The Order of the *Templers* begins.

Preferment for Ignorance.



A.D. 1112. and in short time after preferred him to the Government of *S. Frideswide's* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* falling sick, his Physicians told him, That nothing would do him good, but to company with a Woman; to whom he answered, That the Remedy was worse than the Disease, and so died a Virgin: This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his Successors, the Custody of Constablenesship of the Castle of *Rocheſter* for ever.

The Error of *Gilbertus Porretas* were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheims*, by Pope *Calixtus*; also in his Time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schism arose in the Church.

*Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his Time.*

THIS King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunstable*, the Abbey of *Cirenceſter*, the Abbey of *Reading*, the New-Abbey without the Walls of *Wincheſter*, the Abbey of *Windſor*, with a College there: He made also the Navigable River between *Torkſey* and *Lincoln*, a Work of great Charge, but greater Use: His Wife Queen *Maud*, paſſing over the River of *Lea*, was ſomewhat endangered; whereupon ſhe cauſed two Stone Bridges to be built, one at the Head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another ſtream there, called *Channel-Bridge*, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called *Wiggon-Mill*, for repairing the ſame Bridges, and Way. Theſe were the firſt Stone Bridges that were made in *England*; and becauſe they were arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity*, now called *Chriſt's Church*, within the *East Gate* of *London*, called *Aldgate*; and an Hoſpital of *St. Giles's* in the *Fields*, without the *West* part of the City. In this King's Time *Jordan Briſet* Baron, founded the Houſe of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave fourteen Acres of Ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwel*, to build thereupon a Houſe of Nuns, wherein he with *Muriel* his Wife was buried in the Chapter-Houſe. *Robert Fiſham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conqueror, founded a new the Church of *Teukeſbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hoſpital of *St. Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minſtel of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became the firſt Prior there. Before this time, *Smithfield* was a Loiſtal of all Ordure and Filth, and the Place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Lanſhony* near to *Gloceſter*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmore*, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that firſt builded *Baynard's Caſtle* in *London*. Eudo the

King's Sewer, founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Colcheſter*, of black Canons, and thoſe were the firſt of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maud* his Wife, founded the Monastery of *St. Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the ſeventh Year of this King's Reign, the firſt Canons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwark*, called *St. Mary-Overy*, founded by *William Pountlarge* Knight, and *William Dancies*, Normans. *Robert* the firſt Earl of *Gloceſter*, the King's baſe Sone, builded the Caſtles of *Briſtow* and *Cardyſſe*, with the Priory of *St. James* in *Briſtow*; and his Son Earl *William* began the Abbey of *Kenſham*. *Geoffery Clinton*, Treafurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth* of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick* and *Margaret* his Wife, founded the College of *St. Mary*, in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Blemond*, his Son, and *Ellyne* his Wife, tranſlated the ſame College into the Caſtle of *Warwick*, in the Year 1123. *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, built the *Deviſes* in *Wiltſhire*; the Caſtles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirborn*. He repaired the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the ſtately Church of *Salisbury*, deſtined to a longer Life than any of his other Works. *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* began to build the Caſtle of *Norham*, upon the Bank of the River *Tweed*. In the two and thirtieth Year of this King's Reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheſhire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nychel*; and the Abbey of *Cumbermere*, in the ſame Shire. The College of *Secular Canons* also in the Caſtle of *Leiceſter*. Also in this King's Reign was founded the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonſhire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hoſpital of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Osney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylve* Knight; and the Hoſpital of *St. Croſs* near *Wincheſter*, by *Henry Bloies* Biſhop there: Also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival*. And indeed ſo many in his Time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Maſons, that were able to finiſh ſo many great Buildings in ſo ſhort a Time as this King's Reign.

*Casualties happening in his Time.*

IN this King's Days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much Miſchief, but chiefly the Water: For King *Henry* returning into *England* after his Conqueſt of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Siſter *Mary*, Counteſs of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Cheſter* with his Wife *Lucy*, the King's Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and Paſſengers to the Number of 180, to follow after him; who taking Shipping, (and the beſt Ship the King had) whether by Careleſneſs, or Drunkenneſs of the Sailors, were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of Danger; but hearing the lamentable Cries of his Siſter, Compaſſion wrought ſo in him, that he turned

A rare Cha-  
-city.

s. d. i. v. b. s. d.

The Error of  
*Gilbertus Por-*  
*retas* con-  
demned.

Windſor Caſtle  
new builded.

The firſt  
Stone Bridges  
in *England*.

*Stratford* the  
*Bow*, why ſo  
called.

*St. John's*  
near to *Smith-*  
*field* founded.

*St. Bartholo-*  
*mew's* Hoſpi-  
tal founded  
by a Minſtel.

*Baynard's Ca-*  
*ſtle* in *London*,  
by whom  
built.

The *Deviſes*  
in *Wiltſhire*,  
by whom  
built.

The Church  
of *Salisbury*,  
by whom  
built.

The Cathed-  
ral of *Exe-*  
*ter*, when  
built.

The Hoſpital  
of *St. Croſs*,  
by whom  
founded.

The King's  
Children  
drowned.



A.D. 1112. ed about his Boat to take her in, which overcharged with the Multitude, over-turned, and they all perished; none escaped but only a Sailor who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all Night upon the Mast, came safe to Land. An Accident not more grievous than exemplary; for amongst other Conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no State is so uncertain as Prosperity, no Fall so sudden as into Adversity; and that the Rule [*He that stands, let him take heed he fall not*] cannot always be observed, because a Man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great Mischief was in this King's Days wrought by the Water: For by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned; whereupon a great Number of *Flemmings* being Suitors to King *Henry* for some Place to inhabit, he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembroke-shire*, where they have inhabited to this Day; the King by this one Action, working two good Effects, both shewing Compassion to distressed Strangers, and putting a Bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the Water had another way to do Mischief, as much by Defect, as this was by Excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many Miles together did so fail of Water, that in the midst of the Channel, the smallest Vessels could not pass: and the same Day also in the *Thames* between the *Tower of London* and the Bridge, Men waded over on Foot for the Space of two Days: Also at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dried up a whole Day. Now for the Earth, tho' naturally it be without Motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do Mischief, especially being assisted by the Air; as in this King's Days it moved with so great a Violence, that many Buildings were shaken down; and *Malmesbury* faith, that the House wherein he fate, was lifted up with a double Remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper Place. Also in divers Places it yielded forth a hideous Noise, and cast forth Flames at certain Rifts many Days together, which neither by Water, nor by any other Means could be suppressed. But yet the active Element of Fire was busiest of all; for first, *Chichester*, with the principal Monastery was burnt down to the Ground. From *West-Cheap* in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long Tract of Buildings was consumed by Fire: *Worcester* also and *Roche-ster*, even in the King's Presence; then *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Glocester*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, and other Places, did also partake of this Calamity, that there could be no charging the Fire with any Partiality: And to speak of one foreign Casualty, because a strange one, in *Lombardy* this Year was an Earthquake that continued forty Days, and removed a Town from the Place where it stood, a great way off. In the thirteenth Year of this King, many Prodiges were seen; a Pig was farrowed with a Face like a Child, a Chicken was hatched with four Legs, and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by the

reason of the Darkness, many Stars did plainly appear. In this King's Time *Gerard* Archbishop of *York*, a Man tho' learned, yet of many ill Parts, sleeping one Day in his Garden after Dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

Of his Wives and Children.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he married *Matild*, or *Maude*, Sister to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and Daughter to *Malcolme* by *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown so averse from Marriage, that when the Motion was first made her to marry with *K. Henry*, she utterly refused it, and resolved, tho' perhaps not vowed, to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the Authority of her Brother, she rather yielded than consented: For she did it with so ill a Will, that it is said, she prayed, if ever she had Issue by the Marriage, that it might not prosper, and indeed it prospered but untowardly; as will be seen in the Sequel. But tho' she made this Imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother; yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed her self no less loving and tender of her Children, than loyal and obsequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming Impiety towards her Children, there is a Story related of her real Piety towards the Poor: For a Brother of hers coming one Morning to visit her in her Chamber, found her sitting amongst a Company of *Lazar* People, washing and dressing their Ulcers and Sores, and then kissing them after she had done; who wondering at it, and saying to her, How could she think the King would like to kiss that Mouth, which had kissed such filthy ulcerous People? She answered, she had a greater King to kiss, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen *Matild*, *K. Henry*, according to some Writers, had four Children; but as the received Opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maude*; of whom the Son at fourteen Years old had Fealty sworn to him by the Nobility at *Sbrevesbury*; at seventeen married the Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*; and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been shewed. The Daughter lived to be an Empress, afterwards a Duchess, but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second Husband seventeen Years living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* died, and was buried there in the Abbey of *Bec*, though there be a Tradition that she was buried at *Reading*, in the Abbey there beside her Father; but it appears to have been a Custom in those Days, for great Personages to have their Monuments erected in divers Places. After the Death of this Queen *Matild*, who died at *Westminster*, in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, *K. Henry* married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, who tho' she were a beautiful

Pembroke-shire assigned to the Flemings to inhabit.

A strange Earthquake.

Great Fires in many Places.

Hovedon.

A long Earthquake.

Her great Humility and Devotions.

Monuments for great Personages erected in divers Places.



A.D. 1112. ful and accomplish'd Lady, yet had he never any Issue by her. When she was to be crowned, *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the Office, came to *K. Henry*, sitting crown'd in the Chair of State, asking him who had set the Crown upon his Head? The King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since; Well, said the Archbishop, who-soever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no Office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) do what you think good. Whereupon the Archbishop took the Crown off from the King's Head, and after at the Peoples Entreaty, set it on again, and then proceeded to crown the Queen. By Concubines *K. Henry* had many Children; it is said seven Sons, and as many Daughters; of whom some perished in the great Shipwreck. Of the rest, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls; *Reynold* of *Bristol*, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and was a great Assister of his Sister *Maude* in her Troubles with *K. Stephen*, who after many Acts of Valour performed by him, in the twelfth Year of *K. Stephen* died, and was buried at *Bristol*. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of *England* and *France*, from whom are descended many worthy Families: Particularly one of those Daughters by *Anne Corbet*, was married to *Fitz Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King; from which *Fitz Herbert*, our Family (*absit invidia verbo*) is by Females descended; passing by the Names of *Cummin*, *Chenduet*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dynebey*, and so to *Baker* and *Barret*.

An insolent Part of *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

#### Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many Children basely begotten: But if Comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be said, that howsoever they might be equal in Looseness of Life; yet in that Looseness *William Rufus* was the baser, and *K. Henry* the more noble. For *K. Henry* had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant, whereas *K. William* took only such as he found; constant to the Pleasure, but not to the Persons.

#### His Course for establishing the Succession in Maude and her Issue.

HE married his only Daughter *Maude*, being but six Years old, to the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without Issue, he married her again to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*; not the greatest Prince that was a Suitor for her, but the fittest Prince for *King Henry's* Turn: For *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great Security to it, if a Friend; and as great a Danger, if an Enemy. And having thus placed her in Marriage, he now considers how to establish her Succession in the Crown of *England*: Whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and causeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her Issue; as thinking he could never

King *Henry* causeth his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his Daughter *Maude*.

make her Succession sure enough: He causeth A.D. 1112. his Lords the Year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the Tie of Allegiance the stronger: Wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* was the first Man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a Pretender. But the King should have considered, that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, tho' never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant Loyalty in Persons so deeply interested as *Stephen* was: Yet Providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it, especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: For this, tho' it gave him not Assurance, yet it gave him assured Hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

#### Of Ireland in his Time.

THE Kings of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was govern'd by its own Kings; and the People of both Nations, tho' they were Neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: But now began Intercourse to be more frequented, and *Mercherdach* chief K. of the *Irish*, bore such awful Respect to *K. Henry*, that he would do nothing but by his Counsel, and with his Liking.

*Mercherdach* King of *Ireland* is much ruled by *K. Henry*.

#### Whom King Henry used as his Vicegerent in his Absence.

HE was absent sometimes in *Normandy* three or four Years together; during which Times, he committed commonly the Care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate, and one as fit to be the second in Government, as *K. Henry* to be the first.

#### His Personage and Condition.

HE was a Person tall and strong, broad breasted, his Limbs well knit, and fully furnished with Flesh; his Face well fashioned, his Colour clear, his Eyes large and fair, his Eyebrows large and thick, his Hair black and somewhat thin towards his Forehead; his Countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to Mirth. A private Man, vilified and thought to have but little in him, but come to the Crown, never any Man shewed more excellent Abilities; so true is the Saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural Affection in a direct Line was strong, in an oblique but weak; for no Man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Tho' a King in Act, yet he always acted not a King; but in Battels sometimes the part of a common Soldier, though with more than common Valour: As at a Battel King *Henry's* in *France*, where he so far hazarded himself, that tho' he lost not his Life, yet he lost his Blood. He delighted much in Beasts of foreign Countries, as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclosed a Place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

*Huntington*.

King *Henry's* Valour.



A.D. 1135.

Of his Death and Burial,

K. Henry sur-  
feiteth of eat-  
ing of a Lam-  
prey.

A Discontent of Mind upon some Differences between him and his Son-in-law the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a Distemper, which increased by eating, against his Physician's Advice, of a Lamprey, a Meat always pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, and cast him into a Fever, which in few Days put a Period to his Life: So certain it is, that one intemperate Action is enough to overthrow the Temperance of a whole Life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was a hungry; never did drink but when he was a-thirst: Yet this but once yielding to his sensual Appetite, made him forfeit all Benefit of his former Abstinence, tho' some write he took his Death by a Fall off his Horse. He died upon the first of *December* at Night, in this Year 1135, when he had reigned five and thirty Years, lived threescore and seven. His Bowels, Brains and Eyes, were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died, the rest of his Body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Ox Hides, and brought over into Eng-

land, and with honourable Exequies buried A.D. 1135. in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physician that took out his Brains, with the intolerable Stench, shortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the Line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs the *Norman* Males; and then came in the *French* by the Title of Heirs General. The Line of the *Norman* Kings ends.

Men of Note in his Time.

MEN of Learning in his Time were many; first, *Stephen Harding*, a *Benedictine* Monk, who was Founder to the *Cistercian* Order. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his Activeness in Matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *British* Tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to translate; and added forty Years of his own Time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other Works, writ the History of his own Time, under the two *Williams*, and *Henry* the First.

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THE



# THE REIGN OF King STEPHEN.

A.D. 1135.

K. Stephen is  
crowned.Upon what  
Reasons the  
Oath before  
taken to  
Maude was  
sighted.

**A**FTER the Decease of K. Henry, presently steps upon the Stage of Royalty, Stephen Earl of Boleyn, Son to Stephen Earl of Blois, by Adela Daughter of K. William the Conqueror; and tho' there were two other before him, Maude the Empress, and Theobald his elder Brother; she in a substantial Right, he in a colourable; yet taking Advantage of being *primus occupans*, the first Invader, (as being quickly here after K. Henry's Death, where the other staid lingring about other Affairs) he solicits all the Orders of the Realm, Bishops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Sovereign: Wherein besides his own large Promises, what greater Matters he would do for them all, he had also the Assistance of Henry his Brother, Bishop of Winchester, and the Pope's Legate; and of Roger Bishop of Salisbury, his great Friend, (two the most powerful Men at that Time in the State) who partly by Force of Reasons, but more indeed by Force than Reasons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and so upon St. Stephen's Day, in Anno 1135, he was crowned at Westminster, in the Prefence of but three Bishops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by William Archbishop of Canterbury, with great Solemnity. That which put a Scruple in Mens Minds, and made them averfe at first from K. Stephen, was the Oath they had taken to receive K. Henry's Daughter Maude to be their Queen after his Decease; but the Weight of this Scruple was somewhat abated, when it was urged, That no Precedent could be shewed, that ever the Crown had been set upon a Woman's Head. And Roger Bishop of Salisbury brought another Reason, because they had taken that Oath but upon Condition, that the King should not marry her out of the Realm without their Consents; and the King's having broken the Condition, was just Cause to nullify their Obligation. To which was added, That the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kind of Force, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more than all these, Hugh Bigot, sometime Steward to K. Henry, immediately after his Decease came over into England, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, that he was present a little before K. Henry's Death, when he adopted and chose his Nephew Stephen to be

his Successor, because his Daughter Maude A.D. 1135. had grievously at that time displeased him. But howsoever their Breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certain that many of them, as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil End, at least to many Calamities before their End.

*What Course he took to establish himself in the Kingdom.*

**I**T is a true Saying, *Is rebus optime servatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was Stephen's Course, he got the Kingdom by Promises, and he establish'd it by Performances: He pleased the People with easing them of Taxes and Impositions: He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keep Bishopricks and Abbies vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the temporal Magistrate: He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their own Lands: He pleased the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the King's Deer in their own Woods; and besides, with advancing many of them in Honours: And for his Brother Theobald, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleased him with a Grant to pay him 2000 Marks a Year. And then to strengthen himself abroad no less than at home, he married his Son Eustace to Constance a Daughter of Lewis King of France, which Alliance alone might be thought a sufficient Security against all Opposition. And yet one thing more which establish'd him more than these, at least these the more for this, That he had seized upon K. Henry's Treasure, which amounted to one hundred thousand Pounds, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable Value, which he spent not in vain Riot, but employed to his best Advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Soldiers out of Britany and Flanders.

He marries his Son Eustace to the K. of France's Daughter.

K. Henry had left a hundred thousand Pounds in ready Money.

*Of his Troubles in his Reign.*

**T**HERE may well be made a Chapter of the Troubles of his Reign, seeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued Trouble, at least no longer Intermission than as to give him Breath against new Encounters; till at last, when he grew towards his last, he rather left to be in Trouble, than was at quiet, being forced to make his Adversary his Heir, and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his Life. For he was

no



A.D. 1139. no sooner set in his Chair of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to rise, by the Provocation of *David King of Scots*, who solicited by some Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude the Emperess* (whose Right he had sworn to defend) with a mighty Army enter'd *Northumberland*, took *Carlisle* and *New-Castle*, and was proceeding further, till *K. Stephen* with a greater Army coming against him, yet rather bought his Peace than won it. For, to recover *New-Castle* out of his Hands, he was fain to let *K. David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for him as being free, did Homage to *K. Stephen*.

Upon a Bruit of *K. Stephen's* Death, the Lords possess themselves of several Castles.

No sooner was this Trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being fallen somewhat ill at Ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which so distracted Mens minds, that every one thought it Wisdom to shift for himself; and the great Lords made a contrary Use of Castles, to that which *King Stephen* intended, when he gave Liberty to build them; for the King intended them for his own Defence against his Enemies, and they made Use of them in their own Defence against the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* possessed himself of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quessquerius* of other Castles. In these Difficulties *King Stephen*, tho' he could not in Person be in all Places at once, yet in Care he was, and there most, where was most Danger, imploying others against the rest. Against *Baldwyn* he went himself, whom driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him from thence, and at last into Exile.

*Geoffery Duke* of *Anjou* enters into *Normandy*, but is compounded withal.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little Breath; but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffery Plantagenet Duke of Anjou*, in right of *Maude* his Wife, enters upon his Towns there, and seeks to get Possession of the Countrey: When *King Stephen* passed over with an Army, and arrests his Proceedings; and after some small Defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition, he to pay the Duke 5000 marks a Year, and the Duke to relinquish his Claim to *Normandy*. This done he returns into *England*, where new Commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his Absence, resenting his Breach of Promises, upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make Use every one of their Castles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert Maude's* Brother, *Bristol*; *William Lovell*, the Castle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Castle of *Ludlow*; *William Moune*, the Castle of *Dunster*; *Robert of Nichol*, now called *Lincoln*, the Castle of *Warham*; *Eustace*, the Son of *John*, the Castle of *Melton*; *William*, the Son of *Alan*, the Castle of *Sbrewsbury*; and withal *David King of Scots*, neither regarding his former Agreement enters *Northumberland* with an

Army, committing so great Cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murdering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from one end to the other was in Combustion; that if the King had had as many Hands as *Briareus*, there would have been Work enough for them all. Yet all this dismay'd not the King, but as having learned this Lesson, *Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito*, grows the more in Confidence, the less he was in Assurance; and as if Danger was the Fuel of Courage, the more erected in himself, the less he was upheld by others; and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his Absence, he passeth himself in Person against *David King of Scots*, as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed: But finding it hard to draw him to a Battel, and impossible without a Battel to do any good upon him, he leaves the Care of that Quarrel to *Thurstone* Archbishop of *York*, and returns himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe Place to put his Head in. But tho' many Lords were rebellious against him, yet some there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose Assistance and his own Industry, partly by Inticements, partly by Inforcements, he reduced most of them to Obedience, and all of them to Submission. When in the mean time *Thurstone* Archbishop of *York*, and in his Sickness, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, assisted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable Battle against *David King of Scots*, wherein tho' *K. David* himself, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Prowess, yet the *English* got the Victory with the slaughter of 11000 *Scots* in the Fight, besides many other slain in the Fight; where of the *English* none of account were slain but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacy's*, and some small Number of common Soldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted *King Stephen*, who not long after to make an absolute Suppression of the *Scots*, passeth again with an Army, and inforceth *King David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into *King Stephen's* Hands for a Pledge, and coming homeward, by the way he besieged *Ludlow*, one of the Rebels Nests, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Prisoner, if *King Stephen* in his own Person had not rescued him.

He goes in Person against the King of Scots.

The Rebel Lords are reduced to Obedience.

Eleven thousand Scots slain, and but very few English.

*K. Stephen's* good Nature and Valour.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now *Maude the Emperess* her self in Person comes into Play, in whom the Oath before taken was to have its Trial; for till now, tho' never so really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in Place to be received? But now that she came in Person, now was the Time of Trial how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly. For *Maude* coming

The Emperess *Maude* comes now into *England*, and hath many Adherents.



A.D. 1141. ing into England with Robert Earl of Gloucester her base Brother, was most joyfully received at Arundel Castle, by William de Aubigny, who had married Abeliza the Queen Dowager of the late King Henry, and had the said Castle and Countrey assigned for her Dower. King Stephen having Intelligence hereof, cometh to Arundel Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by Council, or else finding the Castle to be inexpugnable, he left the Siege, and suffered the Empress to pass to Bristow. The King hearing that Ranulph Earl of Chester, Son-in-Law to Robert Earl of Gloucester, had possess'd himself of the City of London, thither he goeth with an Army, and besiegeth it: Thither also came the said Earl of Chester, and Robert Earl of Gloucester to raise the Siege; at which time a most fierce Battel was fought between them upon Candlemas Day; wherein as it is memorable what Wonders of Valour King Stephen performed; for when all Men about him were either fled or slain; yet he kept the Field himself alone, no Man daring to come near him, *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum ejus immanitatem*, saith Hoveden: Yet overmastered at last by Multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to Maude the Empress; who sent him to be kept in safe Custody in the Castle of Bristow, where he remained till All-hallowtide after. And now the Empress having gotten King Stephen into her Hands, she takes her Journey to London; received in all Places as she went peaceably, and at London joyfully. Where Queen Matild made humble Suit unto her for the Liberty of King Stephen her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private Life; the Londoners also made Suit to have the Laws of K. Edward restored: But the Empress not only rejected both their Suits, but returned them Answers in harsh and insulting Language: Indeed most unseasonable; and which gave a Stop to the Current of all her Fortunes. For Queen Matild finding thereby how high the Empress's Pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son Eustace, being then in Kent, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the Londoners as much discontented as she, do afterwards join; and Henry Bishop of Winchester, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at Waltham and Farnham, and especially Winchester, where he stays himself, attending upon what Coast the next Wind of the Empress would blow. Of all these Things the Empress had Intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the Night she fled to Oxford, sending strait Charge to have K. Stephen more narrowly watched, more hardly used, put (as some write) in Fetters, and fed with very bare and poor Commons; withal she sends to her Uncle David King of Scots, to come unto her with all speed possible; who coming accordingly, they fall into Consultation what is first to be done. The Lot falls upon Winchester, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in Appearance than in Power: So Winchester they besiege, which Queen Matild hearing, she with her Son Eu-

stace and the Londoners came presently to the Succour; where a fierce Battel being fought, the End was, that the Party of Queen Matild prevailed, and the Empress to make her Escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horse's Back in the manner of a dead Corpse, and so conveyed to Gloucester, while Earl Robert her Brother disdaining to fly, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen Matild caused to be used the more hardly, in Retaliation of the hard Usage which the Empress before had shewed to King Stephen. Things standing on these Terms, Propositions were made by the Lords for Pacification; but such were the high Spirits of the Empress and her Brother Robert, that no Conditions would please them, unless the Empress might enjoy the Crown. But after long Debate, whether by Agreement between themselves, or by Connivence of the Keepers, both King Stephen and Earl Robert got to be at Liberty. When the first thing King Stephen did, was to look out the Empress to requite the Kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at Oxford, he lays Siege to the Town, and brings the Empress to such Distress, that she had no way to free her self but by Flight; and no way to fly but with manifest Danger: yet she effected it by this device. It was in the Winter Season, when Frost and Snow covered all the Ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four Servants that were with her in white Cloaths, which being of the Colour of Snow, made her pass the Watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her Friends at Wallingford. Yet Malmesbury who lived at that Time, confessed he could never learn certainly by what Means she made her Escape. But howsoever she escaped this present Danger, yet it left such an Impression of Fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon the Stage of War, but left the Prosecution of it to her Son Henry, who was now about sixteen Years of Age; and being forward of his Age, and able to bear Arms, was by his great Uncle David King of Scots, Knighted to make him more forward.

It was now the ninth Year of K. Stephen's Reign, when Ralph Earl of Chester, keeping Possession of the City of Lincoln, was in the Night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the King's Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his Men. Yet two Years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King, and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King, and not set at Liberty, till he had surrendered into the King's Hands all the Castles that were in his Possession; which tho' it brought the King some present Benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future Loss; for it lost him his Credit with all Men, and no Man afterward would trust his Word.

Now was Duke Henry come to the Age of nineteen Years, and was in Possession of the Dukedom of Anjou, by the Death of his Father Geoffery Plantagenet: And not long after this,

K. Stephen's Valour. Is taken Prisoner, and carried to Maude.

Maude is received of the Londoners.

A.D. 1141. She is beaten by Matild K. Stephen's Wife, and her Brother the Earl of Gloucester taken Prisoner.

A.D. 1142. K. Stephen and Earl Robert both get to be at Liberty.

Maude besieged at Oxford, fleeth away secretly.

Henry; Maude's Son; now sixteen Years of Age, prosecuteth the War against K. Stephen

A.D. 1144.

K. Stephen discredits himself.

A.D. 1152.



A.D. 1153. this, he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heirefs of *Will. Duke of Guyen*, by whom he had that Duchy, and also the Earldom of *Poitou*; *Normandy* he had by his Mother, but more by the People's Inclination. So as being possess'd now of four great Principalities, this Greatness of Estate adding to the Greatness of his Spirit, made him aspire to recover his Right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great from the People of this Kingdom. And many indeed resorted to him; with whom he fell on presently, and besieged *Marleborough*: but by the King's greater Forces was repelled.

*Eustace King Stephen's Son dieth.*

*K. Stephen and Prince Henry agree.*

*Prince Henry thought by some to be K. Stephen's Son.*

A.D. 1154. Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his Heart to fight against him that was his own Son? Could he forget the Familiarity he had with her in her Widowhood? But this was no Matter for the Writers of that Time to deliver. It touched too near the Interest of Princes then in being, and Princes must not be touched while they live; nor when they are dead neither, with Uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howsoever it was, certain it is, that after this Agreement between *K. Stephen* and *Duke Henry*, they continued in mutual Love and Concord as long after as they lived.

*No Mention what became of Maude at this Time.*

But what became of *Maude* the Empress at this Time? For that she was alive, and lived many Years after this Agreement between *K. Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree: And to say that she consented to the Agreement, without any Provision made for herself, is to make her too much a Woman, a very weak Vessel: And to say there might be Provision made, tho' it be not recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great Excess: And besides, being so stirring a Woman as she was, that upon a sudden she should be so quiet, as not to deserve to have one Word spoken of her in all the long time she lived

after, (being no less than 12 or 13 Years) is A.D. 1154. as strange as the rest. And if she placed her Contentment so wholly in her Son, that in regard of him she regarded not her self at all, it deserves at least the *Encomium* of such a motherly Love as is very unusual, and not always safe. Whatsoever it was, I must be fain to leave it as a Gordian Knot, which no Writer helps me to untie. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live 31 Years after the Death of *K. Stephen*, and makes this her Epitaph:

*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,  
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*

*Of his Taxations and Ways for raising of Moneys.*

OF Taxations in his Time, there is no Mention made, for Taxations indeed are properly drawn from a Body of State when it is entire, whereas the State all this King's Time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplied with Confiscations, which by reason of the many Revoltings of Men of all Sorts, could not but chuse but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in Nature of a Purchase to him; for whatsoever became of the Persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happen'd at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then Devices to hasten their Pace; for upon light Suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just Suspicions) he would call Men into question, and seize upon their Goods, as in the Case particularly of *Roger Bishop of Salisbury*; and it may not be displeasing to hear from what Beginning this Bishop grew to such a Height of Greatness; which was thus: In the Time of *K. William Rufus* he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a Village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the King's younger Brother *Henry* chanced to pass that Way, and to make some Stay in the said Village, who being desirous to hear a Mass, this *Roger* being Curate, was the Man to say it; which he dispatched with such Celerity, that the Soldiers (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, That there could not a fitter Priest be found for Men of War than he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him; and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great Places, and at last to be Chancellor of *England*, and Bishop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his Rising, now hear his Fall: When *K. Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this Man in as great account as his Predecessor *K. Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great Beggar of Suits, the King would say of him, If this Man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first thro' Pride into Envy, and then thro' Envy into Ruin. For *K. Stephen* having given Liberty to build Castles, this Man did so far exceed all others in Magnificence, (for he builded the Castles of *Salisbury*, the *Devises*, *Sherburn*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of Envy put it into the King's Head, that these Castles of his

*Roger Bishop of Salisbury, by what Means he came to his Greatness.*

*By what Means to his Fall.*



A.D. 1154. were built thus magnificently for Entertainment of *Maude* the Empress. Which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just Cause, he seized them all into his Hands, and 40000 Marks besides, which he had in Money; and not contented with this, he took the like Course also with *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, only because he was his Nephew, and of his near Kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money; for in the first Year of his Reign, having given Liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at *Oxford* caused many to be impleaded for that Liberty; a Trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, first to give Men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the Privilege of Princes, that their Leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

*Laws and Ordinances in his Time.*

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

HE gave Licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which Time they had only a Serjeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37<sup>th</sup> Year of *K. Henry* the Third, they had Licence to inclose the Town with Ditches.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

The King might not imprison Bishops.

Clergymen exempt from secular Power.

UPON the King's seizing into his Hands the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Castles and Goods, Complaint was made, and a Synod was call'd by the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the Cause, Answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do: The King replies by his Lawyer, *Alberic* or *Awbrey de Vere*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his Servant that was to make him Account of his Employment. To this the Bishop answereth, That he never was Servant or Accomptant to the King: And many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in Conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King without the Pope's Privy; so in the end they fell from Authority to Submission, and in the King's Chamber fell down at his Feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church, and not suffer Dissention to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small Magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high Stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth Year of his Reign, a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, That whosoever should lay violent Hands upon any Clergyman, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself; and from this time forward, Clergymen were exempt from the secular Power. In the tenth Year of his Reign, by the soliciting of *St. Bernard*, many took upon them the Cross, for a Supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom some English Lords also.

Works of Piety by him, or by others in his Time. A.D. 1154.

HE founded the Abbeyes of *Cogshal* in *Essex*, of *Furneys* in *Lancashire*; of *Hurgillers* and *Fewersham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a House of Black Nuns; also an House for Nuns at *Carew*. His *Q. Matild* builded the Hospital of *St. Katharine's* by the Tower of *London*. A Knight called *Sir William of Mount Fitchet*, founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorn*, within four Miles of *London*; *William* of *Ypre* founded *Boxley* Abbey in *Kent*; *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival* in *Warwickshire*; and in the same Shire, *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* the Abbey of *Nun-Eaton*. *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* founded the Monastery of *Fountains* in *Yorkshire*. Also by others were founded the Abbeyes of *Titley*, of *Rieval*, of *Newborough* and *Beeland*, of *Kirkstead* in *Yorkshire*; and divers others in other Places. So that more Abbeyes were erected in his Days, than had been within the space of a hundred Years before.

*Of Casualties happening in his Time.*

NEWBRIGENSIS, and also *Huntingdon*, reporteth of one *Raynerus*, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Abbot, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his Iniquity overweighed the Ship, that in the midst of the Stream it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast Lots, and the Lot fell upon *Raynerus*; and lest this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the Lots again and again, and still the Lot fell upon *Raynerus*; whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and presently the Ship, as eased of her Burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great Judgment of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one that is no fabulous Author. In this King's Time also there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in green, in a Stuff unknown, of a strange Language, and of a strange Diet; whereof the Boy being baptized, died shortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were, she answer'd, They were of the Land of *St. Martyn*, where there are Christian Churches erected, but that no Sun did ever rise unto them; but where that Land is, and how she came thither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other Parts of the World than those which to us are known: And this Story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible Witnesses as it is. In the 15<sup>th</sup> Year of this King, the River of *Thames* was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this King's Time lived *Johannes de Temporibus*, of whom it is recorded, that he lived 361 Years. He was one of *Charlemain* the Emperor's Guard, and died in the Reign of *Conradus* the Third, A.D. 1139.

*Of his Wife and Children.*

HE married, by his Uncle King *Henry*'s Queen *Matild*, Daughter and Heir of *Eustace* Earl of *Boloyne*, a Woman made for the Proportion of both Fortunes. In Adversity



A.D. 1154. City not dejected, in Prosperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his Durance, as it were a Man, acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that Fortune should fall into her Lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named *Eustace*, a Prince more than of Hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much Valour, tho' it came not to Maturity, as being cut off at 18 Years of Age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger Accident. But strange Relations must not always be rejected; for tho' many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this Kind, which some Writers relate of this Prince? That being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and denied some Money he required to have had, he presently in a Rage went forth, and set Fire on the Corn Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards sitting down to Dinner, at the first Morfel of Bread he put into his Mouth, he fell into a Fit of Madness, and in that Fit died. Certainly, the Persons of Princes are for more Observation than ordinary People; and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince *Eustace* was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joined him King with himself, but that the Pope, upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in *Feversham* Abbey, where his Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate Issue K. *Stephen* had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named *William*, whom he made Earl of *Norfolk*; which Honour was confirmed upon him by a special Article, in the Agreement made between K. *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*; only a *French* Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named *Gervase*, made Abbot of *Westminster*, and that he died in the Year 1160, and was there buried.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of Stature, of great Strength, and of an excellent good Complexion. Concerning the Qualities of his Mind, there was apparent in him a just Mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak Friends as he did, against such potent Adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confessed, he was of an excellent Temper for a Soldier, seeing he never kill'd any Enemy in cold Blood, as *Anthony* did *Cicero*; nor any Friend in hot Blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a Pattern, the short Time between his Agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death. Which seeing he spent in travelling to all Parts of the Realm, and seeking to stitch up the Breaches which the Violence of War had made, we may well think that if his Life had been continued, he would have given us as good Proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he hath done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good Nature we have a sufficient example in one Action of his, which was this: Duke *Henry* being on a time in some

Straits for Money, sent to his Mother *Maude* A.D. 1154: the Empress, desiring her to furnish him; but she answered, that she was in as great Straits her self, and therefore could not do it: Then he sent to his Uncle Earl *Robert* to furnish him, and he answered, he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: At last he sent to K. *Stephen*, and he tho' an Adversary and standing in Terms of Opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withal a great Oppugner of Superstition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincoln* with his Crown upon his Head, only to break the People of a superstitious Opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great disaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King to live out of Trouble. As soon as he came to enjoy Quietness, he left to enjoy Life. No Time left him between his Agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last Leave of all his Friends: For it was but from *January* to *October*; and the last Friend he took Leave of was *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as soon as he had dismissed him, he was suddenly taken with the Iliack Passion, and with an old Disease of the Emrods; and died in the Monastery there, the 25<sup>th</sup> of *October*, in the Year 1154, when he had reigned almost nineteen Years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abbey of *Feversham*, which he had founded.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF Clergy-men there was *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* the King's Brother; also *William* another Archbishop of *York*, whom we may find in the Calender of Saints; as likewise *St. Bernard*, who lived in this Time, tho' not of this Country. And if we may reckon Strangers, there lived at this Time *Peter Lombard*, Master of the Sentences; *Peter Comestor*, Writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law; all three Brothers, and all three Bastards: Also *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Mesue*, and Rabbi *Solomon*, were in this Time famous. Of Military Men, there was *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*; but especially *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, the King's base Son, whose Praises if any desire to hear sounded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the History of these Times of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, *William* of *Wells*; and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* Bishop of *St. Asaph* in *Wales*. Also *Hugo Carthusianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Bishop of *Lincoln* here in *England*.

The strange Death of *Eustace*.

A good Temper for a Soldier.

K. *Stephen*'s good Nature.

Three great Clerks, all Bastards.

*Robert* Earl of *Glocester*'s Praise.

The chief History Writers at this Time.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
King *H E N R Y* II.

A.D. 1155.  
K. Henry is crowned.

A greater Prince than any of his Ancestors.

Born at Mans in Normandy.

Is educated at Bristol.

Is sent into Scotland.

Is carried in- to Anjou.

**K**ING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffery Plantaginet*, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, by agreement; whom he preceded by right as being Son and Heir of *Maude*, sole Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the First; and was crowned at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the seventeenth of *December*, in the Year 1155, and was now a greater Prince than any of his Ancestors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou*, in his own Right, and in the Right of his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Duchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldom of *Poitou*, being all united in his Person, made him a Dominion of a larger Extent than any Christian King had at that Time.

He was born at *Mans* in *Normandy*, in the Year 1132, a great Joy to his Father *Geoffery* Duke of *Anjou*, a greater to his Mother *Maude* the Empress; but so great to his Grandfather King *Henry* the First, that it seemed to make amends for his Son *William*, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwreck. The Years of his Childhood were spent at home under the Care of his Parents. At nine Years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle *Robert* Earl of *Glo-*  
*cester* into *England*, and placed at *Bristol*, where under the Tuition of one *Mathew* his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in Learning, he remained four Years; after which time he was sent into *Scotland*, to his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two Years, initiated by him in the Principles of State, but chiefly of his own Estate. And being now about fifteen Years of Age, was by him knighted; and tho' scarce ripe for Arms, yet as a Fruit gathered before its Time was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle *Robert*, one of the best Soldiers of that Time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his Absence, sent with great Instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying whose Longing, Earl *Robert* provided him of Passage, and conducted him himself to the Sea-side where he took his last Farewel of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his Presence, not long after died, leaving him in present Possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen Years of

Age; when shortly after he married *Eleanor* A.D. 1155. the late Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A Year or two after, he came again into *England*, where after some Velitations with King *Stephen*, they were at last reconciled and his Succession to the Crown of *England* ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into *France*, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the *French* King. In the Time of which Siege, News was brought him of King *Stephen*'s Death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his Journey into *England*; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle. Which Resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendered the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six Weeks after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the Age of three and twenty Years.

*His first Acts after he came to the Crown.*

**H**E began his Reign as *Solomon* would have begun it, if he had been in his Place. For first he made Choice of wise and discreet Men to be his Counsellors; then he banished out of the Realm all Strangers, and especially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdom swarmed; as of whom King *Stephen* had made Use in his Wars, amongst whom was *William* of *Ypres*, lately before made Earl of *Kent*. Ca- He causeth Castles to be demolished.  
stles which by King *Stephen*'s Allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be 1115) as being rather Nurseries of Rebellion to the Subject, than of any Safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able Men of that Profession, to reform Abuses of the Laws, which Disorder of the Wars had brought in. He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King *Stephen* against him, as thinking that Men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the People with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to displease a few than many; and many other Things he did, which in a disjointed State were no less profitable and expedient, than requisite and necessary.

He reforms the Laws.  
He resumed Crown-Lands.

*His*



A.D. 1155.

His Troubles during his Reign.

His Troubles with the Welsh soon ended.

A.D. 1157.

Henry Earl of Essex, how punished for letting the King's standard fall.

Malcolm K. of Scots repressed.

K. Henry's Unkindness to his Brother Geoffery.

HE had no Competitors nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his Troubles at first were not in Capite, struck not at the Root, as King Stephen's did; but were only some certain Nibblings at inferior Parts, till at last he brought them himself into his own Bowels. For what was the Trouble in his first Year with the Welsh, but as an Exercise rather to keep him in Motion, than that it needed to disquiet his rest? For tho' they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers, their Woods and mountainous Passages; yet as soon as King Henry did but shew his Sword amongst them they were soon reduced to Obedience for the present, and to a greater Awfulness for the Future. It is true, Henry Earl of Essex that bore the King's Standard, was so assaulted by the Welsh, that he let the Standard fall to the Ground, which encouraged the Welsh, and put the English in some Fear, as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soon frustrated to the Welsh, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put in the Abbey of Reading; and had his Lands seized into the King's Hands. And what was his Trouble with Malcolm King of Scots, but a Work of his own Beginning? For if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, Cumberland, and Huntingdonshire, by the Grant of King Stephen, and Northumberland, by the Gift of his Mother Maude the Empress, he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his Foot; but he could not endure there should be such Parings off from the Body of his Kingdom; and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he took Northumberland from him, with the City of Carlisle, and the Castles of New-Castle and Bamberg: And meerly out of Gratefulness, in remembrance of the many Courtesies done to him before by David King of Scots, he left him the County of Huntington; but yet with this Condition, to owe Fealty, and to do Homage to him for it. And what was his Trouble with his Brother Geoffery, but a Bird of his own hatching? For his Father Geoffery Duke of Anjou, had three Sons, Henry, Geoffery and William; and dying, he left his Dukedom of Anjou to his eldest Son Henry, but to hold no longer than till he should come to be King of England, and then to deliver it up to his second Son Geoffery. And he made his Lords to swear, not to suffer his Body to be buried, until his Son Henry had taken his Oath to do it. Which Oath Henry afterward, in reference to his Father's Body, did take; but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to Adrian the then Pope for a dispensation of his Oath. Which granted, he enters Anjou with an Army, and takes from his Brother Geoffery, being little able to make resistance, not only the Dukedom of Anjou, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his Maintenance: Yet

out of Brotherly Kindness, was content to allow him a Pension of 1000 Pounds a Year. Which Brotherly Kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother Geoffery, that it brake his Heart; and within a short time after he dyed.

And thus these Troubles begun by Henry himself, were soon ended; but now a Trouble is coming on, begun by Lewis King of France; and this is like to stick longer by him. For King Lewis not having yet digested King Henry's Marriage with his divorced Wife Eleanor, seeks all Opportunities to express his Spleen, by doing him Displeasure, and a fit Opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a Difference between Raymond Earl of St. Giles's, and Henry King of England, about the Earldom of Tholouse, which Raymond possess'd, and Henry claimed: In this Difference, King Lewis takes part with Raymond, as pretending to be the juster Side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both Sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous Battel: But that by Mediation of Friends, a Peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a Marriage was concluded between Henry, King Henry's eldest Son, scarce yet seven Years of Age, and Margaret, Daughter of King Lewis not past three, who was delivered to King Henry to bring up till fit Years for Consummation. This was then thought a strong Link to hold them in Friendship, but it proved afterward a Cause to make a greater Breach; and indeed when a Son is once matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good With; seeing the Daughter thus matched can have no Advancement, but by the Advancement of her Husband, and he none, at least, none so well as by the Ruin of his Father: yet this brake not out till some Years after. It was now about the sixteenth Year of King Henry's Reign, and his Son Henry grown to be seventeen Years of Age, when it came into the King's Mind to have his Son Henry crowned King, and reign with himself in his own Time; partly out of Indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own Experience, that Oaths for Succession are commonly eluded, but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de presenti*, can have no Evasion. And pleasing himself with this Conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his Purpose, and causeth his Son Henry to be crowned King by the Hands of Roger Archbishop of York; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him. At the Feast of which Solemnity, King Henry to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table: Whereupon the Archbishop Roger standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, What an Honour is this to you, to have such a Waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him who was but the Son of a Duke, to do Service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him, now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed the Honour which by God's Commandment

Troubles like to rise between K. Henry and the K. of France.

A.D. 1160.

But pacified by a Marriage of their Children.

A.D. 1170.

An. Reg. 16.

K. Henry causeth his Son Henry to be crowned King with himself.

The Son's insolent Speech against his Father.



A.D. 1170. Children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equal, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them Stomachs to take more upon them than is fit. But King Henry passed it over, and meant to set the best Side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King Henry, yet King Lewis of France soon after did the like to his Son Philip, and caused him to be crowned King in his own Life-time at Paris, Anno 1179.

The young K. Henry is incited by his Father-in-law K. Lewis to oppose his Father.

Queen Eleanor also.

The young King requires his Father to resign the Kingdom.

K. Lewis and the Lords of France assist him.

And now King Lewis took Displeasure that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to satisfy him in that Point, King Henry sendeth his Son Henry, and his Wife Margaret into England, and causeth them both to be crowned by Walter Archbishop of Roan: And shortly after, the young King Henry and his Wife go back to King Lewis her Father, and by him with great Joy and Variety of Sports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King Lewis partly out of his old Spleen to King Henry, and partly to make his Son-in-law more absolute, falls oftentimes into Conference with him; and finding his hot Spirit to be fit Tinder for such Fire, tells him it was a shame he should suffer himself to be made a Stale; have the Title of a King, and not the Authority; and that as long as he stood in such Terms, that which seemed an Honour was indeed a Disgrace. With which Words of King Lewis, the young King Henry was set afloat, and from that time forward stuck not openly to oppose his Father. Whereof his Father having Intelligence, sent Messengers to King Lewis, desiring him from the King their Master, to be a means to bring his Son to more Moderation. But K. Lewis hearing the Embassadors name their Master King, with an angry Countenance said unto them; What mean you by this, to call him King who hath passed his Kingdom over to his Son? And with this Answer sent them away. To this evil, another worse was added: That Queen Eleanor his Wife enraged with Jealousy of her Husband's Concubines, both incensed her Son Henry, and persuaded also two other of her Sons, Richard and Geoffrey, to join against their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow them better Maintenance than their Father did. With these Persuasions they pass over into Normandy, and join with their Brother Henry, who emboldned by their Assistance, grows now more insolent than he was before; that when Messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made Answer, that his Father must not look he would lay down his Arms, unless himself first would lay down his Authority, and resign the Kingdom. And now Lewis King of France calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them William King of Scots, Hugh Earl of Chester, Roger Mowbray, Hugh Bigot, and others of his Son's party, they all take their Oaths to assist the young K. Henry with all their power, and thereupon all in one Day the French

invade Normandy, Aquitain, and Britain; A.D. 1170. the King of Scots Northumberland; and King Lewis the City of Verneuil, which he brought to that Distress, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succoured within three Days, then to surrender it. K. Henry hearing of this Agreement, promiseth to succour them by that Day. But here K. Lewis useth Trick, gets that by Fraud, which he could not do by Force; for he sends to King Henry, that if he were willing to have a Peace with his Sons, he should meet him at a Place appointed, at such a Time, and he doubted not to effect it. King Henry glad of such an Offer, and with that Gladness perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any Deceit, promised to meet; and coming to the Place at the Day, which was the Day he should have succoured Verneuil, he stayed there all Day looking for King Lewis coming; who instead of coming, sent word to Verneuil, that K. Henry was defeated, and therefore their Hope of Succour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came not according to his Promise, surrendered the Town; which King Lewis finding himself unable to hold, set it on Fire, and so departed. But King Henry when he perceived the Fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody Revenge of his Fraud, with the slaughter of many of his Men. At the same Time also King Henry's Forces encountred Hugh Earl of Chester, and Robert Fulger, who had taken Dole in Britain, took them Prisoners, and brought them to King Henry. And about the same Time likewise in England, Robert Earl of Leicester thinking to surprize Reynold Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Lacy, King Henry's Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of Leicester taken, which only the Sight of the Place defended from being battered to the Ground. Robert Leicester a strong Site. Earl of Leicester being thus defeated, passeth over into France, and being supplied by King Lewis with greater Forces than before, is together with Hugh Bigot sent back into England, to draw the Countrey to Henry the Son's Party, who at first Assault took Norwich; and then sitting down before Bury, they are in a great Battel by Richard Lucy, and others of King Henry's Captains, overthrown with the Slaughter of 10000 Men, and as many taken Prisoners; amongst whom Earl Robert himself. Yet were not Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot so daunted with this Overthrow, but that together with David King of Scots Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade Northumberland and Yorkshire, when Robert Scottee, Ralph Granula, William Vesci, and Bernard Balliol (who built Bernard Castle in the Bishoprick of Durham) Knights of those Parts, assembled together, and fighting a great Battel with them, overthrew them, and took the King of Scots Prisoner, with many others. Yet is not Hugh Bigot daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes Norwich; and Robert Ferris, Nottingham. The News whereof, when King Henry the Son heard, he recovered new Spirits, and

K. Lewis's Fraud to get Verneuil.

Hugh Bigot's resolute persisting in assisting young K. Henry.

Bernard Castle, of whom so called.



A.D. 1174. and obtaining new Assistance from K. Lewis, prepares himself afresh for War: Which King Henry the Father hearing, returns speedily into England, and to appease St. Thomas Becket's Ghost, goes to visit his Tomb, and there asks him Forgiveness. This done he goes into Suffolk, and at Farmingham Castle, which belonged to Hugh Bigot, stays with his Army: when suddenly moved by what Instinct no Man knows (unless the appeasing of St. Thomas's Ghost did work it,) both Hugh Bigot delivers up his Castle into K. Henry's Hands, and likewise Robert Mowbray, Robert Ferris, and many others of that Party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the King's Mercy. Hereupon King Henry returns to London, about which Time he committed his Wife Queen Eleanor to Prison for her Practices against him. In the mean time, King Lewis understanding that Normandy was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King Henry, and Philip Earl of Flanders, he besieged Roan, which the King's Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in Person; and thereupon King Lewis despairing of any good to be done, sends Messengers to King Henry for a Truce, and appointed a Day to meet at Gyfors, where he doubted not to make a reconciliation between his Sons and him. K. Henry agreed willingly, but at the Meeting nothing was done. It seems it was but one of K. Lewis's old Tricks to come fairly off.

K. Henry visits the Tomb of Tho. Becket.

Hugh Bigot and others submit themselves to K. Henry.

Queen Eleanor committed to Prison.

A Reconciliation is made on all Parts. Richard, K. Henry's second Son affianceth Adela the K. of France's Daughter.

A.D. 1179. With whom K. Henry is thought to have unlawful Familiarity.

After this Truce made with K. Lewis, K. Henry hearing that his Son Richard had in the mean time possessed himself of a great part of the Province of Poitou, goes thither with an Army, where Richard at last, after some Hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks Pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any Fault. And thereupon K. Henry employs him to K. Lewis, and his Brother Henry, to persuade them to Peace; who wearied now with the Wars, were easily drawn, and so Reconciliation on all Parts is made. And to confirm the Reconciliation between the two Kings, Henry and Lewis, his Daughter Adela is affianced to K. Henry's Son Richard, as Earl of Aquitaine; and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the Care of K. Henry till she could be fit for Marriage. Upon this K. Henry sets Robert Earl of Leicester, and Hugh Earl of Chester, giving Hostages and Oath for their Allegiance, at Liberty; and William also King of Scots, paying a certain Mulet, for which he delivered in Pawn the strong Castles of Berwick, Roxborough, and Sterling to K. Henry, and was fined to lose the County of Huntington, and never to receive any Rebels into his Protection. These Things done, the King with his Son returns into England, where with all Joyfulness they were received.

It was now the Year 1179, when K. Lewis began again to grow discontented with King Henry, because his Daughter was not yet married to his Son Richard, as was agreed: But K. Henry making him Promise to have them

married within a few Days, gave him Satisfaction; tho' indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time had unlawful Familiarity.

The Year 1184 was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the Death of the young K. Henry, who died then, being of the Age of one and twenty Years; whose Widow Margaret returning into France, was afterward married to Bela King of Hungary. Now K. Henry's Son Richard, no longer enduring to have his Marriage delayed, which his Father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old Fit of Discontentment. Wherein tho' he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused; for to be kept from a Wife at that time of his Age for which a Wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his Appetite the sharper; must needs be, if not a just Cause, at least a strong Provocation to make him do as he did.

Howsoever from this Fit of Discontentment, he falls into a Relapse of Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother John, and a great part of his Father's Adherents, they all take part with Philip, (now after the Decease of Lewis King of France) who willing to make use of their Assistance, before the Stream of filial Awfulness should return into the natural Chanel, takes them along with him, and besiegeth the City of Mans, in which K. Henry at that time was himself in Person. Who apprehending the Danger, and then resenting the Mischief of falling into his Enemies Hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend itself, till he should return with greater Forces; for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a Distraction of Mind, that it made him break out into these blasphemous Words:

*I shall never hereafter love God any more, who hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me:* But he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those Words. Indeed Mans was the City in which he was born. That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his Birth-right taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because he shortly after died, but because the State of Majesty, which had all his Life accompanied him, after this forsook him; for now he was fain to beg Peace of his Enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to Conditions, which no Force before could have wrested from him. It is

A blasphemous Speech of K. Henry.

A strange Accident. these two Kings had Meeting between Terouin and Arras, for Reconcilement of Differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a Crack, that it forced them for that time to break off their Conference; and afterward at another Meeting, the like Accident of Thunder happened again, which so amazed K. Henry, that he had fallen off his Horse, if he

A.D. 1179.

A.D. 1184.

An. Reg. 30.

The young K. Henry dieth.

Richard, discontented with the Delay of his Marriage, rebels; and draws in his Brother John.

Mans taken by the K. of France.

A blasphemous Speech of K. Henry.

A strange Accident.



A.D. 1184. he had not been supported by those about him: Which could be nothing but Drops let fall of the divine Anger, and manifest Pre-  
 fages of his future Disasters. And thus this great Prince's Troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a Trouble, that it ended his Life, and left him an Example of Desolation, notwithstanding all his Greatness; forsaken of his Friends, forsaken of his Wife, forsaken of his Children; and (if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the Loss of *Mans*) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all Greatness.

*Of his Acquest in Ireland.*

Who first of all Englishmen entered Ireland.

**R**obert Fitz Stephen was the first of all Englishmen after the Conquest that enter'd Ireland, the first Day of May in the Year 1170 with 390 Men, and there took *Wexford* in the Behalf of *Dernutus*, Son of *Mercherdach*, called *Mack Murg*, King of *Leymster*. In September following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepstow*, surnamed *Strong-bow*, sailed into Ireland with 1200 Men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*, and married *Eve* the Daughter of *Dernutus*, as he was promised. From these Beginnings, *K. Henry* being then at rest from all hostile Arms both at home and abroad, takes into his Consideration the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded Assistance to the *French*; and therefore purposing with himself by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter Season sailed thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*. Where entering into Consultation what Course was fittest to be taken in the Enterprize, suddenly of their own Accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Rodoric* King of *Connaught* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation. But *K. Henry* forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in the Fastness of Bogs and Woods, and was not to be followed in the Winter Season, takes his Journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their Consent to have him and his Heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Pope's Authority, to whom, at their first Conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves; the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, an Englishman, requiring his Assent, which upon divers good Considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without Blood possess'd himself of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into *England*. About four Years after, *Rodoric* also sends his Chancellor to *K. Henry*, to offer his Submission, with a Tribute to be paid of every ten Beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he sent his Son *John* to be the Governour there.

The Pope confirms their Submission.

*K. Henry* builds a stately Palace in *Dublin*.

He sends his Son *John* Governour into *Ireland*.

*His Taxations and Ways for raising of Money.* A.D. 1184.

**T**axations in his Time were chiefly once when he took *Escuage* of Englishmen, towards his Wars in *France*, which amounted to 12400 Pounds: But Confiscations were many, because many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Also Vacancies of Bishopricks and Abbies kept in his Hand, sometimes many at once, no Time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors; but a principal Cause that made him plentiful in Money, was his Parsimony: As when he was enjoined for a Penance to build three Abbies, he performed it, by changing secular Priests into regular Canons, only to spare Cost: And it was not the least Cause of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not Maintenance answerable to their Calling. And it could be nothing but Parsimony while he lived, which brought it to pass, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers 900000 Pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

He keeps Abbies vacant in his Hands.

He resumes Crown-Lands.

His Parsimony.

He left behind him 900000 Pounds in Money.

*Laws and Ordinances in his Time.*

**I**N the Beginning of his Reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his People than they were before. In the one and twentieth Year of his Reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several Circuits, appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every Year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between Man and Man: As at this Day, tho' altered in the Number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this King's Days, the Number of *Jews* all *England* over was great: Yet wheresoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of the Dead any where but in *London*; which being a great Inconvenience to bring dead Bodies oftentimes from far remote Places, the King gave them Liberty of Burial in several Places, where they lived. It was in this King's Days also ordained, that Clergy-men offending in hunting the King's Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which Order was afterward taken with them for any Offence whatsoever they committed. Tho' it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lyons should be kept in the Tower of *London*. Also this King made a Statute concerning Armour and Weapons, That every Man that held a Knight's Fee, should be bound to have a Pair of Curasses, an Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every Man of the Laity having Goods and Revenues to the Value of sixteen Marks, should have one Pair of Curasses, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every Man worth ten Marks, should have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

*Jews*, where-soever dwelling, might bury no where but in *London*, till this King gave them Liberty.

Clergy-men punishable by the Civil Magistrate. Lyons ordained to be kept in the Tower.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

**T**HIS King's Reign is famous for the Contention of a Subject with the Prince; and



and tho' it may be thought no equal Match, yet in this Example we shall find it hard to judge which of them had the Victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The Man was *Thomas Becket*, born in *London*, his Father one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an Outlandish-woman, of the Countrey of *Syria*. His first Rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a Liking to him, (as one saith, no Man knew for what) made him first Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then used Means to have him be the Prince's Tutor; after that to be Chancellor of *England*; and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Place. One memorable Thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendred his Place, being Chancellor, as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Commonwealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the Contention between the King and him.

Th. Becket's  
Parentage  
and Rising.

The Contention  
between  
the King and  
him.

The Difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy-men who were Malefactors, should be tried before the Secular Magistrate as Lay-men were: This *Becket* opposed, saying, it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the Honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*; the Contention grew long, and with the Length still hotter, till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this Clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*. The King liked not the Clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute Assent, without any Clause of Reservation. At last, after many Debatings and Demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his Hand unto it: But going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their Words, or otherwise, upon second Thoughts, the next Day when he met him again, he openly repented his former Deed, retracts his Subscription, and sends to the Pope for Absolution of his Fault; which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to persist in the Course he had begun. It may be thought a Fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this Contention, certain Fellows cut off the Archbishop's Horses Tails; after which Fact all their Children were born with Tails like Horses; and that this continued long in the Posterity, tho' now long since ceased, and perhaps their Families too. But *K. Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair Means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalities; and withal a Censure was spoken to be intended against his Person. Which *Becket* understanding, thought it his best Course to flee the Realm, and thereupon passing under the Name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two Years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Alms: In which Mi-

Children  
born with  
Horses Tails,  
and the  
Cause.

Becket flees  
the Realm.

fery nothing vexed him so much, as that *K. Henry* sent all his Kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into Banishment after him. And now *K. Henry* finding that *Becket* stood much upon his Legantine Power, sent Messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that Power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of *York*; but the Pope answered, he would not do so, but he was content the King himself should be his Legate, and sent him Letters to that Purpose; which King *Henry* took in such Scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This Dignity of Legateship, for the diligent Service of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was by a special Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Second, to remain to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so that they were entituled *Legati nati*, Legats born.

The Pope  
offers to  
make King  
*Henry* his Legate.

In this mean Time, the King of *France* prevailed with *K. Henry* to afford *Becket* a Conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, *K. Henry* alleged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket* but his Assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grandfather *K. Henry* I's Time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that then was, did give their Assent: Yet this moved not *Becket* at all, but he continued his former Tenet; it was against the Honour of God, and therefore desired to be excused. See now (saith *K. Henry*) the Perverseness of this Man, all that agrees not with his own Humour, is presently against the Honour of God. While these Things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more Friends at *Rome*, and by their means prevailed with the Pope to give him Power to interdict some Bishops in *England* that had done him Wrong; and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to *K. Henry* himself, if he restored not *Becket* to his Dignity. But whether aw'd with Threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s Importunity, or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that *Becket* should return home and enjoy his Bishoprick.

*K. Henry*  
complains of  
*Becket* to the  
*K. of France*.

*Becket* returns  
home.

Who being come to *Canterbury*, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for crowning the young *K. Henry*, (which he said was his Right to have done) made humble Suit unto him, to be released of the Censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain Cautions and Exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard Measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: Whereat the King being much moved, *Shall I never* (saith he) *be at quiet for this Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find some way or other to rid me of this Trouble.* Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely\*, *Reynold Fitz-urse*, or *Bereson*, *Hugh Morvill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they should do an acceptable Service to the King, went shortly after into *England*; and going to *Canterbury* found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the

The Bishops  
complain of  
*Becket* to the  
King.

\*In the *Monasticon Angliticum* it is said, that *Robert Fitz Ranulph*, or *Ralph*, was one of these Knights; and *Richard Britton* is sometimes called *Richard la Brus*.



Steps there, they struck him upon the Head with their Swords, and flew him the 29<sup>th</sup> Day of December, in the Year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by K. Henry's means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoined Penance to go on Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as some write: But others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three Years after they all died miserably. You have heard his Persecution, and (as some would have it called) his Martyrdom: Now hear the Honours that have been done him, and the Visitations to his Tomb: And first K. Henry himself coming to Canterbury, as soon as he came within Sight of Becket's Church, lighting off his Horse, and putting off his Hose and Shoes, he went barefoot to his Tomb; and for a further Penance suffered himself to be beaten with Rods by every Monk of the Cloister. A few Years after, K. Lewis of France comes into England of purpose to visit the Shrine of St. Thomas; where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that Time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tomb, which yet may be unbeliev'd without Unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some Days are to some Men more Fortunate than other Days; as Matthew Paris writes of this Becket, that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate Day to him; for upon Tuesday he was Born; upon a Tuesday he was banished; upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment; upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom; upon a Tuesday, fifty Years after his Death, his Body with great Solemnity was translated.

Contention betwixt the two Archbishops.

Two Popes at once.

A bond-man comes to be Pope, called Adrian the Fourth.

Choaked with a Fly.

Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem his insolent Speech to K. Henry.

Another Difference in this King's Days, was between the two Archbishops of England, about the Jurisdiction of Canterbury over York, which being referred to the Pope, he gave Judgment on Canterbury's Side. Also in this King's Days, there was a Schism in the Church of Rome, two Popes up at once, of whom Alexander the third was one; which Schism continued the Space of almost 20 Years. Also in this King's Days, one Nicholas Breakspear, born at St. Albans, or as others write, at Langley in Hertfordshire, being a Bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of Alba, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legat to the Norwegians, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity; and returning back to Rome was chosen Pope by the Name of Adrian the Fourth, and dyed, being choaked with a Fly in his Drink. In his Days also Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem came to K. Henry, desiring Aid for the Holy Land, but not so much of Money as of Men; and not so much of Men neither, as of a good General, as himself was: To whom K. Henry answered, That tho' he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him. With which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not, great King, that Pretences will excuse you before

God; but take this from me, That as you forsake God's Cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest Need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marvel, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this King's Days there came into England thirty Germans, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lord's Supper, with other Articles; who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot Iron in the Forehead, and be whipped; which Punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called Gerard) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when Men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thrust out of Doors in the Winter, where they died with Cold and Hunger, no Man daring to relieve them. This King after his Conquest of Ireland, imposed the Tribute of Peter-pence upon that Kingdom, namely, that every House in Ireland should yearly pay a Penny to St. Peter. In this King's Time was held by Pope Alexander the Third, the General Council of Lateran, consisting of 310 Bishops; where many Ordinances were made for the Peace of the Church. Also in the 33<sup>d</sup> Year of his Reign Jerusalem was taken by the Turks.

The Patience of Hereticks.

Peter-Pence imposed upon Ireland.

Works of Piety by this King, or by others in his Time.

THIS King founded the Church of Bristol, which K. Henry the Eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral. He also founded the Priors of Dover, of Stonely, of Basinwork, and the Castle of Rudlan; and began the Stone-bridge over the Thames at London. He caused also the Castle of Warwick to be builded. Maude the Empress, his Mother, founded the Abbey of Bordesly. In his Time also Hugh Mortimer founded Wigmore Abbey: Richard Lucy the King's Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the Honour of St. Thomas, in a place which is called Westwood, otherwise Lesnes, in the Territory of Rochester in the new Parish of Southfleet. He also builded the Castle of Onger in Essex. Robert Harding, a Burgess of Bristol, to whom K. Henry gave the Barony of Barkley, builded the Monastery of St. Augustine in Bristol. In the tenth Year of his Reign, London-Bridge was new made of Timber, by Peter of Cole-Church a Priest. Robert de Boscu Earl of Leicester, founded the Monastery of Garenden, of Monks; and of Leicester, called St. Mary de Pratis, of Canons Regular; and his Wife Amicia, Daughter of Ralph Montford, founded Eaton of Nuns. In the two and twentieth Year of his Reign after the Foundation of St. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, the Stone Bridge over the Thames at London began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave 1000 Marks. Aldred

The Stone Bridge in London.

London-Bridge new made of Timber.



dred Bishop of Worcester founded a Monastery at Gloucester of Benedictine Monks.

Casualties that happened in his Time.

A great Earthquake.

IN the eleventh Year of this King's Reign, on the six and twentieth Day of January, was so great an Earthquake in Ely, Norfolk, and Suffolk, that it overthrew them that stood upon their Feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, there was seen at St. Oystes in Essex, a Dragon of marvellous Bigness, which by moving burned Houses; and the whole City of Canterbury was the same Year almost burnt. In the eighteenth Year of his Reign, the Church of Norwich with the Houses there-to belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At Andover, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewise one Clerk and his Brother was burnt to Death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth Year a Shower of Blood rained in the Isle of Wight two Hours together. In the four and twentieth Year, the City of York was burnt; and on Christmas Day, in the Territory of Derlington, in the Bishoprick of Durham, the Earth lifted up her self in manner of a high Tower, and so remained unmoveable from Morning till Evening, and then fell with so horrible a Noise, that it frightened the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up there, made a deep Pit, which is seen at this Day; for a Testimony whereof Leland saith, he saw the Pits there commonly called Hell-Kettles. Also in the same Year, on the tenth Day of April, the Church of St. Andrews in Rochester was consumed with Fire. In the eight and twentieth Year of his Reign, Barnwell with the Priory, near unto Cambridge, was burnt. In the thirtieth Year, the Abbey of Glastenbury was burnt, with the Church of St. Julian. In the Year 1180, a great Earthquake threw down many Buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of Lincoln was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of April. And on the twentieth of October, the Cathedral Church of Chichester, and all the whole City was burnt. This Year also, near unto Orford in Suffolk, certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the Shape of a Man in all Points, which Fish was kept by Bartholomew de Glandevile in the Castle of Orford six Months and more; he spake not a Word; all manner of Meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish when he had pressed out the Juice; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any Sign of Adoration: At length, being not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the Year 1188, on the twentieth of September, the Town of Beverley, with the Church of St. John there was burnt. And in this King's Time, the Bones of K. Arthur, and his Wife Guinevour, were found in the Vale of Avalon, under an hollow Oak fifteen Foot under Ground: The Hair of the said Guinevour being then whole and of fresh Colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to Powder, as Fabian relateth.

A Shower of Blood.

Hell-Kettles in the County of Durham made by an Earthquake.

A Fish taken in the Shape of a Man.

The Bones of K. Arthur found.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married Eleanor, Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Guyen, late Wife of Lewis the seventh King of France, but then divorced; but for what Cause divorced, is diversly related. Some say K. Lewis carried her with him into the Holy Land, where she carried her self not very holily, but led a licentious Life; and which is the worst kind of Licentiousness, in carnal Familiarity with a Turk. Which K. Lewis tho' knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that Cause, as which he could not bring without Disgrace to himself, and made use of their Nearness in Blood, as being cousins in the fourth Degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a Cause sufficient to divorce them, tho' he had at that Time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke Henry marries her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober Life, a sufficient Proof, that the former Report was but a Slander. By this Queen Eleanor he had five Sons, William, Henry, Richard, Geoffery, and John; and three Daughters, Maude, married to Henry Duke of Saxony; Eleanor, married to Alphonso the Eighth of that Name, King of Castile; and Jane or Jone, married to William King of Sicily. Of his Sons, William died young. Henry born the second Year of his Reign, was crowned King with his Father in the eighteenth Year, and died the nine and twentieth Year, and was buried at Roan; married to Margaret, Daughter of Lewis King of France, but left no Issue. Richard born at Oxford (in the King's Palace there called Beaumont) in the fourth Year of his Father's Reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. Geoffery born the fifth Year of his Father's Reign, married Constance, Daughter and Heir of Conan, Earl of Little-Britain, in the fourteenth Year, and in the two and thirtieth Year died; leaving by his Wife Constance, two Daughters and a posthumous Son named Arthur. John his youngest, called John without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Father's Time; born the twelfth Year of his Father's Reign, and succeeded his Brother Richard in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar Honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the rest; and one of these two more famous than the other; and this was Rosamund, Daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford, whom he kept at Woodstock, in Lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no Stranger could find the way in; yet Queen Eleanor did, being guided by a Thread: So much is the Eye of Jealousy quicker in finding out, than the Eye of Care in hiding. What the Queen did to Rosamund when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that Rosamund lived but a short Time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of Godstow near to Oxford. By this Rosamund, K. Henry had two Sons, William called

A strange Licentiousness of Q. Eleanor.

John without Land.

Rosamund one of his Concubines.



called *Longsword*, who was Earl of *Salisbury* in Right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heiress of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much Issue, whose Posterity continued a long Time: And a second Son named *Geoffrey*, who was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*; and after five Years banishment in his Brother *K. John's*

The Wife of  
*Blewet* another  
of his  
Concubines.

An Honour  
to descend  
from a King,  
though born  
base.

Time, died in the Year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this *K. Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverly*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a Dispensation, because being a Bastard he was else incapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass as the Son of *Blewet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no Cause in the World deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the Place, than of his Blood, as being the Son, tho' but the base Son, of a King.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

Why called  
*Short mantle*.

HE was somewhat red of Face, and broad Breasted; short of Body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much Exercise and little Meat. He was commonly called *Henry Short-mantle* because he was the first that brought the Use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning Endowments of Mind, he was of Spirit in the highest Degree generous, which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous Heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*, and *Garcia* King of *Navarre*, refer a Difference that was between them, to his Arbitrament; who so judiciously determined the Cause, that he gave Contentment to both Parties; a harder Matter than to cut cloth even by a Thread. His Custom was to be always in Action: For which Cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have feigned; and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was always prepared of an Army; and made it a Schooling to his Soldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his Children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of Indulgence, he caused his Son *Henry* to be crowned King in his own Time; and out of Hardness, he caused his younger Sons to rebel against him. He was rather superstitious than not religious; which he shewed more by his Carriage toward *Becket* being dead, than while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other Women besides his Wife, but the affianced Wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a Meaning to be divorced from his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and to take the said

Always in A-  
ction.

To his Chil-  
dren both  
hard and in-  
dulgent.

His Inconti-  
nency.

*Adela* to be his Wife. Yet generally to speak of him, he was an excellent Prince; and if in some Particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a Man.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

HE was not well at Ease before; but when the King of *France* sent him a List of those that had conspired against him, and that he found the first Man in the List to be his Son *John*, he then fell suddenly into a Fit of fainting, which so encreased upon him, that within four Days after he ended his Life. So strong a Corrosive is Grief of Mind, when it meets with a Body weakened before with Sickness. He died in *Normandy* in the Year 1189, when he had lived threescore and one Years; reigned near five and thirty; and was buried at *Font-Evraud* in *France*; the manner of whose Burial was thus: He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his Head, white Gloves upon his Hands, Boots of Gold upon his Legs, Gilt Spurs at his Heels, a great Rich Ring upon his Finger, his Scepter in his Hand, his Sword by his Side, and his Face uncovered, and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son *Richard* in great haste ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the Body, but suddenly at his Nostrils he fell a bleeding afresh; which tho' it were in Prince *Richard* no good Sign of Innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter Tears upon the seeing it, was a good Sign of Repentance. It may not be unreasonable to speak in this Place of a thing which all Writers speak of; that in the Family of the Earls of *Anjou*, of whom this *K. Henry* came, there was once a Princess, a great Enchantress, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew out at the Church Window, and was never seen after. From this Woman these latter Earls of *Anjou* were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heraclius* say of this *K. Henry's* Children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would go. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this Story out of their Writings.

A.D. 1189.

His Body falls  
a bleeding at  
his Son *Richard's*  
coming near his  
Corpse.

His Ancestress  
an Enchan-  
tress.

#### Men of Note in his Time.

OF Clergy-men, there was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Geoffrey* of *Ely*, *Robert* of *Bathe*, *Aldred* of *Worcester*, all learned Men, and of great Integrity of Life. Of Military Men, there was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Hugh* Bigot, *Robert* Ferris, *Richard* Lacy, *Roger* Mowbray, *Ralph* Fulger, *Ranulph* Granula, *William* Vescei, and *Bernard* Ballioll; Men of great Atchievements in War and of no less Abilities in Peace.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
King *RICHARD I.*

*Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.*

A.D. 1189.  
K. Richard  
crowned.

Hoveden.

The manner  
of his Coronation.

**K**ING Richard, the First of that Name, after his Father's Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he settled the State of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was crowned King at *Westminster*, by the Hands of *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third Day of *September* in the Year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholden to Writers than any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where and by whom they were crowned; but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full Amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for Satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner: First, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers, carried before them, came to fetch him at the Door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar with a solemn Procession. In the Middle of the Bishops and Clergy went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffery de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and *John Marshall* next to him, bearing a massy Pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshal*, Earl of *Striguil*, alias *Pembroke*, who bare the Royal-Scepter, in the Top whereof was set a Cross of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the Top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*; the Earl of *Huntington*; *John* the King's Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*; and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his Hand, with the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the Middle betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Chequer Table; upon the which were set the King's Escutcheons of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold, a great

height before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right Hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was born: and in this Order he came into the Church at *Westminster*; where before the high Altar, in the Presence of the Clergy and the People, laying his Hand upon the Holy Evangelists, and the Reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath, That he should observe Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the Days of his Life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the People committed to his Charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws, and wrongful Customs, if any were to be found in the Precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his Garments from his Middle upwards, but only his Shirt, which was open on the Shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three Places, on the Head, on the shoulder, and on the right Arm, with Prayers in such Cases accustomed. After this he covered his Head with a Linen Cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garment, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the Enemies of the Church; which done, two Earls put his Shoes upon his Feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbid him on the Behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, That by God's Grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the King's Head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right Hand, and the Rod-Royal in his left Hand; and thus being crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Cross and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber;

A.D. 1189.

His Oath at  
the Coronation.

R

Chamber;



A.D. 1189. Chamber; and this was the manner of this King's Coronation. But at this Solemnity there fell out a very disastrous Accident. For this Prince not favouring the Jews, as his Father had done, had given a strict Charge, that no Jew should be admitted to be a Spectator of the Solemnity; yet certain Jews, as tho' it had been the crowning of K. Herod, would needs be pressing in; and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a Brabble, and from Words to Blows, so as many Jews were hurt, and some slain: and thereupon a Rumor was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what Risting there was of Jews Houses, and what cutting of their Throats: And tho' the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done; yet there was no staying the Multitude till the next Day; so often it falls out that great Solemnities are waited on with great Disasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

*Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.*

He sets his Mother Q. Eleanor at Liberty.

His Bounty to his Brother John.

He refused his affianced Lady Adela, and why.

He marries Berengaria the Daughter of the King of Navarre.

He makes great Provision of Money for his Journey to the Holy Land.

HE began with his Mother Queen Eleanor, whom upon her Husband's Displeasure having been kept in Prison sixteen Years, he not only set at Liberty, but set in as great Authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother John, to whom he made appear how much the Bounty of a Brother was better than the Hardness of a Father? For he conferred upon him in England, the Earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester; and by the Marriage of Isabel, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of Gloucester, he had that Earldom also, as likewise the Castles of Marleborough and Lutgarfal, the Honours of Wallingford, Tichil, and Eye, to the value of 4000 Marks a Year; an Estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate Mind into the Humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have a Care. Concerning his affianced Lady Adela, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: But the Cause was known, and in every Man's Mouth; that she was now but his Father's Leavings: Yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make Amends, if it might be, for the Loss of her Virginity; tho' this was somewhat hard on his Part, when the Father had taken all the Pleasure, that the Son should afterwards pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet Way for his Marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in Sicily with Berengaria the Daughter of Garcia King of Navarre. And now his Mind is wholly set upon his long intended Voyage to the Holy Land; for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but fore-casting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long

a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of A.D. 1189. Money by all the means he can devise. Not long before Hugh Pudsey had been advanced to the Bishoprick of Durham; and now for a great Sum of Money, he sold him the Earldom: and then said merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning Man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the Londoners he drained also great Sums of Money, and made them Recompence in Franchises and Liberties which they had not before. He made also great Sales; to the King of Scots, he sold the Castles of Berwick and Roxborough, for 10000 Pounds; to Godfrey de Lucie, Bishop of Winchester, the Mannors of Weregrave and Mentz; to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury the Mannor of Midhal for 1000 Marks of Silver; to the Bishop of Durham, the Mannor of Sadborough: And when it was marvelled that he would part with such Things, he answered, That in this Case he would sell his City of London, if he could find a Chapman. But the worst Way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that whosoever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new: whereby he raised great Sums of Money to himself, but greater of Discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like Means, he quickly furnished himself with Money; and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the Government of the Kingdom in his Absence: And after Deliberation, he made Choice for the Northparts, of Hugh Bishop of Durham; joining in Commission with him, Hugh Baldulph, and William Brunel; and for the South-parts he appoints William Longshampe, Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, and for his greater Strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all England and Scotland; and for Normandy and Aquitain, Robert Earl of Leicester; all Men eminent for Prudence and Uprightness, and which is most of all, for Loyalty; and indeed to make a Man fit for such Employment, all these Virtues must concur. As for his Brother John, he knew well his aspiring Mind, and therefore would have tied him to live in Normandy, and not to come into England till his Return, but that their Mother Queen Eleanor interceded, and passed her Word for him; and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew Arthur, the Son of his Brother Geoffery Duke of Britain to be his Successor, if himself should fail. And now *Undique convenere, vocat jam carbasus auras,* every Man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Wind; only some say that K. Richard before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blue Ribband to be known by; from whence the first Occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

He makes the Bishop of Durham an Earl for Money.

He sells Berwick to the King of Scots.

He leaves William Longshampe Bishop of Ely, Governor of the Kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew Arthur to be his Successor, if himself should fail.

From whence the Order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Of



A.D. 1189.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

A.D. 1190.

KING Richard having prepared an Army of 30000 foot, and 5000 Horse; and having appointed to meet Philip King of France in Sicily, at the latter end of June, in the Year 1190, sets forward himself by Land to *Marseilles*, and their stays till his Ships should come about: But his Navy being driven by Tempest to other Parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six Weeks, he hireth Shipping for himself and his Company, and passeth forward to *Messina* in Sicily, where arrived also the King of France, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island, the K. William now lately dead had married Jane, King Richard's Sister, from whom Tancred the present King withheld her Dower; and therefore tho' he shewed K. Richard fair Countenance, yet he dealt secretly with the *Messinese* to use all means to get him gone: Whereupon the *Messinese* taking a small Occasion set suddenly upon the English, and thrust them out of their Town. With which K. Richard justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the Affront; when Tancred sending to him to signify that the Affront was offered without his Knowledge, and much against his Liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied: But understanding afterward, that the *Messinese* did but wait their Opportunity till the Spring, when K. Richard should be going, he resenting their Intention, stays not their Leisure, but assaulting the Town with Fire and Sword, in one Day's Labour takes it; and had made great Slaughter in it, if K. Richard had not been moved to Compassion with the Tears of the *Messinese*, but chiefly with K. Tancred's Offers, both to pay his Sister Jane her Dower, and to marry his Daughter to K. Richard's Nephew, Arthur Duke of Britain, and to give a good part of the Portion in hand. But K. Philip was not well pleased with these Conditions, yet he breaks not out to open Diffention till more Fewel was afterward cast upon the Fire of his Anger. In the Spring King Philip sails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwise called *Acon*) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them he joyns; while K. Richard taking his Sister Jane and Berengaria the young Daughter of the King of Navarre with him in 190 Ships, and 50 Gallies, puts to Sea for the Holy Land, but is by Tempest cast upon the Coast of Cyprus, where the Islanders seeking to hinder his Landing, he set upon them with his Forces; and invading the Island, easily subdues and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Prisoner, and intreating K. Richard not to put him in Bonds of Iron, K. Richard gives him his Word, and keeps it, but puts him in Bonds of Silver. In this Island he solemnized his Marriage with Berengaria, and then leaving Richard de Canville and Robert de Thurnham, his Lieutenants in Cyprus, he passeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by Saladin, and had been besieged now two Years,

K. Richard takes the City of Messina in Sicily.

He subdues the Island of Cyprus.

Here he marries Berengaria.

when the Enemy seeing and fearing the Encrease of the Christian Forces, propounds Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in August the Year 1192.

A.D. 1192.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an Accident, seeming an Honour to K. Richard for the present, but proving a Disgrace, at least a great Trouble and Charge to him afterward; for Leopold Duke of Austria had first set up his Colours upon the Wall, which K. Richard caused to be thrown down, and his own to be set up: But this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the Reckoning till some time after. When Ptolemais was taken, Saladin fearing the Christians further proceeding, dismantles all the best Towns that were near it; as *Porphyria*, *Cesarea*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*: But of Joppa, K. Richard takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Christians. For Joppa is a City of Palestine that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great Convenience. And now the King of France, tho' valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great Acts to be obscured by greater of K. Richard's, he began, besides his old hating him, now to envy him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Virtue, makes the stronger Knot of Love and Affection; but when it is in Glory it makes a Separation, and turns into the Passion of Envy and Malice. And so it did with K. Philip, who pretending the Air of the Countrey did not agree with his Body, but was indeed because the Air of K. Richard's Glory did not agree with his Mind, obtained K. Richard's Content to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his Absence. But this fell out for the present Enterprize most unseasonably: For the Departure of the King of France, tho' it diminished not much the Strength, (for he left Odo Duke of Burgundy in his Place) yet it diminished much the shew of Assistance. And indeed Saladin, who was at this time in Terms of surrendering Jerusalem, when he saw the King of France departed, as knowing there must needs be a Conclusion, where there was a Beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soon after; and thereupon stayed his Hands, and grew more confident than he was before. At this time Guy of Lusignan was possess'd of the City of Tyre, and with it of the Right of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: With him King Richard makes an Exchange, that Guy should have the Island of Cyprus, which K. Richard had won, and K. Richard should have the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to which Guy had a Right; and upon this Title the Kings of England were styled Kings of Jerusalem a long time after; as likewise the Posterity of the said Guy hath by this Exchange held the Kingdom of Cyprus to this Day. Now was K. Richard more hot upon taking Jerusalem than ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that by ill Counsel diverted, because the Winter drew on, and indeed by the drawing back of Odo Duke of Burgundy, who envied that K. Richard should have the Honour of taking it, he removed for that Season to Ascalon;

The first Offence between K. Richard and Leopold D. of Austria.

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

The Kings of England from whence styled Kings of Jerusalem.



A.D. 1192. *Afcalon*: After which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all Opportunity was utterly lost, and they could

The King of France invading K. Richard's Territories in his Absence, makes him return.

He returns home thro' Germany.

Is taken Prisoner by Duke Leopold.

Is imprisoned in Trivallis by the Emperor.

He is ransomed.

never come to the like again. And shortly after K. Richard was advertised of the King of France his invading Normandy, contrary to his Oath at his Departure; which forced K. Richard much to his grief, to conclude a Peace with *Saladine*, and that upon Conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himself presently to return home. And so sending his Wife *Berengaria*, and his Sister *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into Sicily, and from thence into England, he passeth himself with some few in his Company, by the way of *Thrace*, and was by Tempest brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to pass thro' Germany, and particularly thro' Duke Leopold's Countrey of *Austria*, he remembering the old Grudge, changed his Apparel, and travelling sometimes on Foot, and sometimes on Horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known. But destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his Tongue, and partly by his Expences, it was presently found he was an English-man, and withal some great Man; and by and by a Rumour was spread, that it was Richard King of England; who finding himself to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his Disguise, putting on his Princely Apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke Leopold understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: But K. Richard refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself; the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: Whereof as soon as Henry the Emperor heard, he sent with great Instance to Duke Leopold to send K. Richard over to him, under Pretence of safer Custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a Sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke, tho' well knowing his Meaning, yet knowing withal that it was not for him to deny the Emperor, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had called *Trivallis*, into which no Man was ever known to be put that escaped with Life, tho' done perhaps to him but in *terrorem*, to draw the better Ransom from him. That with which K. Richard was charged, beside the Wrong done to Leopold in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*, was the Death of *Conrade* Duke of Tyre, whom they pretended K. Richard had murdered. Wherein tho' K. Richard made his Innocency appear by the Testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himself to have been the Author of the Marquess's Death; yet the Pretence served to detain him in Prison: And in Prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransom was agreed upon and paid. Which being 100000 Pounds, 80000 was paid in Hand, whereof two Parts to the Emperor, a third Part to Duke Leopold; and for the rest, Hostages given to the Number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: Tho' the Hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for

Henry the Emperor dying shortly after, his A.D. 1192. Successor had the Conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted. And indeed the Accidents that befel both the Emperor and the Duke Leopold, were evident Demonstrations of the Injustice they had done; for the Emperor shortly after died, and the Duke Leopold in a Tilting for Solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his Life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen Months Imprisonment, K. Richard is released, and returns into England four Years elder than he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable Accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted, that going one Day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himself weary, he laid himself down upon the Ground to sleep, when suddenly certain Turks came upon him to take him: But he awakened with their Noise, riseth up, gets a Horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assaults the Turks, who feigning to flee, drew the King into an Ambush where many Turks lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his Person; but one of the King's Servants, called *William de Patrelis*, crying out in the Saracen Tongue, that he was the King, they presently laid hold upon him, and let the King escape.

His Valour.

A faithful Servant.

#### Troubles in his Dominions in his Absence.

KING Richard at his going out of England had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept in good Order during all the Time of his Absence; but Disorders are Weeds which no Foresight can hinder from growing, having so many Hands to water them: Where Occasions of Distaste are no sooner offered than taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King Richard had left in chief Place of Authority *William Longshampe* Bishop of *Ely*; a Man who so carried himself, that altho' the Things he did were justifiable, yet the Pride with which he did them was unsufferable; seldom riding abroad without 500, some say 1000 in his Train; not for Safety, but for State: And tho' there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his Power was so predominant, that he made of them but Cyphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This Insolency of governing was soon distasted by many, and especially by John the King's Brother, who counting the Greatness of his Birth an equal Match, at least with any substitute Greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of Affairs in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder; till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so, but rather indeed deposed from his Authority by the King's Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his Place, thought it best for him to flee the Realm. Whereupon for his greater Safety, disguising himself in Woman's Apparel, and carrying a Web of Cloth under

Longshampe's proud Carriage.

Which the Lord John opposeth.

Longshampe seeketh to flee the Realm in his Disguise.



A.D. 1190. his Arm, he fought in this manner to take Shipping and pass the Sea: But being discovered and known, the Women in Revenge of the Abuse done their Cloaths in making them his Instruments of Fraud, fell upon him and so beat him, that it might have beaten Humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed K. *Richard* and Queen *Eleanor* for Reparation. But this was but a Sport in comparison of the Mischiefs done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*; for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns, and amongst others *Gisors*, and draws the King's Brother *John* to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of *England*, and to have his Sister *Adela*, whom K. *Richard* had repudiated, to be his Wife: With which Promise Duke *John* had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not dissuaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* took upon him as King, persuading the People that his Brother K. *Richard* was not living; and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a Prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead: But such was the Faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to K. *Richard*, that they opposed Duke *John*, and frustrated all his Practices; and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, That tho' K. *Richard* were dead, yet the Succession in the Kingdom belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, Son of *Geoffery* his Elder Brother. And in these terms K. *Richard* found his State when he returned from the *Holy Land*.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the *Holy Land*.

AT his coming home from the *Holy Land*, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and People Thanks for their Faithfulness to him in his Absence, and then for their Readiness in supplying him for his Ransom. But as for his Brother *John*, in whom Ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he depriveth him of all those great Possessions he had given him; some ado he had to make found certain Pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortrefe at *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwal*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Titchil*, which stood so firmly for Duke *John*, that they were not reduced to Obedience without some Blood, and much Expence. But his greatest Trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingrafted a Spleen against K. *Richard*, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some Ill. Now therefore K. *Richard*, to make it appear he had not left the *Holy War* for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his Charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three Swords before him, lest the People thro' his long Absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with 100 Ships

into *Normandy*; but it was withal upon this Occasion: Sitting one Day at dinner in his little Hall, (as it was called) News was brought him that K. *Philip* had besieged *Vernueil*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his Face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caused the Wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his Face; and thus in haste he goes to *Vernueil*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, not without some Loss and more Disgrace. Here his Brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of Penitence intreats his Pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your Fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernueil* enters *Touraine*, and near to *Vendosme* pitcheth his Tents: Thither K. *Richard* follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure, to a marvellous Value, he got him gone, and glad he was so rid of K. *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a Year, which each of them longed till it was expired; as having no Pleasure but in troubling one another. In this Time there was a Trouble at home, tho' not to the King, yet to the Kingdom. For *Robin Hood*, accompanied with one *Little John*, and 100 stout Fellows more, molested all Passengers upon the High-way: Of some it is said, that he was of Noble Blood, at least made Noble, no less than an Earl, for some deserving Services; but having wasted his Estate in riotous Courses, very Penury forced him to take this Course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any Man, never any Woman; spared the Poor, and only made Prey of the Rich; till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire*, called *Birkleys*; and desired there to be let Blood, was betrayed, and bled to Death. Such another Trouble, tho' not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the *Jews*; and first at the Town of *Lynne* in *Norfolk* upon this Occasion: A *Jew* being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the Street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by, was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted; which the People of the Town seeing, in Succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the *Jews*, of whom they slew a great Number, and after pillaged their Houses. By this Example the like Assaults were made upon the *Jews* at *Stamford*, and after that at *Lincoln*, and lastly, at *York*, where an infinite Number of *Jews* were massacred; and some of them block'd up in the Castle, cut the Throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians Heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves. Neither could this Sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellor the Bishop of *Ely*, with Force of

A.D. 1190.

His strange Haste to relieve *Vernueil*.

Reconciled to his Brother *John*.

A.D. 1195.

A Truce between the two Kings.

*Robin Hood* and *Little John*.

Are betrayed.

*Jews* slain in divers Places.

S Arms

Is discovered and beaten by the Women.

The Duke *John* takes upon him as King.

K. *Richard* at his Return depriveth his Brother *John* of all his Possessions.

Is new crowned.



A.D. 1195. Arms, to punish the Offenders. His last Trouble was a Punishment of Covetousness; for one *Guydomer* having found a great Treasure in the King's Dominions, and for fear of K. *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his Safeguard, was pursued by the King; but the Town denied him Entrance; and he thereupon going about the Walls to find the fittest Place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gerdon*, or as others call him, *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm, of which Wound he died within four Days after, and so ended all his Troubles.

K. *Richard* is wounded, and dieth.

A.D. 1199.

*Of his Taxations, and Ways for raising of Money.*

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any King's Reign; but of Ways to draw Money from the Subject, never more. It is true, the first Money raised for his Journey, was all out of his own Estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he resum'd the Lands into his Hands again, without paying back the Money he had received. This, if it may not have the Name, yet certainly it had the Venom of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then enjoining them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; tho' it went not in the Number, yet it had the Weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the Money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation, as a Contribution; or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his Absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise Money for his Ransom, there was imposed upon every Knight's Fee twenty; of all Lay-men's Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Also the Chalice and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the Sum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land thro' *England*, he would have two Shilings, and of the Monks *Cisteaux*, all their Wool of that Year. And one more great than this, and was this Year imposed towards his Wars in *Normandy*, that every Hide of Land, as much as to say every 100 Acres of Land, should pay 5 s. which computed without Deductions, will rise to a Sum that will seem incredible.

*Laws and Ordinances in his Time.*

HIS Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*; for where before his Time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Mayor, as now it is. And to give the first of these Magistrates the Honour to be remembered, the Names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornbill*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the Name of the first Lord-Mayor was *Henry Fitz-Aldwyn*, who conti-

Sheriffs and Mayor of *London* first ordained.

nued Lord-Mayor during his Life, which was four and twenty Years. But *Fabian* who was himself a Sheriff of *London*, and by that means most likely to know the Truth, affirmeth that the Officers ordained now by K. *Richard*, were but only two Bayliffs: And that there was no Mayor nor Sheriff of *London* till the tenth Year of K. *John*; and therefore at that Year I will begin their Catalogue. But howsoever, now began the City first to receive the Form State of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this Day they are: And this Franchise was granted in the Year 1189, the first Year of K. *Richard* the First. He made also divers Ordinances concerning the Measures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloath; and that no Cloath should any where be dy'd of any other Colour than black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Also he ordained Justs and Tournaments to be holden for Exercise of his Gentry in Arms.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

THE Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his Time, no Contestation with the Pope, no Alterations amongst the Bishops, no Difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongst themselves: They also seemed to be asleep, till they were afterwards awakened in the Time of the succeeding King. But abroad in his Time there was an Addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Augustine* Friars, called *Friars Mendicants*, begun by *William* of *Paris*; then the Orders of *Friars Minors* begun by St. *Francis*; and lastly, the Orders of *Friars Preachers*, begun by St. *Dominick*, tho' not confirmed till the first Year of Pope *Honorius*.

New Orders of Friars.

*Works of Piety in his Time.*

WORKS of Piety are for the most part Works of Plenty. Penury may inwardly have good Wishes, but outwardly it can express but little. And indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all sorts of People were drawn so dry, by the two great Occasions of his Journey and his Ransom, and afterward by the Taxations, that the richest Men had enough to do to maintain themselves, without being at any Charge to make Provision for others. All Works of Piety were now for the Service of the *Holy Land*; and therefore it may well pass, if not for a Work of Devotion, at least worthy to be remembered, that *William* Bishop of *Ely* built the outer Wall of the Tower of *London*, and caused a deep Ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* should have surrounded it; tho' it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter*, who at one time was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Pope's Legate, Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice, and the immediate Governor under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, founded a Monastery at *West-Derham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born; begun another at *Wolverhampton*; and finished a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of



Of his Wife and Children.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adelia*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Garfias* King of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence passing into *Cyprus*, their Marriage was there solemnized. Afterward going forward to the *Holy Land*, he carried her and his Sister *Jane* Q. of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home, and then sent them to pass to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: But that ever she came into *England*, no Mention is made, neither what became of her after she parted from *K. Richard* at the *Holy Land*. But Children certainly he had none either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unless we reckon as a Priest in *Normandy* did, who told *K. Richard* he had three Daughters; and the King marvelling who they should be, seeing he knew of none he had; *Yes* (saith the Priest) you have three Daughters, *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Letchery*. Which the King taking merrily, called to the Company about him, and said, I am told by a Priest here, that I have three Daughters, and I desire you to be Witnesses how I would have them bestow'd; My Daughter *Pride* upon the *Templars* and *Hospitalers*; my Daughter *Covetousness* upon the Monks of the *Cistercian* Order; and my Daughter *Letchery* upon the Clergy.

Uncertain what became of *Berengaria* *K. Richard's* Wife.

*K. Richard's* metaphorical Daughters, how disposed.

Of Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his Time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was consumed with Fire. And in his Time the Bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glastenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which stood two Pillars, in which Letters were written, but could not be read. Upon the Sepulchre was a Cross of Lead, whereupon was written, Here lieth the Noble King of *Britain*, *Arthur*. Also in this King's Days for three or four Years together, there reigned so great a Dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18 Shillings 8 Pence; and then followed so great a Mortality of Men, that scarce the Living sufficed to bury the Dead.

*K. Arthur's* Sepulchre found.

A great Dearth.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of Stature, and well proportioned; fair, and comely of Face; of Hair bright abourn, of long Arms, and nimble in all his Joints; his Thighs and Legs of due Proportion, and answerable to the other Parts of his Body. To speak of his moral Parts, his Vices for the most part were but only upon Suspicion: Incontinency in him, much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his Actions he shewed himself valiant, (from whence he had the Appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lion*) Wife, Liberal, Merciful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the Good of Christendom,

*K. Richard*, why called *Cœur de Lion*.

if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindered it. The Remorse for his Undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his Death he remembred it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him Forgiveness in another World.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE died of a Wound with an Arrow in his Arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as others say, ill handled by an unskilful Chyrurgeon, in four Days brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembred, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the Party that had wounded him to be brought before him; who being asked what moved him to do this Fact? answered, That *K. Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own Hand, and therefore he would do it if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible Punishment; when contrary to all their Expectations, in a high Degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special Charge he should be set at Liberty, and that no Man should dare to do him the least Hurt; commanding besides to give him 100 Shillings for his Pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But the *Policronicon* saith, That after *K. Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant*, who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be flayed quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth Day of *April*, in 1199, when he had lived 44 Years, reigned nine, and about nine Months, and had his Body buried at *Font-Evraud*, by his Father: His Heart at *Roan*, in Remembrance of the hearty Love that City had always born him; and his Bowels at *Chalons*, for a Disgrace of their Unfaithfulness: others say at *Carlisle* in *England*.

*K. Richard's* charitable mind at his Death.

Men of Note in his Time.

IN his Time were famous, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed *K. Richard* into the *Holy Land*, and died there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a Man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley* a great Mathematician; *John de Herbam*, and *Richard de Herbam*, two notable Historians; *Gulielmus Stephanides*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the Praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walsington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial Men, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Ranulph de Fulgeres*, two of the *Bardolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*; *Marshall*, *Brunel* and *Mandevill*; with two *Roberts*, *Rose* and *Seveville*.

T H E



T H E  
R E I G N  
O F  
King J O H N.

A.D. 1199.

**K**ING *Richard* being dead, the Right of Succession remained in *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffery Plantagenet*, elder Brother to Earl *John*; but *John*, as thinking the Title of *Arthur* but a Criticism in State, and not for every one's Capacity, at least in common Sense not so plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, ascends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no Competitor: Only *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him a Courtesy, he did him indeed a Wrong; for waving his Right of Succession, he insisted wholly upon their Right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might cast him out; of which Error when he was told, he said, He did it of purpose to make *K. John* the more careful of his Government, by making him sensible upon what an unsure Ground his Regality stood. *K. John* resented it; but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his Turn once served, he could afterward be his own Carver of what Title he pleased; and so upon *Ascension-day* in the Year 1199, he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, with more Solemnity than Joy: Many prefacing by their Countenances, and more in their Minds, That all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral Circumstances, Earl *John* had the Advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a Man of Years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a Child, not thirteen Years old; he a Native, at least always bred up in the Kingdom; *Arthur* a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People; *Arthur* a Stranger to both, as one they had never seen. And besides these moral Advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, That he had gotten Possession; (of more Force in the practical part than all the former) and withal a greater than all these, if it be true which some write, That his Brother *K. Richard* had assigned him his Successor after his Decease. But yet knowing the Title at last would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge, he employeth all his Endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means possible to strengthen himself with

*K. John* is crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*.

Arms; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he seisseth upon the Treasure which his Brother had left in those parts, and with it gets Friends and Soldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Assistants, who yet assisted him no less for their own ends than for his. And these were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grandson *Arthur* should be King; that then his Mother *Constantia* would rule all, at least during his Minority, and thereby her self be put from the stage of all Authority: And the Archbishop *Hubert*, who also knew that if *Arthur* should come to reign, that then the *Angevins* and *French* should have all the best Offices, and the *English* wholly be neglected, as it was in the Time of *K. William* the Conqueror: And yet a greater Friend than both these; for coming to *Roan*, he used means, that *Walter* the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great Pomp girt him with the Ducal Sword of *Normandy*, and crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

A.D. 1199.

*Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew Arthur.*

**T**HOU' *K. John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province sure unto him; yet the Province of *Anjou* stood firm for *Arthur*, in observance of their Love to his Father their former Prince; which also *K. John* soon after invading, reduceth by Force of Arms to his Obedience. And now *Constantia*, the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding *K. John* too powerful an Adversary, and no Likelihood for her Party to be able long to stand out against him without further Assistance, conceives it her best way to have Recourse to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his Tutition; who seemed to receive him with the Tendernefs of a Father, and promiseth to assist him with his uttermost Forces, in the Recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may observe upon what Hinge the Affections of the King of *France* were used to turn. For in *K. Henry* the Second's Time, *K. Lewis* of *France* was so great

*Constantia*, Prince *Arthur's* Mother, imploreth Aid of the King of *France*.



A.D. 1199. great a Friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France* was so great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother: And now that *John* is come to be King, he is presently grown so great a Friend of *Arthur's*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if *Arthur* should ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the Persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were always jealous of their growing too great. And indeed this ballancing of States keeps Princes Affections always in Suspence, and never suffers the Glasse of their Love or Hate to make a true Reflection. About this Time, *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to visit *K. John*, and there did Homage to him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, tho' some say, but only for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: But being required Aid against the *French*, he excused himself, saying, He could not do it without Consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

The King of Scots doth Homage to K. John.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the Protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*, takes many of the best Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* also, and recovers it from *K. John*, which he the Year before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this, *K. John* makes a Journey into *Normandy*, accusing *K. Philip* for breaking the Truce which he had formerly made with *K. Richard* for five Years. But when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty Days: With which new Truce, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had professed himself of that Side, was not well pleased, and thereupon cometh to *K. John* to *Roan*, and entering a new League with him, they there consult how to proceed, when the fifty Days should be expired. This Consultation the King of *France* understood; and thereupon both Sides prepare for War, but at the End of the Truce, both Sides seemed to relent, and divers Meetings were had for Treaties

A.D. 1200. The two Kings of England and France agree upon a Peace.

The English Lords are discontented with the Conditions of Peace.

of Peace: And in Conclusion, *K. John*, more desirous of Peace than he was for his Honour, agreed to these Conditions, That his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonfus* K. of *Castile*, by his Sister *Eleanor*, should marry with *Lewis* K. *Philip's* Son, who should have with her in Dower, besides 30000 Marks in Money, all those Cities, except only *Angiers*, which the *French* before that Time had taken, which were very many and great. And this Peace thus made, he returns into *England* with great Joy, but was not with the like Joy received of the *English* Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured in the dishonourable Conditions he had made; and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* also, when he saw the poor Spirit

of *K. John*, to descend to such base Conditions, left his Party, and entering League with the King of *France*, disposed himself for the Holy War.

But *K. John* having now gotten a Vacation, and a Time of Ease, which agreed much better with his Nature than Wars, sets his Mind wholly upon Pleasures; and for maintaining his Pleasures, upon seeking after Profit, which he pursues by all manner of Injustice, under the Name of Prerogative; and with such Violence, that when his Brother *Geoffery* Archbishop of *York*, in the Dutifulness of a Counsellor, adviseth him not to take such unlawful Courses, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a Year's Work for all the Archbishop's Friends to pacify his Anger. In the Neck of this Injustice, he commits another, he procures a

K. John divorceth his Wife *Avis*, and marries *Isabel* affianced to *Hugh le Brun*.

Divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, only for being of Kin to him in the third Degree; and by Advice of the King of *France*, marries *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*; and shortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and she together are both crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all summoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitsuntide* following, they all, by a general

The Lords refuse to do the King Service out of the Kingdom.

Consent, sent him Word, That unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no Service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their Demands at this Time than before, no Writers of these Times do sufficiently deliver: Only some of them speak scatteringly of certain Oppressions (besides the general Grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords; one to the Earl of *Chester*, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his Cruelty and Incontinency. Another, a Pursuit in Love to the Daughter of *Robert Fitz-Water*, called *Maud* the Fair, who not consenting to the King's Lust, a Messenger was sent to give her Poison in a Potched Egg, whereof she died: And the third offered to *William de Brawse* and his Lady, for a rash Word spoken; for when the King sent to have *de Brawse's* Son delivered him for a Pledge, the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his Keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This rash Word cost *de Brawse* his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their Lives, both of them being famished to Death in Prison. For tho' these directly were but particular Grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered, all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were the Ingredients to make a Compound of Violence in the Lords at this Time, or whatsoever was the true Cause, this was plainly the Effect, That unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this Refusal of his Lords, he passeth over

K. John's unjust Carriage for being denied his Suit in Love.

T

with



A.D. 1200. with his Queen into *Normandy*, and from thence into *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all Complements of Love and Amity. But now *Hugh* Earl of *March*, resenting the Injury done him by *K. John*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joins with Prince *Arthur*; and the King of *France* also, for all his fair Shew of Amity lately made, joins with them, as having some time before married his youngest Daughter to Prince *Arthur*; and these, with their Forces joined, invade first the *Turones*, and then the *Anjovins*

A.D. 1202. of which Province Queen *Eleanor* the King's Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her self to *Mirabel* the strongest Town of those Parts and sends to her Son *K. John*, acquainting him with the Danger she was in, and required his speedy Succour. When in the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, whom he used with greater Reverence and Respect than she expected. But *K. John* at the Hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the *French* King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince *Arthur* contrary to his League, that studying presently the Art of Revenge, he fell upon a Stratagem of all other the most prudent against an Enemy. For a Surprise in War is like an Apoplexy in the Body, which strikes without giving Warning for Defence. And this Stratagem at this Time *K. John* put in Practice; for traveling Night and Day with indefatigable Labour, he came upon his Enemies before they were aware, and setting upon them unprovided, it was rather an Execution than a Battle: and they who remained unslain were taken Prisoners; amongst whom Prince *Arthur* himself, who committed presently to the Custody of *Robert de Veypont* in *Roan*, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make Escape, he fell down from the Walls of this Prison, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as some say: Or whether it were that thro' Anguish of Mind he fell sick and died, as others say: Or whether indeed he were made away by *K. John*, as the common Fame went; certain it is, that he survived his Imprisonment but a very few Days. But tho' he were gone, yet his Sister *Eleanor*, a preceding Competitor to *K. John*, was still remaining: Her therefore, at this time also *K. John* seized upon, and commits her in safe Custody to *Bristol* Castle, where after she had lived long, she died.

*K. John* by Celerity surprizeth his Enemies.

Prince *Arthur* is taken Prisoner, and soon after died.

Of his Troubles after the Death of his Nephew Arthur.

**K**ING *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he should have ended all his Troubles: But like a *Hydra's* Head, they rather multiplied upon him. For they who had been so ready to assist Prince *Arthur* in his Life, were now as ready to revenge his Death. And first, *Constance* his Mother comes to *K. Philip*, with open Exclamations against *K. John*, accusing him with the Murder of her Son, and with all the Instance of Tears and Intrea-

Prince *Arthur's* Mother accuseth *K. John* of murdering her Son to the King of *France*.

ties, solicites him to revenge it. Hereupon A.D. 1202. *K. Philip* summons *K. John* to appear at a Day; and because he appeared not according to the Tenure of his Homage it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the Property of his Estate in *France*; and thereupon *K. Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal Consequence, while *K. John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarded it than if it had not at all concerned him. And when some of his Lords seemed to marvel what he meant to suffer the *French* to rob him of such good Cities; You say true indeed (saith he) for it is but robbery; and within a few Days you shall see I will make him restore them back with Usury. In this slighting Humour he returns into *England*, where he looks not after the levying of Soldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this Case required, but continues his old Courses for raising of Money, accusing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as if it were their Fault that he had lost these Towns in *France*. And upon these Accusations made many of them pay great Sums of Money, which brought him not only into Hatred at home, but into Contempt abroad; for the King of *France* understanding his unworthy Courses, proceeds more violently in his Invasions than before, getting *Falais*, *Damfront*, and all the good Towns of *Normandy*, but only *Roan*. And at last, tho' *Roan* was a Town strongly fortified with Walls, and more strongly with the faithful Hearts of the Inhabitants; yet finding no hope of Succour from *K. John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to Submit it self to the King of *France*. Whose Example all the other Cities followed; and so all *Normandy* returned to the Subjection of the *French*, after three hundred and sixteen Years that *Rolla* the Dane had first possess'd it.

King *John's* Carelessness.

All *Normandy* lost by *K. John*.

It was now the Year 1205, and the sixth of *K. John's* Reign, about which Time, the two Props of his Estate or rather indeed two Bridles of his intemperancy died, his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whose Virtues had oftentimes qualified the Vices of her Son; and *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his Death of nothing more, than that he had been an Instrument of bringing him to the Crown.

A.D. 1205.

And now *K. John* being a Substantive of himself, hath a Device in his Head to make his Subjects as willing to give him Money as he was to have it: For knowing the great Discontentment they all had for their Losses in *France*, he gives it out, that he would presently raise an Army for Recovery of these Losses, if he might have Money to go about it: Whereupon never was Money given with more Alacrity. And as soon as he had it, he instantly went to *Portsmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in Readiness to accompany him; and sailing forward some certain Leagues into the Sea, upon a sudden he returns back again, and then lays the Fault upon his Lords, that had not followed

*K. John's* Device to get Money of his Subjects.



A.D. 1205. lowed him: And for this Backwardness of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them, by which means he got Money no less by Pretence of his not going, than he had done before by Pretence of his going. About this Time died *Geoffery Fitz-Peter*, Justiciar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in some Awe; infomuch, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the Feet of God, that now at length he was King of *England*, and with great Rejoicing said to some Lords about him, Now when this Man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*; whom certainly he shall find there. But *Philip* King of *France* intending to leave the *English* nothing on that Side the Sea, invades *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain *Roger Lacy*, which had given a Period to *K. Philip's* Victories, had not *Guido*, the Husband of *Constantia*, Prince *Arthur's* Mother, revolted to *K. John*. Who with his Assistance once again levies an Army, besieged Mount *Auban*, a Castle thought impregnable, and within fifteen Days takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his seven Years Siege: Where so great a Number of *French* Lords were taken Prisoners, that *K. John* sent a Catalogue of their Names into *England*, for a Memorial of so great a Victory. After this, he taketh the strong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was sorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give Battle, Intercession was made by Friends on both Sides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two Years, and *K. John* returned into *England*.

*K. John* glad of *Geoffery Fitz-Peter's* Death.

*K. John* afflicted unexpectedly.

He was born at *Angiers* in *France*.

A Peace between the two Kings.

*K. John* passeth into *Ireland*, and reduceth it to Obedience.

He subdueth the *Welsh* Rebels, and takes twenty eight Pledges of them.

Upon their rebelling again, he hangs up all their Pledges.

A.D. 1214. It was now the Year 1214, and the fourteenth of *K. John's* Reign, when he going to *Angiers*, strongly repairs it, and the Province of *Poitou* revolted to him; which *Lewis* *K. Philip's* Son understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uses much Severity upon the Authors of the Revolt, takes Prisoners *Reynald*

Earl of *Boloinne*, and *William* Earl of *Sa-A.D. 1214* *lisbury*, with many other of *K. John's* Captains, and defeated his whole Army. *K. John's* Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce. Whereof when *K. John* was certified, he grew in a manner desperate, and as a Man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any Conditions with the King of *France*, and returns into *England*, where he finds a worse Business ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties, and finding nothing but Delusions, endure no longer to be abused; but meeting at *St. Edmundsbury*, they there confer how they might find a Remedy to redress this evil, and at last concluded to go to the King themselves in Person, and make their Demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in *K. Henry the First's* Time. Whereupon coming to the King after *Christmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands, he gives them this fair Answer, that within a few Days he would give them Satisfaction; and causeth the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marshall*, Earl of *Glocester*, to pass their Words for him that it should be performed. But the King meaning nothing less than to do as he said, falls presently a levying of Soldiers, which the Lords understanding, they all did the like; and going to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and required the King's Answer: But the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a Satisfactory Answer, he swore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would dye before he would yield to any such Demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to trust to) fall to besiege *Northampton*, and after that *Bedford*, which is yielded to them; and withal they are sent to by the *Londoners* to signify their Readiness to join with them. At this time the King was at *Windfor*, providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joined with the Lords, thought it no good way to proceed by Force, but rather by Fraud; and thereupon sends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windfor*, he would grant their Demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a military Manner, (for they durst not trust his Word) the King saluted them all kindly, and promised to give them Satisfaction in all they demanded; and so in a Meadow between *Windfor* and *Stanes*, called *Running-Mead*, he freely consented to confirm their former Liberties; and was content some grave Personages should be chosen to see it performed. But the next Day, when it should be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*, and from thence to the Isle of *Wight*; where Advising with his Council what in this Case was fittest to be done; it was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this Mutiny of the Lords, and to require his Help: While the King in the mean

*K. John's* Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce.

The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a Copy of their Demands.

The King resolutely refuseth to grant them.

The King promiseth to grant his Lords their Demands.

He sends to the Pope for Help.



A.D. 1214. mean time lived skulking up and down in Corners, that no Man might know where to find him; or which is worse (as some write) roving about and practising Piracy. And now the Lords begin to suspect Fraud, when shortly after the King's Messengers who were *Walter* and *John*, Bishops of *Worcester* and *Norwich*, return with the Pope's Decree, which was, That the King's Grant to the Lords should be void. With this Decree, the King after three Months that he had staid in the Isle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windsor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accusing the Messengers for false informing the Pope, and the Pope also for making a Decree without hearing both Sides, betake them to Arms, and swear by the holy Altar to be revenged for this Ludification and injurious Dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing mov'd with the Pope's Decree, sends again unto him, to acquaint him with it, who mightily incensed to have his Decree so slighted, adjudged them all to be held as Enemies of Religion; and gives Power to *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and to the Abbot of *Reading*, to excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had sent the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England*, and others, with his Seal, to hire Soldiers from the Parts beyond the Seas; who returning shortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poitou* and *Gascony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffry* and *Oliver Boteville*, Brothers; and under their Conduct so great a Rabble, that with these Forces, within half a Year the King had gotten all the Castles of the Barons, to the Borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and others, to set upon *London*, and with the other part he goes himself into *Yorkshire*, where most of the Lords had possession, which in most cruel manner he destroyed with Fire and Sword. The Lords being thus on all Sides distressed, resolved upon a Course, neither honourable nor safe; yet such as Necessity made seem both; they send to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to send over his Son *Lewis* to their Aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this Motion of the Lords, *K. Philip* was as forward as themselves; which *K. John* understanding, sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his Authority to stay the King of *France* from coming. But *K. Philip*, tho' much regarding the Request of the Pope, yet nothing so much as the Acquest of *England*, with all speed provides an Army; and with a Fleet of 600 Sail, sends over his Son *Lewis*; who passing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others resort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, join themselves with him. *K. John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to stay there for fear of the Enemy, he commits the Castle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himself to *Canterbury*, and from thence to *Winchester* in the manner of a

The Lords  
take Arms.

*K. John* with  
the Aid of  
Strangers gets  
all the Ba-  
rons Castles.

The Lords  
send for the  
*K. of France's*  
Son *Lewis* to  
come and be  
their King.

A.D. 1216.  
*Prince Lewis*  
cometh into  
*England*, and  
is received by  
the Lords,  
and by the  
City of *Lon-*  
*don*.

Flight; which *Prince Lewis* understanding, A.D. 1216. went strait to *London*, and by a plausible Oration makes that City sure unto him; and thither came to him the King of *Scots*, with an Army of choice Soldiers, as also the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury* with many others. And now *Prince Lewis* passeth all the Countrey over without resistance, but not without infinite Outrages committed by his Soldiers, which was not in him to hinder. And then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City easily, but *Dover* cost him a longer Siege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while *K. John* finding his Enemies employ'd in these difficult Sieges, sends about and gathers a Rabble of all raskal People to him; and with them runneth over all the Countrey, spoiling and killing in most barbarous manner. And now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the Miseries of Rapine and Cruelty; two Armies in it on Foot at once, each of them seeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Walpool* in *Norfolk*, where the *Washes* were to be passed over, he sendeth one to search where the Ford was passable, and there himself with some few passed over; but the Multitude, with all the Carriages, passing without Order, they cared not where, were all drowned; with which Disaster the King thro' anguish of mind fell into a Fever, whereof within a few Days he died. And here was an end of all the Troubles of this King; in whom it is observable, that loving his Ease so well as he did, he should run voluntarily into such Troubles, especially at home, upon so small Occasions as he did; but it should seem there is no greater Hindrance to Men for accomplishing their Will, than their own Wilfulness.

*K. John*, thro'  
Anguish of  
Mind, falls  
sick and di-  
eth.

#### Of his Taxations.

TO speak of his Taxations, it may not improperly be said, that it was but one continued Taxation all his Reign through; yet to divide it into two Parts; his first was the Taxation of three Shillings upon every Plough-land thro' the Kingdom, to pay the 30000 Marks for his Niece *Blanch's* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he seizeth upon all the Temporalities of his Brother *Geoffery* Archbishop of *York*, for opposing it; and for a Continuation, he makes a Progress shortly after into all the North Parts, where he exacts great Fines of Offenders in his Forests. Very shortly after, solicited by the Pope's Legate, he grants a Subsidy of the fortieth Part of all his Subjects Revenues for one Year, to succour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the Losses he sustaineth in *France*, and thereupon fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods; neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this Imposition. Before this Year is ended, another Levy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee, for military Aid; neither are the



the Clergy exempted from paying their Part. And before another Year is out, another Imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all Moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned amongst his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had displeased him about the Election of their Archbishop, he seized upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own Use: And presently after this, upon the like Displeasure, he deposes many Bishopricks, Abbeyes and Priories into the Hands of Lay-men, and confiscates all their Revenues. To these may be added, that he took 11000 Marks of Silver of the King of *Scots*, for granting him Peace. Add to these also great Sums of Money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ransomed, till the King caused every Day one of his great Teeth to be pulled out by the space of seven Days; and then he was content to give the King 10000 Marks of Silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to these, that at his return out of *Ireland* he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their Redemption the Sum of 100000 Pounds Sterling. Add lastly to these, that at his Return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that Expedition, two Marks.

A Jew's  
Teeth pul-  
led out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the first that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them also with their greatest Franchises. The first that caused Sterling Money to be here coined: The first that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls: The first that settled the Rates and Measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other Necessaries of Commerce: The first that planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*: The first that enlarged the Royal Style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and fastened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling Mo-  
ney, when  
first.

English Laws,  
when first  
planted in  
*Ireland*.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

AFTER the Death of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Convent secretly in the Night elected one *Reginald*, their Sub-Prior, to succeed him; and caused him to go to *Rome* for Confirmation: But afterward, doubting how the King would take it, being done without his Knowledge, they crave Leave of the King to chuse a fit Man; the King is content to allow them the Election, but requires himself to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he specially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the Matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of these two Elections should stand good, after many Allegations of both Sides, the Pope, to shew himself indifferent to both, disallows them both, and nominates a third Man, one *Stephen Langton*,

Cardinal of *St. Chrysgone*, an *English* Man born, and a Man of great Learning. The Monks admit him, but the King opposeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: But he that used the Spiritual Sword, proved so much the better Fencer, that he disarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the first Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threaten'd the King to excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom, so the King threaten'd the Pope to nullify his Authority, and to banish the Clergy-men out of the Realm. In the second Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threaten'd, (for he interdicted the Kingdom;) so the King performed as much as he had spoken, for he drove the Monks out of their Cloisters. Yet at last when *Pandulphus* the Pope's Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great Danger he stood, first, of the King of *France*, by Invasion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other Help but Reconcilement with the Pope; he so touched him to the Quick, that he made him leave his great Words, and fall to asking Forgiveness. So as taking off the Crown from his Head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* Feet, to be disposed of as the Pope should please. And *Pandulphus* stuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four Days in his Hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon Condition that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome* at the annual Tribute of 1000 Marks. And all those three or four Days in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly said the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermit in a prophetic Rapture had given out some time before, that by *Ascension-Day* there should be no King of *England*. Which tho' in some sort it was true, yet because in some sort it was not true, and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own Interpretation, it cost the poor Hermit and his Son their Lives, and they remain as a Pillar of Salt to make Men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in Matters of State.

Contention  
between the  
Pope and the  
King about  
Election of a  
Bishop.

The King  
surrenders his  
Crown to  
the Pope.

*Peter* the  
Hermit's  
Prediction of  
no King to  
be in *Eng-  
land* by a  
certain Day.

But by this means the Kingdom was released of the Interdiction, which had continued six Years, three Months, and fourteen Days: During all which time, there was no publick Exercise of Religion, no Churches open, no Ecclesiastical Sacraments administered, but only to them that were in danger of Death, and Baptism to Children; all that died were buried like Dogs, in Ditches and Corners, but only such as had purchased or procured Licence from the Pope.

The King-  
dom inter-  
dicted six  
Years toge-  
ther.

In this King's Reign *St. Dominick* continued his Preaching ten Years together against the *Albigenses*. Also in his Time *St. Francis* renounced the World; and when a Priest, to whom he offered it, would not take his

U

Money,



Auricular  
Confession  
and Tran-  
substantia-  
tion, when  
first.

Money, he cast it away, and enter'd into a Vow of perpetual Poverty. Also in this King's Time was held the *Lateran Council*, under Pope *Innocent the Third*, in which was established the Pope's Power over Princes; and in Matters of Faith, auricular Confession, and Transubstantiation.

*Of his Irreligion.*

Mat. Paris.  
fol. 243.

King John  
helps to car-  
ry Hugh Bi-  
shop of Lin-  
coln to bury-  
ing.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, tho' very unchristian; that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then having an Overthrow in *France*, in great Anger he cried out, That nothing had prospered with him since the Time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another Speech of his, which tho' spoken merrily, was in good Earnest very irreligious; that being on a time a hunting, at the Opening of a fat Buck, he said, See how this Deer hath prospered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Mass. It is sufficient to relate one Act of his, (if it be true which some write) that being in some Distress, he sent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, in Embassage to *Mirammulim King of Africk and Morocco*, with Offer of his Kingdom to him, upon Condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himself become a Mahometan, and renounce the Christian Faith. Tho' some there be that say, All these were but false Criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not these Things of him; yet to suffer his Kingdom to stand interdicted so many Years together, upon so small Occasion as he did, was certainly no good Sign of Religion in him. Yet one Act he did, wherein he shewed a Respect to Religion, by the Honour he did to a religious Man. For *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* lying very sick, he not only went to visit him; but being dead, was one of the three Kings (the other two were *William King of Scotland*, and the King of *South Wales*) that carried his Herse upon their Shoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbishops and Bishops to carry it into the Quire.

*Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his Time.*

YET did this King leave more Works of Piety behind him, than all his Subjects that were in his Time: For he founded the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in the New Forest in *Hampshire*: Also an Abbey of Black Monks in the City of *Winchester*, and the Monastery of *Faringdon*, and the Monastery of *Hales-Owen* in *Shropshire*: He re-edified *Godstow* and *Wroxwel*: and enlarged the Chapel of *Knariborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard Prior of Bermondsey* builded an House against the Wall of the said House of *Bermondsey*, called *Almary*, or Hospital of Converts and Children, in Honour of *St. Thomas*.

The Stone  
Bridge of  
London fi-  
nished.

In this King's Time *St. Mary Overy's* in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone-Bridge over the *Thames* was by the

Merchants of *London* finished. Also *Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury* founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the Dissolution came to the Family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this Day.

*Of his Laws and Ordinances.*

FROM the first Year of the Reign of King *Richard the First*, the City of *London* had been governed by two Bailiffs; but the King in his tenth Year taking Displeasure against them for denying his Purveyors Wheat, caused them to be imprisoned, till thirty five of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small Store the City had, how the Commons were ready to make Insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and moreover at their Suit, granted them to have a Mayor and two Sheriffs to be yearly chosen nine Days before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, tho' with some Alteration in the Time of their Election to this Day. Also in this King's Time, five and thirty of the most substantial Citizens of *London* were chosen out, and called the Council of the City. He caused the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and Money to be coined there according to the Weight of *English Money*.

The Com-  
mon-Council  
of *London*,  
when first or-  
dained.

*Of his Wives and Children.*

KING *John* lived to have three Wives. His first was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert Earl of Morton*, who left him a Widower without Issue. His second was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, by whom no Issue neither; divorced from her by reason of Consanguinity in the third Degree. His third Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter and Heir of *Aymer Earl of Angoulesm*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun Earl of March*. By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor* and *Isabel*: *Henry* succeeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and crowned King of the *Romans*, and had Issue *Henry* and *John*, that died without Issue; also *Edward Earl of Cornwall*, and others. *Jone* his eldest Daughter married to *Alexander the Second*, King of *Scots*, died without Issue. *Eleanor* the second Daughter (married to *Simon Earl of Leicester*) had Issue, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slain without Issue. *Simon Earl of Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy Earl of Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard* remaining privily in *England*, and changing his Name from *Mountford* to *Wellesbourn*, was Ancestor of the *Wellesbourn's* in *England*. *Eleanor* born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, had Issue *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albert Lantgrave of Thuring*. She died in Childbed, after she had been Empress six Years. He had also

The Family  
of the *Wellef-  
bourn's*, from  
whence de-  
scended.



also two natural Sons, *Geoffery Fitz-Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Castle) and had Issue by her, of whom some Families of good Account are descended. Also one base Daughter, named *Jone*, married to *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*.

*Of his Personage and Conditions.*

K. John's Intemperance.

HE was of Stature indifferent tall, and somewhat fat, of a sower and angry Countenance; and concerning his Conditions, it may be said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his Ease, yet his Fortune was to be ever in Action. He won more of his Enemies by Surprizes than by Battels; which shews that he had more of Lightning in him than of Thunder. He was never so true of his Word as when he threaten'd, because he meant always as cruelly as he spake, not always as graciously; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, must have looked upon his Promises. He was neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For Prosperity made him insolent, and Adversity dejected; a mean Fortune would have suited best with him. He was all that he was by Fits: Sometimes doing nothing without Deliberation, and sometimes doing all upon a sudden: Sometimes very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Christian. His Unsatiableness of Money was not so much, as that no Man knew what he did with it: gotten with much Noise, but spent in Silence. He was but intemperate in his best Temper; but when distemper'd with Sickness most of all, as appeared at his last, when being in a Fever, he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his Works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince; but if upon his Actions, nothing less: For his Works of Piety were very many, as hath been shewed before; but as for his Actions, he neither came to the Crown by Justice, nor held it with Honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good Parts in him, and especially having his Royal Posterity continued to this Day, we can do no less but honour his Memory.

*Of Casualties happening in his Time.*

Hail-stones as big as Goose-Eggs.

A strange Monster.

ONE Casualty we might count disastrous, if it had not had relation to our selves: For *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid *K. John* with 60000 out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by Misfortune at Sea they were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the People he had brought with him to inhabit. In this King's Time were great Thunders and Lightnings, and Showers with Hail-stones as big as Goose Eggs. Fishes of strange Shape were taken in *England*, armed with Helmets and Shields, and were like unto armed Knights, saving that they were far greater in Proportion. About *Maidstone* in *Kent*, a certain Monster was found stricken with the Lightning, which Monster had a Head like an As, a Belly like a Man, and all other Parts far differing from

any other Creature. Also in *Suffolk* was taken a Fish in Form like to a Man, and was kept six Months upon Land with raw Flesh and Fish; and then for that they could have no Speech of it, they cast it into the Sea again.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

WHEN Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords, and by the *Londoners*, *K. John* with an Army went into the *North* Parts; and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to pass over the *Wash*, he sent one to search where the Water was passable, and there himself with some few passeth over, but the Multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure passing without Order, they cared not where, were all drowned. With the Grief of which Disaster, and perhaps distempered in his Body before, he fell into a Fever, and was let Blood; but keeping an ill Diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a Loosness and grew presently so weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he died. Tho' indeed it be diversly related; *Caxton* saith he was poisoned at *Swineshead's* Abbey by a Monk of that Covent; the Manner and Cause this: The King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap Corn was, should say, He would ere long make it dearer, and make a Penny Loaf be sold for a Shilling. At this Speech the Monk took such Indignation, that he went and put the Poison of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him, There was such a Cup of Wine as he had never drank in all his Life, and therewithal took the Assay of it himself, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; Then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the Poison was given him in a Dish of Pears. But the Physician that disbowelled his Body found no Sign of Poison in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But howsoever the manner of his Death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this Time and Place he died, on the 19<sup>th</sup> Day of *October*, in the Year 1216, when he had reigned seventeen Years and six Months, lived one and fifty. He was buried, his Bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his Body at *Worcester*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monk's Cowl, which the Superstition of that Time accounted sacred, and a Defensative against all evil Spirits.

King John thought by some to be poisoned.

A Monk's great Virtue.

*Of the Prices of Things in his Time.*

NEITHER is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end Comparison may be made between the Time past and the present: As in the Time of *K. Henry* the Second, a Quarter of Wheat was sold for twelve Pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a Groat. Neither is the Price of Silver it self



it self much less altered; for an Ounce of Silver was then valued at twenty Pence, which is now valued at least at five Shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the Reason; for seeing Scarcity makes Things dear, why should not Plenty make them cheap?

*Of Men of special Note in his Time.*

*Hubert Burgh  
a most loyal  
Servant to  
K. John.*

*Robert Fitz-  
Water, his  
Valour.*

**I**N Military Matters there were many famous Men in his Time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitcher*, with many others; but chiefly two whose Acts make them specially memorable: The one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom *K. John* had left Governor of *Dover-Castle*; of whom it is related, that when the Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by Force, he sent to *Hubert*, whose Brother *Thomas* he had taken Prisoner a little before, That unless he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his Brother *Thomas* be put to Death with exquisite Torments before his Eyes: But this Threatning moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own Loyalty than his Brother's Life. Then Prince *Lewis* sent again, offering him a great Sum of Money; but neither did this move, but he kept his Loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water* of whom it is related, That *K. John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great Bravery would needs make a Challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durst encounter him in a Combat; when presently comes forth this *Robert Fitz-Water*, and in the Encounter threw Horse and Man down to the Ground: Whereof when *K. John* heard, By God's Tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, said to him, He is, Sir, a Servant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his Sentence of Banishment was presently reversed, and the King received him, as he well deserved, into special Favour. In Matter of Literature also there lived many famous Men in this King's Reign, as *Geoffery Vinesaufe*, *Simon Fraxinus*, alias *Ash*; *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* surnamed the Wise; *Richard Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tevicksbury*, *Gervasius Dorobernensis*, *John*

*Hanwil*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Bennet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilburiensis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devoniensis*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legly*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leicester*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger of Crowland*, *Hugh White*, alias *Candidus*, who wrote an History intituled, *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de Saint Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Historiographer, and Bishop of *Norwich*, *Walter of Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*; and lastly, *Simon Thurway*, who for his Pride in Learning, but more for his Blasphemies against *Moses* and *Christ*, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a Letter of a Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, *Hugo Caribufianus* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Miracles, as *Matthew Paris* writes, made him famous in those Days: And the Works he hath left behind him, famous in these.

*Simon Thurway, of a great Scholar, becomes an Idiot.*

In his tenth Year,

*Henry Fitz-Alwyn* was first Mayor.  
*Peter Duke*, *Thomas Neal*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,

*Henry Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*Peter le Josue*, *William Blounde*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,

*Henry Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*Adam Whitley*, *Stephen le Gras*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,

*Henry Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*John Fitz-Peter*, *John Garland*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,

*Henry Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*Randolph Eyland*, *Constantine Josue*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,

*Roger Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*Martin Fitz-Alice*, *Peter Bate*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,

*Roger Fitz-Alwyn* was Mayor.  
*Solomon Basing*, *Hugh Basing*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,

*William Hardel* was Mayor.  
*John Travers*, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
King *HENRY* III.

*Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.*

A.D. 1216.

**K**ING *John* being dead, his eldest Son *Henry* was next to succeed: Who being but nine Years old, tho he were capable of having his Right, yet he was scarce capable of understanding his Right; especially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been constant to the Father, notwithstanding his Faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether Innocent, and whose gracious Aspect gave no small Hope of a better Disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in Worthiness, none so near him in Alliance, as *William Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration in Behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the Matter, that on the 28<sup>th</sup> Day of *October*, in the Year 1216, he was crowned at *Glocester*, by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Joceline* Bishop of *Bathe*, in the Presence of *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, and many Lords and Bishops. Where besides the Oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear Reverence and Honour to God, and to his Holy Church, and to do Right and Justice to all his People, he did Homage besides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent* for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*; and took his Oath for the true payment of the 1000 Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, by a general Consent was assigned Protector of the Realm during the King's Minority. In which Place the first thing he did, was to give Notice of the new King's Coronation to all the Countries round about; and to proclaim Pardon to all Offenders that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his hearing of *K. John's* Death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more Opposition; now that he hears of the new King's Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a Consent, begins to think himself in worse case than before, and to grow jealous of the *English* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new World. And indeed a Conflict was already

King *Henry* is crowned.

grown in their Minds, which of the two Obligations should be the greater, either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*, or that of their Allegiance to *K. Henry*. They could not but think it extream Ungratefulness to forsake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themselves invited to come; and they could not but think it extream Undutifulness to stand out in Opposition against *K. Henry* their natural Sovereign. And that which added no small Weight to this Scale, was a Discovery lately made by the Viscount *Melun* a *French* Lord, at the time of his Death, who confessed, as a matter of Conscience, That Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *English* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any Place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the least Cause that moved many to leave the Party of Prince *Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Pope's Legat had threatened to excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these Reasons, or any other, were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William* the eldest Son of the Protector, shrunk from Prince *Lewis*, and went to *K. Henry*, as thinking no Obligation so great as Allegiance: And many again continued constant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no Obligation so great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to cast the Dice of Fortune before his Enemies, tho' they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a Head, and draw more Forces together, stayed himself at *London*, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of 20000, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small Opposition: But coming to *Lincoln*, where tho' they had the Town it self, yet the Castle stood out, and had been defended by a noble Lady a whole Year before, they found such Resistance, that their Proceedings were there arrested. For thither came presently, *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*; *William de Albinet*, *William de Cantilup*, *Thomas Bassett*, *Robert Vipont*, *Brent*, *de Lisle*, *Geoffery Lacy*, and many other Barons, with all the Power of the young King; who with wonderful Violence assault the City. At which time it was propounded by the *French*, to sally forth and give them Battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater than indeed

A.D. 1216.

The Lords doubt to whom they would adhere.

Many Lords shrink from Prince *Lewis*.



A.D. 1216. it was (for the *English* had set double Ensigns to every Company, which made a Shew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that Course, and kept themselves within the Town: By which means being cooped up, and straitned in Place, so as they could not make use of their Forces, as otherwise they might, they were in Conclusion all defeated; and all the principal Men of the *English* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis* were taken Prisoners; as namely, *Saer Earl of Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun Earl of Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln* by Prince *Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Mandet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressley*, *William Solville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropsley*, *Ralph Chenduit*, Barons; besides 400 Knights, or Men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compassed about, and willed to render himself, swore he would never become a Prisoner to any *English*; and thereupon was run thro' the Sight of his Helmet into the Brains, and instantly died. This was a main Blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the last of his Battels in *England*; and because the City was very rich in Merchandise, the *English* in Derision called it *Lewis Fair*. But Prince *Lewis* was not

Lewis Fair.

A.D. 1217.

Prince *Lewis* Supplies defeated at Sea.

Prince *Lewis* is compounded with to depart the Realm.

Prince *Lewis* departs.

Some Lords stand out still.

yet discouraged, for he had sent to *K. Philip* his Father to send him new Supplies out of *France*; and new Supplies were indeed sent, but *Hubert de Burgh* Governor of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped. And now this Blow at Sea was so much greater than that at Land; that where that made him only doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by Composition. Whereupon it was at last concluded, That Prince *Lewis* should have 15000 Marks for the Charges he had been at, and abjure his Claim to any Interest in the Kingdom; and withal to work his Father for Restitution of such Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown; and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, *K. Henry* takes his Oath; and from him the Legate *Guallo*, and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects, all their Rights and Privileges, for which the Discord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two Years after his first Arrival.

And now the Kingdom is come to Unity within it self, one King and one People; and for a Year or two there was but little to be done, only some few there were, whom the Corruption of the Times had engendred, and who being born in a Storm, could not live in a Calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipount*, *Foweke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*; who bustling about, got Possession of Castles: With what Intention all Men knew, but with what Hope of effecting their Intention, no Man

could imagine; for being but a handful of Men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed; and either brought to acknowledge their Faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was now the fourth Year of *K. Henry's* Reign; at which time *William E. of Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*, in whose Place came the Bishop of *Winchester*. And now was the King the second time crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Escuage, two Marks of Silver of every Knight's Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and Recovery of his Transmarine Dominions, which is now designed: And *Malleon de Saveroy*, the *Poictovin*, with *William Long-Sword* Earl of *Salisbury*, sent over to try the Affections of that People, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the Obedience of this Crown. But the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them, made Answer, That having gotten them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some Years of Understanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which tho' oppugned by some (and especially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Justiciar) as having been an Act of Constraint; yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights, or other legal Men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they should return them by a certain Day. And here the King by Parliament resumeth into his Hands such Alienations as had been made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next Year after, another Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Movables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Recovery of those Parts in *France*, withheld from the Crown by *Lewis*, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promise made here in *England* at his Departure; which tho' it concerned the honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it not be yielded to, but upon Confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same Words and Form as *K. John* had granted them in the two Charters before: And twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire to dispart the old Forests from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved to the great Comfort and Benefit of the Subject; and two Years they were accordingly enjoyed.

Of his Acts after he came to be of Age.

IT was now the tenth Year of *K. Henry's* Reign, and being about 19 Years of Age, he claimed to take the Government of the Kingdom into his own Hands, and no longer to be under a Protector: And now will presently appear the Difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counsel, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no Advice.

For

A.D. 1220.

An. Reg. 4. The Protector dieth. In his Place the Bishop of *Winchester* is chosen.

*K. Henry* is the second time crowned.

*K. Henry* confirms the Liberties of the Kingdom.

He resumeth Crown Lands.

A.D. 1225.

An. Reg. 9.

He confirms the two Charters granted by *K. John*, *Magna Charta*, and *Charter Foresta*.

A.D. 1226.

An. Reg. 10. He takes the Government upon himself.



A.D. 1226. For 13 Years he was ruled by a Protector, all passed as it were in a Calm, without Noise or Clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the Government himself, there grew presently Storms and Tumults; no Quietness either to the Subject or to himself; nothing but Grievances all the long Time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at Oxford, as soon as he was crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage, and therefore he not bound to observe it: And then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new, and causeth Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would enjoy any Benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them sign'd by his new Seal, by which Course he drew much Money from many; and this was the first Grievance.

He annuls the Charters which he granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

The Lords confederate against King Henry, and why.

King Henry makes a Journey into France, but without Success.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamstead Castle* to one *Walleran a Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard of Cornwall*; but when Earl *Richard* required to have the Possession, as of Right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the King's chief Counsellor, to commit him to Prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William Earl Marshal* his vowed Friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, That unless he restore the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at Oxford, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon K. Henry, to pacify his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great Possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Bologna* lately deceased, had in England: But to the Petition of the Lords he made a dilatory Answer; and this was another Grievance.

Not long after, K. Henry is persuaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a Journey into France, for Recovery of his Right there; but the Earl persuaded it for Ends of his own, which to have discover'd, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some Colours upon his Work; and it was Colour enough that the Action would be of great Benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the Likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great Inclination of the People to King Henry, and their great Averseness from K. Lewis. Upon those Colours K. Henry undertaking the Action, raiseth great Sums of Money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for Redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*; but when he returned home a Year after, without having done any thing but spent his Treasure and his Time, and that which was more worth than both these, the Lives of many Noblemen and others; this was another Grievance.

And now K. Henry bringing many *Poitevins* over with him, who had served him in his Wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Britton*, Treasurer of his Chamber to Account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office. Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh*, chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellor, called to Account for such Treasure as passed his Office; who being farther charged with Crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary: From whence when the King commanded him to be drawn out by Violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon Pain of Excommunication: But the King commanding him to be kept from Sustenance, Hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the King's Mercy; all his Goods, which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter Bishop of Carlisle* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon Knight*, from his Place of Marshal of the King's House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrusted, and only Strangers preferred to their Rooms. Of which course, *Peter de Ru-pibus*, a *Poitevin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the King's special Favourite, were said to be the Authors; and this was another Grievance.

A.D. 1226. He displaceth many of his great Officers.

*Poitevins* placed in their Rooms.

Nine Years had thus passed, with divers Grievances in his Government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty Years old, a Consultation was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander King of Scots*; but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger Sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: He therefore takes one of his own chusing, and marries *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Raymond Earl of Provence*; by which Match he neither had Portion by his Wife, nor Strength of Alliance by Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance; only he had by her a number of poor Kindred, who to his great Cost lay hanging upon him: Yet was the Marriage solemnized with as great Charges, as if he had been to have Mountains with her: And this was another Grievance.

A.D. 1235. An. Reg. 19.

K. Henry marries to more Charge than Benefit.

And now is the Score of these Grievances called upon to be paid; for the Lords could no longer endure so many Indignities, to see themselves slighted, and only Strangers advanced, as *Foulk de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: And to see their Persons exposed to Danger, and their Estates to Ruin; for which no Remedy could be, but only the King's confirming their Charter of Liberties: Wherein it is strange to observe upon what different Grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought, to confirm that Charter were to make himself to be less than a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better than Slaves: And as the King could endure no Diminution, so the Lords could endure no Slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords



A.D. 1235.

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament, refuse to come.

They threaten to chuse a new King.

The Lords proclaimed Out-Laws, and their Estates seised on.

Earl Marshal by a Train drawn into Ireland, is there by Treachery slain.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King.

The King calls home the Lords, and removes Strangers.

Lords could not recover their own but by Motion. And seeing their strength must be in their Number, hereupon they confederate together; and of this Confederacy, *Richard*, now Earl Marshal, upon the Death of his Brother *William*, is chief; then they repair to the King, and boldly shew him his Error, and require Satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come. After this, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester* and the *Poictovins* from the Court: And more than this, they send him Word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself and his evil Counsellors out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this Threatening, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and Writs are sent out to all who held by Knights-service to repair to the King at *Glocester* by a certain Day; which the Earl-Marshall and his associates refusing, the King without the Judgment of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-Laws, seisseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their Bodies wheresoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederate Lords, the Bishop of *Winchester* won the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a 1000 Marks; and the King had so pleased his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of Prison, and joins with them; taking intermutual Oaths, That no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in Person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Glocester*, implores new Forces of Strangers, but all without Success. At last a Friar is employed to persuade the Earl-Marshall to submit himself to the King, but all in vain; till at length a Train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his State there, being seisset upon by the King; where by Treachery circumvented he lost his Life, *Militia flos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matth. Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and lays the Fault upon his Officers. An easy way for Princes never to be found in Fault.

After two Years Affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Father's Example to be at Unity with his People, and to remove from him Strangers, and to govern the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws; otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical Censure, both against his Counsellors and himself. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their Places and Possessions; removes all Strangers from about him; and calls his new Officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen*

*Segrave*, take Sanctuary; but afterward A.D. 1235. by Mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two Years Greatness. After this, a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the *Tower*, whither the Lords refusing to come, another Place of more Freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, Order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their Places, upon Complaint of Corruption: And here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellor, the great Seal, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom: And now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, are received again into Grace; by which may appear the Vicissitude of Fortune in Princes Favours. After this, in the 21 Year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the 13<sup>th</sup> part of all the Movable, as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by Oath, never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present. After four Days Consultation, the King promising to use only the Counsel of his natural Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable Observation of their Liberties, under Pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that 4 Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abbey or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in Performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Countrey from whence it was collected. And now the King to make a Shew of true Reconciliation for his part, suddenly calls the Earls *Warren*, and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Geoffery*, to be sworn his Counsellors: Yet was neither of the points either for removing of Strangers, or for disposing the Money observed afterward by the King; for the Money he made bold to take at his Pleasure; and for Strangers, they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him. For now *William Valentine*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward Man with him, and nothing done but by his Counsel; also the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queen's Father, a poor Prince, had a good Share of the Money that was collected: And *Simon de Mountford*, a French-Man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in Marriage to *Eleanor* the King's Sister, Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marshal, and is made Earl of *Leicester*, by Right of his Mother *Avis*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*. Which Courses so incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new Commotion; and *Richard* the King's Brother becomes one of the Party, whom the other Lords make their Spokesman to the King, to aggravate his Breach of Promise, and to acquaint him with all the Disorders of the Kingdom, with whose Remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tried the *Londoners*, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords came arm'd for their own Safety.

The Chancellor refuseth to deliver the Seal.

A.D. 1237.  
An. Reg. 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subsidy granted, but with Conditions.

But the Conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come armed to the Parliament.



A.D. 1237 Where, after long debating, the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave Men of the Kingdom, Articles are drawn, sealed, and publickly set up to the view of all, with the Seals of the Legate, and divers great Men: But before it came to be effected, the Earl of Cornwall, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his Edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords seeing, they also grew cold, and so for that Time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this Time a certain fanatick Fellow had got into the King's Chamber in the Night, having a naked Knife in his Hand, with a resolved Purpose to kill him: But finding him not there (for the King lay that Night with the Queen) he then went looking about to find him out; but being taken, and confessing who were his Accomplices, he was afterward drawn in Pieces with wild Horses. So provident a Care hath God to protect his Anointed!

An. Reg. 22. And now is the King's Turn to play his Part in using his Authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost; for upon a small Occasion he causeth the Gates of *Gilbert*, now Earl of *Pembroke* (the third Son of *William* the Great Marshal) to be shut against him at *Winchester*: Whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also *Simon Norman*, Master of the King's Seal, and his greatest Favourite, is thrown out with Disgrace, and his Brother *Geoffry*, a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queen's Uncle, of four Pence upon every Sack of Wool. And now, that Load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new Load to be laid upon the Clergy. For the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the Power he had in the King, sends over three hundred *Romans*, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant bestowed upon them: Which seemed so unreasonable a Request, and to the Clergy of *England* so damageable, that it made *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary Exile in the Abby of *Pontignac* in *France*; yet to shew his Respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his Departure. And to lay more Weight upon the Clergy, great Sums are also required of them for Maintenance of the Pope's War against the Emperor; which, though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good Reasons of their Oppositions both to the King and the Legate; yet by Promises or Threatnings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of *March*, and once again solicites the King to make another Journey into *France*; which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, Aid presently was demanded towards it: But this Demand was not only opposed, but all the King's Taxations and Aids before granted, were now repealed; and thereupon an absolute Denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in Person; earnestly, and indeed humbly craving their Aid for this once: But all prevailed not, they had made a Vow to the contrary; and the King is driven

to get what he could of particular Men, of A.D. 1238 whom, partly by Gift, and partly by Loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling Money. This Expedition had no better Success than the former; for after a whole Year's Stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and return home. At his Return he put the *Jews* to another Redemption, and the *Londoners* to another Exaction; and to help on his Charge, his Wife's Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, comes now to visit him, who bringing her Daughter *Zancha* with her, a Marriage is solemnized between her and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, whose Wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her Return is presented with many rich Gifts, having besides received an annual Pension of four thousand Marks out of *England*, for five Years past, in Consideration of a Pact made, That King *Henry*, after her Decease, should have the Earldom of *Provence*: But shortly after her Return she disappoints him of that, and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the French King's Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; so as this Countess lived to see all her four Daughters Queens: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, coming after to be elected King of the *Romans*. Upon these Profusions, a Consultation is had for new Supplies, and no Way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes again himself in Person, urging his Necessities, yet nothing would be granted without the Assurance of Reformation and due Execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, That four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the King's Council, both to see Justice administered, and the Treasure issued; and these, or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellor, should be chosen by the general Voices of the States assembled, or else be one of the Number of those four. Besides they propounded, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Jews*; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these Things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Commission than ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same Time, Letters coming from the Emperor *Frederick*, to entreat that the Pope might have no more Supplies out of *England*, the Pope's Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This Business took up so much Time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an Aid granted to the King for the Marriage of his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and that with much ado, and Repetition of his former Aids.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an Aid upon a Design he had upon *Wales*, and to pay his Debts, which were urged to be so great, that he

He returns out of *France* without Success.

The King again in Person demands a Subsidy, but is denied, without granting the Lords Demands.

That the Chief Justice and L. Chancellor should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Pope's Legate for Money rejected.

Aid to marry the King's Daughter granted.

The King sheweth his Necessity, and requires Relief, but could is denied.



A.D. 1238 could not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite Clamour of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other Necessaries of his House; but they all to his Face refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent Courses are taken; an antient Quarrel is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks; and *Passeleve*, the Clerk, is employed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either to fine the Occupiers thereof at their Pleasure, or else to take it from them, and sell the same to others; wherein such Rigour was used, that Multitudes of People were undone. But now to shew the King the Estate of his Kingdom, and the Oppression of Popes, Enquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*; which were found to be annually sixty thousand Marks; being more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown; which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other Exactions, to the General Council now assembled at *Lions*. And this (with the ill Usage of his Agent *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these Words: It is Time to make an End with the Emperor, that we may crush these petty Kings; for the Dragon once appeased, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down. But upon the Pope's rejecting the Consideration of these Grievances of *England*, and despising the King's Message (who he said began to *Frederize*) it was absolutely here ordained under great Penalty, that no Contribution of Money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*: And the King for a Time assents unto it. But being of an irresolute and wavering Nature, and afraid of Threats, he soon gave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former Rapine; and though he had promised never to send any more Legates into *England*, yet sent he other Ministers under the Title of Clerks, that had as great Power as Legates, and effected as much.

Hereupon he raiseth Money by violent Courses.

The King assents that no more Contribution be given to the Pope. But soon revokes.

And now for the other Part of the State; new Occasions also of Complaint were offered. *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certain Maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Country, the King's Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard* de *Bourgh* another; and the same Year three of the King's Brothers by the Mother, *Guy* de *Lusignan*, *William* de *Valence*, and *Athelmar*, a Clerk, are sent over to be provided of Estate in *England*. Also *Thomas* of *Savoy* (sometimes Earl of *Flanders*, by Right of his Wife) comes with his Sister *Beatrix*, Countess of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, who are again feasted, and gifted; for which the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Term, and besides sharply reprehended for his Breach of Promise, having vowed and declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that Kind: Also for his violent taking up of Provision of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the Will of the Sellers, and many other Grievances they complain of. All which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his Desire; but yet nothing is effected: And

the Parliament being prorogued till *Midsummer* A.D. 1238 following, and the King growing more obdurate than before, it afterward brake up in Discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his Wants with Sale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great Loss received Money for them, he asks who had bought them? Answer is made, the City of *London*. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible Gulph, if *Octavius's* Treasure were to be sold, they surely would buy it. In his two and fortieth Year a Parliament was held, which by some was called, *Insanum Parliamentum*, the Mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great Retinues of armed Men) many Things were enacted contrary to the King's Pleasure, and his Royal Prerogative.

The King furnisheth his Wants with Sale of his Plate and Jewels.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at *Westminster*, forbidding under great Penalty all Exercise of Merchandize within *London* for fifteen Days, and all other Fairs in *England*; and namely, that of *Ely*: But this Novelty came to nothing; the Inconvenience of the Place, as it was then, and Foulness of the Weather, brought more Affliction than Benefit to the Traders. That *Christmas* also he requires New-years-Gifts of the *Londoners*; and shortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with Money; and thereby gets of them twenty thousand Pounds, for which the next Year after he craves Pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his House, yet he lessens his House-keeping in no honourable Manner: And then seeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman a-part, declaring his Poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a Debt of thirty thousand Pounds to those of *Bordeaux*, and his *Gascoyns* (who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home) at his last being in *France*: But failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addresseth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little Relief; by much Importunity and his own Presence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramsay* a hundred Pounds, but the Abbot of *Peterborough* had the Face to deny him, though the King told him, It was more Alms to give Money to him than to a Beggar that went from Door to Door. The Abbot of *St. Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him threescore Marks. To such Lowness did the Necessity of this indigent King (through his Profusion) bring him. The *Jews*, ever exposed to his Will, feel the Weight of these his Wants. One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks; and *Aaron*, another *Jew*, protests, the King had, since his last being in *France*, taken from him at Times, thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

The Jews most of all taxed.

But now the Lords assemble again at *London*, and press him with his Promise made unto them, That the Chief Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer, should be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the Absence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* (which was thought

to



A.D. 1238 to be done on purpose) they return frustrate of their Desire. And now the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King sends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in Person, and there enters the Chapter-house as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the President's Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon used these Words: To me and other Kings who are to govern the People, belongs the Rigour of Judgment and Justice; to you who are Men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquillity; and this Day I hear you have (for your own Good) been favourable to my Request, with many such like Words; whereby the Monks finding the Earnestness of his Desire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected; but with this Reservation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Case of *Sir Henry de Bathe*, a Justiciar of the Kingdom, and a special Counsellor to the King, who by Corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said in one Circuit to have gotten two hundred Pounds Land *per Annum*. He is accused by *Sir Philip D'arcy* of Falshood in the King's Court; and the King is so incensed against him, that in the Parliament at this Time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, That whosoever had any Action or Complaint against *Henry de Bathe*, should come and be heard. One of his Justiciars accused him of acquitting a Malefactor for a Bribe. The King seeing *Henry de Bathe's* Friends to be many and strong, breaks out into a Rage, protesting, That whosoever would kill *Henry de Bathe*, should be acquitted for the Deed. But afterward, by the Intercession of the Earl of *Cornwal*, and the Bishop of *London*, the King becomes pacified; and *Sir Henry* is released, paying two thousand Marks; and after is restored to his former Place and Favour. The King keeping his *Christmas* at *York*, the Marriage is solemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feast of which Solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave six hundred fat Oxen, which were all spent at one Meal; and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Marks.

The King preacheth to have his Brother *Athelmar* chosen Bishop of *Winchester*.

*Henry de Bathe* Chief Justice fined for Corruption: Yet afterward restored to his Place.

A bountiful Feast.

K. Henry undertakes the Cross.

But few are moved by their Persuasions; only three Knights of small Note, whom thereupon the King in open View, embraceth, kisseth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to set forth upon *Midsummer-day* next. In taking his Oath, he lays his Right-hand on his Breast, according to the Manner of a Priest; and after on the Book, and kisseth it as a Lay-man. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Bishops are first dealt withal (as being a Work of Piety) and they absolutely refuse it; then the Temporal Lords are set upon, and they answer as the Bishops; which put the King into so great a Rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perswade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kind Manner, recounting the many Favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, dissuading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that Purpose useth many good Reasons: Which the King hearing, in great Passion commanded his Servants to thrust him out of Door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest, and thereupon falls upon his former violent Courses. And first the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a thousand Marks; and the *Gascoyners* being upon Revolt, unless speedy Succour be sent them, general Musters are made, and Commandment given, That whosoever could dispend thirteen Pounds *per Annum*, should furnish out a Horse-man. This occasions another Parliament, wherein, it seems, the State began wisely to consider, that all their Oppositions did no Good, the King's Turn must be served one Way or other. Therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the usual Way, than force him to those extravagant Courses which he took; but yet so, as the Reformation of the Government, and the Ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be solemnly confirmed. And after fifteen Days Consultation, to satisfy the King's Desire for his Holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knight's Fee, by the Laity; and thereupon those often-confirmed Charters are again ratified, and that in the most solemn and ceremonial Manner that State and Religion could possibly devise. The King, with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Bishops in their reverend Ornaments, with burning Candles in their Hands, assemble to hear the terrible Sentence of Excommunication against the Infingers of the same. And at the lighting of those Candles, the King having received one in his Hand, gives it to the Prelate that stood by, saying, It becomes not me, being no Priest, to hold this Candle, my Heart shall be a greater Testimony; and withal laid his Hand spread upon his Breast all the Time that Sentence was read, which was thus pronounced, *Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis*, &c. Which done, he causeth the Charter of King *John*, his Father, granted by his free Consent, to be openly read. In the End, having thrown away their Candles, which lay smoaking on the Ground, they cried out, So let them

But can get no Money.

Thereupon falls again to violent Courses.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a Subsidy; but upon Condition to confirm their Charters.

Which are confirmed with the greatest Solemnity that could be devised.



A.D. 1238 them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and have no better Savour than these Snuffs: And the King, with a loud Voice said, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned and anointed, inviolably observe all these Things: And therewithal the Bells rung out, and the People shouted for Joy.

Yet was not all so quieted by this Grant, but that there were Grievances still, whereof the first falls upon his Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*: For the King having seven and twenty Years before given him the Province of *Gascoine*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him; but he escaping out of *Bordeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gascony* to turn to him, promiseth them thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by Oath and Charter to perform it. This Request of theirs the King takes in ill Part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford*, Earl of *Leicester*, a stern Man, to be their Governor, who with his insolent Government so discontents them, that after three Years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, with other great Men, to complain of his Insolencies. Whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took Part with him, the King takes Part with the *Gascoiners*, which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his Promise. To whom the King in great Rage replied, That no Promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor: At which Word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those Words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great Affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascony*, though with a more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all Differences in the Country.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a Title to *Aquitaine*; and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*: Which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his Claim to *Aquitaine* for him and his Successors for ever: And King *Henry* invests the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*. And from hence it came that ever after this, the King's eldest Son was immediately upon his Birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those Parts, the Sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand Pounds; more than all the Lands, if they had been sold, were worth: Which when the King was told, he desired there might be no Words made of it for his Credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France*'s Leave, to pass through *France*: And coming to *Paris* with a thousand Horse, where

he stayed eight Days, is there most royally A.D. 1238 feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jews* that are like to pay for all. For coming home about *Christmas*, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred Pounds in Money, and afterwards with two hundred Pounds in Plate, it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a Hole was presently found in their Coat, for an Escape of a Prisoner, which cost them three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to farm to his Brother *Richard* for a great Sum of Money, and he to make what more of them he could.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own Means, by the Allowance of fifteen thousand Marks per Annum to his Son the Prince. The only Hope is in the Parliament; but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old Grievances, complaining upon the King for Breach of Charter; and renewing their Claim, to have the Chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves. So nothing was done for the King at this Time, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the Tenor of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using Means to wind himself out of Debt, there happened Occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queen's Brother, being at War with the City of *Turin*, must be supplied with Money towards it by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the King of *Spain*'s Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously feasted, and have great Gifts presented him. Now *Eleanor*, the Prince's Wife, arrives with a Multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the King's Charge, and have no small Presents given them at their Departure. Now comes *Rufandus* from the Pope, with Power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Pope's Use and the King's, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, now in Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. And this Man likewise hath great Gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*. But the Pope by too much seeking his Profit, loseth Credit and all; for the Clergy flights him, and will give him nothing: And when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwal* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his Money to one upon whom he could not distrust. But King *Henry*'s greatest Charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a Ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund* in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which he pretends to be at his disposing: And King *Henry* takes it in good Earnest, that after this he calls his Son *Edmund* by no other Name than King of *Sicily*. But all this was done by the Pope to angle away King *Henry*'s Money, as indeed upon this Hope he had drawn the King into

*Mountford* giveth K. *Henry* the Lye to his Face;

Yet soon reconciled.

King *Henry*'s eldest Son *Edward* marries *Eleanor* the King of *Spain*'s Sister.

The King's eldest Son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this Time. King *Henry* spent seven and twenty hundred thousand Pounds in his Journeys to *France*.

The King lets the *Jews* out to farm.

The Parliament requires to have the choosing of the Chief Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer,

The Earl of *Cornwal* likes not to lend the Pope Money, and why. The Pope promiseth to make the King's younger Son King of *Sicily*.



A.D. 1238 into the Engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, That the Pope had defeated all Manfred's Forces, and was thereby in Possession of the Kingdom; when the Truth was, that Manfred had defeated the Pope's Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his Followers.

In the Year 1257 the King keeps his Christmas at Winchester, where new Grievances arise. The Merchants of Gascoine having their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers without Satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father; and his Father having been informed beforehand by his Officers, that their Clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Prince's Favour, he falls into a great Rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these Words: See! now my Blood, and my Bowels impugn me: But afterwards pacified, he gives Order that the Injuries should be redressed. And now the Prince's Followers themselves come to be a Grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many Outrages, and spoil and wrong Men at their Pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young Man travelling by the Way, he caused one of his Ears to be cut off, and one of his Eyes to be put out. And many such Pranks play'd by him and his Followers in Wales, made the Welch break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no Money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to Shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there lays Penalties upon Sheriffs that return not their Moneys in due Time; then he falls upon Measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but London is his best Chequer, and every Year commonly he hath one Quarrel or other with the Londoners, and they are sure to pay: And now falls out an Accident, seeming of great Honour, but certainly of no Profit to the Kingdom. Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's Brother, is elected King of the Romans; for although Alphonsus King of Spain, the great Mathematician, were his Competitor, yet Earl Richard's Money wrought more than his Learning, and the Archbishop of Colen comes over to fetch him, and crowned he is at Aix-la-Chapelle. This Earl of Cornwall is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a Day for ten Years, besides his Revenues in England. But now a Man that pays dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: So Earl Richard having given infinitely to compass his Advancement, looked to help himself again by the Place; and this, and the Desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent Courses, that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into England a poorer King than he went out an Earl.

The Earl of Cornwall is chosen King of the Romans.

The Earl of Cornwall's great Estate.

He returns into England in a poor Estate.

### Acts done in the Contention between the King and his Barons.

NOW King Henry, very proud to have his younger Son a King as well as his Brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his Son Edmund clad in Sicily Habit, and tells the

Parliament, That for advancing this Son of his A.D. 1238 to the Kingdom of Sicily, he had bound himself under a Covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the Sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: And hoped they would not think much to aid him with Money for so great an Advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual Condition of Magna Charta; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks: But this gave the King no Satisfaction. The Year after, another Parliament is holden at London, wherein, upon the King's pressing them again for Means to pay his Debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such Purpose; and give their Reasons, and withal repeat their own Grievances, his Breach of Promise, the Insolency of his Brothers, and especially William de Valence, who had given the Lye to the Earl of Leicester, and no Right done him in it; and many such Things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill Counsel been seduced; but promiseth by his Oath, which he took on the Tomb of St. Edward, to reform all those Errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this Business, as being divided between a Desire to satisfy the King, and a Desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the Variableness of the King's Nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to St. Barnaby's Day, and then to assemble at Oxford. In which mean Time the Earls Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford, the Marshal, Bigot, Spencer, and other great Men, confederate, and provide by Arms to effect their Desire; and here is the Foundation laid of those bloody Wars that ensued between King Henry and his Barons.

K. Henry can get no Money of the Parliament to make his Son Edmund a King.

The Lords confederate again.

K. Henry useth Shifts to get Money.

The Liberty of the Subject.

The Lords require that the Chief Justice, the Chancellor and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

And now the King being put to his Shifts for Money, gets the Abbot of Westminster to put his Seal, and that of his Covent, to a Deed obligatory, as a Surety for two hundred Marks, making Account, that by his Example others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty Servant Simon Passeleve, being employed to other Monasteries, and telling them, amongst other Reasons to persuade them, That the King was Lord of all they had; they only answered, They acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less Want than his Father, is driven to mortgage his Town of Stamford, and many other things, to William de Valence, a Poictovin, whereby appeared the Disorder of the Time when the Prince was in Want, and Strangers had such Plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at Oxford, whither the Lords come attended with large Trains; and here they begin with the Expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the Chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, may be ordained by publick Choice; and that the twenty-four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, twelve by the Election of the Lords, and twelve by the King: Some write there were but twelve in all, and were called, the Douze Peers, the Twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their Pleasure without



A.D. 1238 without Controulment. The King seeing their Strength, and in what Manner they required these Things, swears solemnly again to the Confirmation of them, and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath: But the Lords left not here; the King's Brethren, the *Poistovins*, and other Strangers, must presently be removed: And this also, though with some little Opposition, was at last concluded: And thereupon the King's Brethren and their Followers are despoiled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by Proscription under the King's own Hand directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*. But now Sickness and Mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed by Poisons, supposed to have been prepared by those Strangers proscribed. The Earl of *Gloucester* in a Sickness suddenly lost his Hair, his Teeth, his Nails, and his Brother hardly escaped Death; which made many to suspect their nearest Servants, and their Cooks. *Walter Scoyny*, the Earl's Steward, is strictly examined, committed to Prison, and afterward, without Confession, is upon Presumptions only, executed at *Winchester*. *Elias*, a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, That in his House the Poison was concocted, but it was when he was a Jew, and not a Christian. Every Man that had received any Wrong by those Strangers, now put out their Complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poistovin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his Goods confiscate. *William Bussey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and most reproachfully used. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Castle, is sent to intercept whatsoever the *Poistovins* conveyed that Way out of *England*: And much Treasure of theirs, and of the Elect of *Winchester*, is by him taken; besides great Summs committed to the new Temple, are found out, and seized for the King.

The Lords themselves tyrannize.

The Liberty of the Subject.

And now the Chief Justiciar, *Hugh Bigot*, Brother to the Earl Marshal (chosen this last Parliament by publick Voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire should enquire of the Oppressions of the Poor, done by great Men, and certify the same, that Redress might be made. Also Order was taken against corrupting of Justice: When yet, notwithstanding this pretended Care of the Publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that Time, how the Lords were themselves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the Services of the King's Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their Cause the more popular, it was rumoured, that the King stood upon it, that his Necessity might be supplied out of the Estates of his People, whether they would or no: Which the King hearing, sends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malicious Persons had falsely and seditiously reported, That he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by these false Suggestions, averted the Hearts of his People from him; and therefore desires them not to give Credit to such Perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Right and Customs due unto them; and that they might rest of this secured, he caused his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Mountford*, *Gloucester*, and *Spencer*, enforce

the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where A.D. 1238 they get the Authority of the Twenty-four to be estated wholly upon themselves, and they alone to dispose of the Custody of the Castles, and other Buſinesses of the Kingdom: And here they bind the King to lose their legal Obedience whensoever he infringed this Charter.

At this Time Intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, had a Purpose to come into *England*; and the Lords suspecting he would come with Power to aid the King, his Brother, take Order for guarding the Ports, with Intent to hinder his Landing; but finding his Train to be but small, for he was accompanied only with his Queen, two German Earls, and eight Knights, upon his Promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land; but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himself to enter into *Dover* Castle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter-house, where the Earl of *Gloucester* standeth forth in the midst, calls out the Earl, not by the Name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*; who in reverend Manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in these Words: *Hear all Men, That I Richard, Earl of Cornwall, do here swear upon the Holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of England, and be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and Disturbers of the same; and this Oath will inviolably observe, under Pain of losing all the Land I have in England: So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor; yet upon his Return the King takes Heart, and seeks all Means to vindicate his Power; and first sends Messengers secretly to *Rome*, to be absolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more Assurance from the King of *France*, he makes an absolute Resignation of all his Right to the Duchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Touraine*, and *Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him three hundred thousand Pounds (some say Crowns) of *Anjovin* Money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guyenne* beyond the River of *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xaintoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Country of *Limousin* and *Quercy*, for him and his Successors, doing their Homage to the Crown of *France* as Duke of *Aquitain*.

And now was the King of *France* made Arbitrator of the Difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives Sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions of *Oxford*, but of their Side concerning King *John's* Charter; by which nice Distinction, though he did but leave the Matter as he found it (for those Provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his Sentence draw many away from the Party of the Barons, amongst whom was *Henry*, Son to the Earl of *Cornwal*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de L'eisbourn*, *Hamo L'estrage*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leicester*, notwithstanding this Revolt, recovers the Town and Castle of *Gloucester*, constrains the Citizens to pay a thousand Pounds for their Redemption; goes with an Army to *Worcester*, possesseth himself of the Castle; thence to *Shrewsbury*, and comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, subdues

Four and twenty chosen to be Governors of the Kingdom; but *Mountford* and *Gloucester* get all the Authority to themselves, *Richard* King of the *Romans* returning.

Swears to assist the Lords.

K. Henry sends to *Rome* to be absolved of his Oath. He resigns his Right in *Normandy* for a Sum of Money.

The King of *France* is made Arbitrator of the Difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of *Leicester* takes many Castles. The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.



A.D. 1238 subdues the same, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his Approach to London, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon these Conditions; That all the Castles of the King shall be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Provisions of Oxford should inviolably be kept; all Strangers by a certain Time should avoid the Kingdom, except only such as were licensed to stay. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle; but Leicester coming to besiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which is refused, and the Castle is rendred to him.

Many Lords return to the King for Peace, but are denied.

The Earl of Leicester's Stratagem.

The Earl of Leicester takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords Prisoners.

Variance between the Earls of Leicester, and Gloucester.

The King at this Time, to win Time, convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he won many Lords to take his Part; as namely, the Prince Richard his Brother, Henry his Son, William Valence, with the rest of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marched to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repair to him, as John Commin, John Baliol, Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce, and others: Also many Barons of the North, Clifford, Piercy, Bassett, and others. From Oxford he goes to Northampton, where he took Prisoners, Simon Mountford the younger, with fourteen other principal Men; thence to Nottingham, making Spoil of such Possessions as pertained to the Barons in those Parts. And now the King's Side grows strong; which the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester seeing, they write to the King, protesting their Loyalty, and how they opposed only such as were Enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns Answer, That themselves were the Perturbers of him and his State, and fought his and the Kingdom's Destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of Cornwall send Letters of Defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of London and Worcester, with Offer of thirty thousand Marks to the King for the Damages done in these Wars, so as the Statutes of Oxford may be observed; but this Offer is not accepted. The Earl seeing no Remedy, but it must be put to a Day, takes his Time to be earlier ready than was expected; and supplies his want of Strength with Policy, placing on the one Side of a Hill, near Lewis, where the Battle was fought, certain Ensigns without Men, in such Sort, as they might seem afar off to be Squadrons of Succours to second those he brought to the Encounter; whom he caused all to wear white Crosses, both for their own Notice, and the Signification of his Cause, which he would have to be thought for Justice. Here the Fortune of the Day was his; the King, the Prince, the Earl of Cornwall, and his Son Henry, the Earls of Arundel and Hereford, with all the Scottish Lords, are taken Prisoners; and of the English, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets; only the Earl Warren, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, the King's Brother, with Hugh Bigot, Earl Marshal, save themselves by Flight: Five thousand (some say twenty thousand) are slain in the Battle. A Year and a Half is Simon Mountford in Possession of his Prisoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his Actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdom.

And now comes Erinys and sets Debate between the two great Earls of Leicester and Gloucester,

about their Dividend. Leicester is taxed to do more for his own Particular than the common Good; his Sons also presuming upon his Greatness, grew insolent: Whereupon Gloucester, discontented, forsakes that Side, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of Hereford, had gotten a Power about him to try the Fortune of another Battle. The Revolt of this Earl being great in it self, was greater by its Example; for now many others revolted likewise; and the Earl of Leicester, seeing the Improvement of the Prince's Forces, who was now with his Army about Worcester, tho' he saw his own Disadvantage, yet imbattles in a Plain near Evesham to encounter him; and noting the Manner of the Approach of the Prince's Army, said to those about him, These Men come bravely on, they learn it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himself likely to be beset, and overlaid with Multitude, he advised his Friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Bassett, and others, to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, Then (saith he) let us commend our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs; and so undertaking the main Weight of the Battle, perished under it, and with him are slain his Son Henry, eleven Barons, with many Thousands of common Soldiers. And thus ended Mountford the great Earl of Leicester, highly honoured in his Life, and more highly should have been after his Death, if the People might have had their Will, who talk'd of Miracles enough to make him a Saint.

Gloucester joins with the Prince.

Mountford the great Earl of Leicester slain. Miracles reported of him, being dead.

And now is King Henry by this Victory of his Son, at Liberty; who together repair to Winchester, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Earl Mountford are disinherited, and their Estates conferred on others at the King's Pleasure; the Londoners also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the Death of Mountford gave a great Wound to the Party of the Barons, yet it was not mortal, at least not mortal presently; for there remained Relicks that kept it alive a good while after. Simon and Guy de Mountford, Sons of the Earl of Leicester, and others of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of Ely. The Castle of Killingworth held out half a Year, till their Victuals failed; and then yielded upon Conditions to have their Lives and Goods saved: And many others there were, resolute and desperate Persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at Westminster, the King with an Army going against them, and being at Northampton, Simon and Guy de Mountford submit themselves to him: but when the Earl of Gloucester opposed the restoring them to their Estates, they were fain to fly the Kingdom, and make their Fortunes in other Countries, as indeed they did; the younger in Italy, the elder in France, where they were Propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was banish'd shortly after the Battle of Evesham: A Lady of eminent Note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more Note for her patient bearing of Adversity, or rather for her making a Benefit of Adversity; for by this means she took her self to the Veil of Piety, and died a Nun at Montargis in France. About this Time a great Slaughter was made of Jews in London:

Mountford's Sons fly the Kingdom.



A.D. 1238 *don*: and the Quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more than two Pence a Week for the Use of twenty Shillings; two Pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Three Years after this, the disinherited Barons held out; till at length, Conditions of Render are propounded; but here the Council are divided in Opinion: *Mortimer* and others stated in the Possessions of the Disinherited, are against Restauration, alledging it were Injustice to take from them the Rewards of their Service. *Gloucester*, and twelve ordained to deal for the Peace of the State, are earnest for Restauration; alledging, It were hard Measure to grant them their Lives, and not their Livelihoods: But not prevailing, in great Discontentment *Gloucester* retires from Court, sends Messengers to warn the King to remove Strangers from his Council, and observe the Provisions at *Oxford*, as he promised at *Evesham*; otherwise that he should not marvel if himself did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to the Earl of *Gloucester*; who, though they could not persuade him to submit to the King; yet thus much they got of him under his Hand and Seal, that he would never bear Arms against the King, or his Son *Edward*, but only defend himself, and pursue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other Enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many Demands are made by the King and the Legate, and all for Money from the Clergy, but all denied, that nothing but Denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legate employs Solicitors to persuade the disinherited Lords, which held the Isle of *Ely*, to return to the Faith and Unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the Form propounded at *Coventry*. To which the Lords made Answer, That they never opposed the Unity of the Church, but the Avarice of Churchmen that were put in Authority; and that they never opposed the King, but for the Good of the Kingdom: And then required, that the Provisions at *Oxford* might be observed, and Pledges be given them for their Security. Hereupon the Year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entering the Isle of *Ely*, shuts them up, so that he constrains them at last to yield. Also the Earl of *Gloucester* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legate once again persuaded to render himself to the King; and upon Forfeiture of twelve thousand Marks, if ever he should raise any Commotion, is again reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welch* to be chastned for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going against them with an Army, they gave him two and thirty Pounds Sterling, and so made the Peace; and here was an End of the first Wars between the Kings of *England* and their Barons.

The King's Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund* undertake the Holy War.

The next Year after, the Pope's Legate *Ottobon*, signs with the Croyfado both the King's Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*; the Earl of *Gloucester*, and divers Noblemen, induced to undertake the Holy War by the Sollicitation of him and the King of *France*; who, notwithstanding his former Calamities endured in that Action, would once again adventure it. And because Prince *Edward* wanted Means to furnish himself out, the

King of *France* lends him thirty thousand Marks A.D. 1238 upon a Mortgage of *Gascoine*. And now whilst this Preparation is in Hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the Excesses which the War had bred: And the same Year assembles his last Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two Years it seems to have been after the undertaking of the Cross, before Prince *Edward* set forth; but then taking his Wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with Child, he set forward, and in the Voyage, when many of his People seemed desirous to leave him and return home, he is said to have stricken his Breast, and sworn, That if all his Followers forsook him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, though but only with his Horse-keeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the Year following King *Henry*.

The Statutes of *Marlborough*.

Prince *Edward*'s Resolutions to the Holy War.

#### Of his Taxations, and Ways for raising of Money.

NEVER Son was more like a Father in any thing, than King *Henry* was like his Father, King *John*, in this Point, for raising of Money; for he trod directly in all his Steps, if he added not something of his own. King *John* had great Subsidies granted him by Parliament for any great Action he undertook, so had King *Henry*. King *John* resumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made Benefit of the Vacancy of Bishopricks and Abbies, so did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for Crimes not proved, but only supposed, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made Benefit of a new Seal, so did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great Sums from the Jews, so did King *Henry*. And one Way more he had to get Money, which perhaps his Father had not; and that was by Begging, as he told the Abbot of *Peterborough*, It was more Alms to give Money to him, than to the Beggar that went from Door to Door. Indeed Taxations in this King's Reign may be reckoned amongst his annual Revenues, for scarce any Year passed without a Parliament; and seldom any Parliament without a Tax: Or if any sometimes without, it was then cause of the greater Taxation some other Way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, twenty thousand Marks.

K. *Henry* gets Money by Begging.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this King's Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*. Also in his Time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford*, and of *Marlborough*. Also stealing of Cattle, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital; and the first that suffered for the same, was one of *Dunstable*, who having stolen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburn*, was by a Bailiff of *St. Albans*, according to the King's Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seem strange, that in these Times so much Blood should be shed in the Field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty sixth Year of the King, that one *William Maraisc*, the Son of *Geoffrey Maraisc*, a Nobleman



A.D. 1238 **bleman of Ireland**, being condemned for Piracy and Treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered: There is no Example of that kind of Punishment to be found in our Histories. Particularly in this King's Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and Marriage of the Heirs of Barons within Age is given to the King. Also in this King's Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the *Tower of London*. All Wears in the *Thames* are in this King's Time ordained to be plucked up and destroyed. Also the Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*: Also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer than one Year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth Year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the Rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then Yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this King's Time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn; which before was to be presented to the King, wherefoever he were. In his Time the Clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his Grants and Writings. Also in this King's Time, *William* Bishop of *Salisbury* first caused that Custom to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their Suit to the Lord's Court of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32d. Year of this King's Reign, the Wharf of *London*, called *Queen-Hithe*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty Pounds the Year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this King's Time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen Pounds in Land, should receive the Order of Knighthood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

**A**FFAIRS of the Church, for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet than in this King's Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the Time, especially the *Albigenses*, were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the Vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make War upon them in Tenderneſs to his Service: But for matter of Manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbies were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared: And all for greedineſs of Money, or for Revenge.

*Othobone* the Pope's Legate here in *England* lying at the Abby at *Oſeney*, there happened a Difference between his Servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*, in which Contention a Brother of his was slain, and the Legate himself fain to flie into the Steeple for the Safeguard of his Life. Whereupon afterwards being gotten thence by the King's safe Conduct, he thundered out Curſes againſt the Scholars, and interdicted the University; ſo as the Colleges grew deſolate, and the Students were diſperſed abroad into other Places for the Space of half a Year, till the Monks of *Oſeney*, and the Regent Maſters of *Oxford*, were fain to go bare-footed and

bare-headed through *London*, as far as *Durham-Houſe*, were the Legate lay; and there, upon their humble Submiſſion, and great Mens Interceſſion, they were abſolved, and the University reſtored to its former Eſtate. But of this *Othobone* it may not be impertinent to relate a little further; that going afterward out of *England*, he came by Degrees, after the Death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himſelf, by the Name of *Adrian* the fifth, and died within fifty Days after his Election. Amongſt the Affairs of the Church, may be reckoned the Ulcers of any Member of the Church; ſuch a one as in this King's Time broke out moſt loathſome. For one procuring five Wounds to be made in his Body, in Reſemblance of the five Wounds in Chriſt's Body, took upon him to be Chriſt; and had gotten a Woman that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*: Who continuing obſtinate in their Madneſs, were adjudged to be immured and ſhut up between two Walls, to the end (no doubt) the Contagion of this Filthineſs ſhould ſpread no further. In this King's Time a little Novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals ſhould wear Red Hats: Something perhaps for Myſtery, and ſomething for Diſtinction. Also in this King's Time the *Grecians* forſook their Obedience to the Church of *Rome*; and the Archbiſhop of *Antioch* claims to have Precedence and Authority above the Biſhops of *Rome*, becauſe the Apoſtle *Peter* had firſt governed the Church of *Antioch* ſeven Years together. Also in the fifth Year of this King, the Friars Minors (as ſome write) came firſt into *England*; but it is not like they came ſo ſoon, for they were Grey Friars of the Order of *St. Francis*: and *St. Francis* had no Grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was ſome Years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of *St. Francis*, that fifteen Days before his Death appeared Wounds in his Hands and Feet, like to thoſe which Chriſt received there upon the Croſs; and as ſoon as he was dead, there remained not ſo much as any Marks of the ſaid Wounds upon him.

*Works of Piety by this King, or by others in his Time.*

**T**HIS King cauſed a Cheſt of Gold to be made for laying up the Relicks of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, in the Church of *Weſtminſter*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*; alſo an Hoſpital at *Oxford*, for Paſſengers, and diſeaſed Perſons; alſo the new Conventual Church and the Chappel of our Lady at *Weſtminſter*, whereof he laid himſelf the firſt Stone; alſo the Houſe of *Black-Friars* in *Canterbury*. In his Time, *Elo* Counteſs of *Salisbury* founded the Abby of *Lacock* in *Wiltſhire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, founded *Hails*, a Monastery of Ciftercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Glouceſterſhire*: *Reginald de Mohun*, Earl of *Somerſet*, and Lord of *Dunſter*, founded the Abby of *Newham* in *Devonſhire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Cheſter*, and Lord of *Little Britain*, builded the Cattles of *Chartley*, *Beſtone*, and the Abby of *De la Croſs*: Sir *John Maſſel*, the King's Chaplain, founded the Houſe of Regular Canons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albiſeto*, Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brunc*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rofia* his

Wardſhips of Barons given to K. Henry.

Aldermen of London when firſt ordained.

Suit of Court when firſt brought up.

*Othobone* the Pope's Legate in Fear at *Oxford*.

He interdicted the University, and how pacified.

One takes up on him to be Chriſt.

Cardinals Red Hats when firſt ordained.



A.D. 1238 his Wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in London: And *Isabel* Countess of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Mar-ran*, near to *Lynn*. *Friers Minors* first arrived at *Dover*, nine in Number; whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Convent of *Friers Minors* that ever was in *England*; the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in Number, had a Place assigned them in Saint *Nicholas Shambles*, which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the Use of the said *Friers*, and became himself a Lay-brother. Also in this King's Time the new Work of Saint *Paul's Church* in *London* was begun. If it were

*Friers Minors* when first in *England*.

A Jew falling into a Privy, would not be taken out on the Sabbath Day.

Charity rewarded from Heaven.

St. Peter's College in *Cambridge* by whom founded. *Whitehall* to whom it antiently belonged.

Piety in the Jew, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that Day, because it was the Jews Sabbath; it was as much Piety in the Earl of *Gloucester*, that would not suffer him to be taken out the next Day, because it was the Christian Sabbath; and when the third Day was come, he was taken out dead. Whose Piety was the greater? A strange Accident upon an Act of Piety is related in this King's Time, which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read; that in the Time of Dearth, one Man in a certain Parish, who allowed poor People to relieve themselves with taking Corn upon his Ground, had at Harvest a plentiful Crop, where others that denied them had their Corn all blasted, and nothing worth. In this King's Time also, *Hugh Balsamus*, Bishop of *Ely*, founded St. Peter's College in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the *Friers Preachers* in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Westminster*, which afterward the Archbishop of *York* bought, and made it his Inn; since commonly called *York-place*, now *Whitehall*.

#### Of Casualties happening in his Time.

AT one Time there fell no Rain in *England* from the first of *March* to the *Assumption* of our Lady; and at anothe Time there fell so much Rain, that *Holland* and *Holderness* in *Lincolnshire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17th Year of his Reign were seen five Suns at one Time together; after which followed so great a Dearth, that People were constrain'd to eat Horseflesh, and Barks of Trees; and in *London* 20,000 were starved for want of Food. Also in his Time the Church of St. *Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great Part of the City was burnt; also the Town of *Newcastle* upon *Tine* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit Place to tell it, yet here, or no where, it must be told, that in this King's Time there was sent by the King of *France* the first Elephant that ever was seen in *England*. In this King's Time, *Mat. Paris* relates of a Maid in *Leicester-shire*, that being exactly watched, was found in seven Years together neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking. Which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection our Life may be maintained without Meat or Drink; also in this King's Time there was found a plentiful Mine of Tin in *Germany*, which before this Time was never known to be any where found but

The first Elephant brought into *England*.

only in *Cornwal*, which much abated the Price A.D. 1238 of Tin in *England*. In his Time also the Sea, by the Space of four five Days, flowed not up to her usual Height, which was never known to happen at any Time before. Also in his Time a Child was born in *Kent*, that at two Years old cured all Diseases. Also in his 56th Year, a Lamb was yeaned at *Greenwich* beside *London*, that had two perfect Bodies and but one Head. Also in his Time a Child was born in the Isle of *Wight*, who at 18 Years old was scarce grown to be three Foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen; she carried him about with her as a Monster of Nature.

#### Of his Wives and Children.

HE married *Eleanor*, the second of the five *Edmund* Daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, *Crouchback* the first Ancestor of the House of *Lancaster*. who lived his Wife 37 Years, his Widow 19, died a Nun at *Amesbury*, and was buried in her Monastery; by her he had six Sons and three Daughters: Of his Sons, the four youngest died young, and were buried, three of them at *Westminster*, and the fourth in the new Temple by *Fleet-street*. His eldest Son *Edward*, surnamed *Longshank*, of his tall and slender Body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouchback*, of bowing in his Back (as some say) but more likely of wearing the Sign of the Cross (antiently called a Crouch) upon his Back, which was usually worn of such as had vowed Voyages to *Jerusalem*, as he had done. He was invested titular King of *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaster*; on whose Person originally the great Contention of *Lancaster* and *York* was founded. He had two Wives, the first was *Avelin*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no Issue. The second was Queen *Blanch*, Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, Brother of St. *Lewis* King of *France*, Widow of *Henry* of *Champagne* King of *Navarre*; by her he had Issue three Sons and one Daughter. His eldest Son *Thomas*, who after his Father was Earl of *Lancaster*, and having married *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of *Henry* Lacy Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without Issue. His second Son *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his Brother's Death was Earl of *Lancaster*, and Father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*; his third Son *John*, who died unmarried. His Daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Mother of *Henry* the first Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* died at *Bay* in *Gascoin*, in the Year 1296. when he had lived fifty Years, whose Body half a Year after his Death was brought over into *England*, and entombed at *Westminster*. Of King *Henry's* three Daughters, the eldest, *Margaret*, was married to *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, by whom she had Issue two Sons, *Alexander* and *David*, who died both before their Father without Issue; and one Daughter, *Margaret* Q. of *Norway*, Wife of K. *Ericke*, and Mother of *Margaret* the Heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that died unmarried. The second Daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Bordeaux*, married to *John* the first Duke of *Britain*, and had Issue by him *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, *John* Earl of *Richmond*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* Son of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*; *Eleanor* a Nun at *Amesbury*, and *Mary* married to *Guy* Earl of *St.*



A.D. 1238 St. Paul; she deceased in Britain, and was buried at London, in the Quire of the Gray-Friers within Newgate: The third Daughter of King Henry named Katharine, died young, and lies buried at Westminster, in the Space between the Chappels of King Edward and St. Bennet.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature but mean, yet of a well compacted Body, and very strong, one of his Eye-lids hanging down, and almost covering the Black of his Eye. For his inward Endowments it may be said, he was wiser for a Man, than for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his Life than his Subjects. He was rather pious than devout, as taking more Pleasure in hearing Masses than Sermons, as he said to the King of France, he had rather see his Friend once, than hear from him often. His Mind seemed not to stand firm upon its Basis; for every sudden Accident put him into Passion; he was neither constant in his Love, nor in his Hate; for he never had so great a Favourite whom he cast not into Disgrace, nor so great an Enemy whom he received not into Favour: An example of both which Qualities was seen in his Carriage towards Hubert de Burgh, who was for a Time the greatest Favourite, yet cast out afterward in miserable Disgrace, and then no Man held in greater Hatred, yet received afterward into Grace again: And it is memorable to hear with what Crimes this Hubert was charged at his Arraignment, and especially one; that to disswade a great Lady from Marriage with the King, he had said the King was a squint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted than a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies Company. For which, and other Crimes laid to his Charge in the King's Bench, where the King himself was present, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this, was restored to his Estate again, and suffered to live in quiet: He was more desirous of Money than of Honour, for else he would never have sold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of Normandy and Anjou, to the King of France, for a Sum of Money: Yet he was more desirous of Honour than of Quietness, for else he would never have contended so long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the Matter, but a Point of Honour: His most eminent Virtue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his Continency; for there is nothing read, either of any base Children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

Of his Death and Burial.

THOUGH he had lived a troublesome life, yet he died a quiet Death; for he had settled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his Conscience: For being at St. Edmunds-Bury, and finding himself not well at Ease, he made the more hast to London; where calling before him his Lords, and especially Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his Son Prince Edward, who was at that Time far

from Home, and therefore had the more need of their Care, which consisted chiefly in their Agreement one with another: And then his Sickness encreasing, he yielded up his Soul to God on the sixteenth Day of November, in the Year 1272, when he had lived threescore and five Years, reigned six and fifty, and was buried at Westminster, which he had newly built.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF Martial Men famous in his Time there were many, but three especially who obscured the rest; the first was William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, memorable for the great Care he had of King Henry in his Minority, and more memorable for the little Care that Destiny had of his Posterity; for leaving his five Sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without Issue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the Marshals came wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe Matthew Paris) by reason of a Curse of an Irish Bishop, from whom he had taken two Manors belonging to his Bishoprick; and neither he, nor all his Sons, upon any Entreaties would be gotten to restore them. The second was Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who in a Battle against Baldwin de Gifnes, a valiant Fleming, employed by King Henry, himself alone encountered twelve of his Enemies, and having his Horse slain under him, he pitched one of them by the Leg out of the Saddle, and leaped into it himself, and continued the Fight without giving Ground, till his Army came to rescue him. An act, that may seem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, than in a true Narration. The third was Simon Mountford, a Man of so audacious a Spirit, that he gave King Henry the Lie to his Face, and that in Presence of all his Lords, and of whom, it seems, the King stood in no small Fear: For passing one time upon the Thames, and suddenly taken with a terrible Storm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set on shore at the next Stairs, which happened to be at Durham House, where Mountford then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frightened with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not fear the Thunder, the Danger is now past: No, Mountford (said the King) I fear not the Thunder so much as I fear thee. Of Men famous for Sanctity of Life, there were likewise many in his Time, but three more eminent than the rest, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Archdeacon of Hereford; all three either Canonized, or at least thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added Robert Grosbead or Grosteste Bishop of Lincoln, who translated the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs out of Greek into Latin, which through Envy of the Jews never came to the Knowledge of Saint Hierome, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Christ. Of Men famous for Learning there were likewise many in his Time, of whom some left Works behind them for Testimonies of their Knowledge in divers kinds, as Alexander Hales, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatises in

1272

The numerous Family of the Marshals suddenly extinct.

The notable Valour and Activity of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.

The audacious Spirit of Simon Mountford.

A strange Affront to a King.

Divinity;



A.D. 1272 Divinity; *Ralph Coggeshal*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Ranulph Glanville*, the Earl of *Chester*, the third and last of that Name, who compiled a Book of the Laws of England; *Hen. Bracton*, who wrote the Book commonly called by his Name, *De Consuetudinibus Anglicanis*: And besides these, *Hugh Kirkstead*, *Richard of Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John*

*Bracton*  
wrote a  
Book of  
the Law.

*Gyles*, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Physicians; *Richard*, surnamed *Theologus*, and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Fisakar*, *Simon Stokes*, *John of Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blaunpain*, *John Godard*, *Vincent of Coventry*, *Alberick Vere*, *Richard Wich*, *John Basing*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Seningham*, and others.

### The Mayor and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

In his first Year,  
**W**illiam Hardel was Mayor.  
*John Travers*, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
*Robert Serl* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Bokerel*, *Ralph Holyland*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
*Robert Serl* continued Mayor.  
*Bennet Senturer*, *William Blundivers*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
*Robert Serl* continued Mayor.  
*John Wail*, or *Veil*, *Josue le Spicer*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
*Robert Serl* continued Mayor.  
*Richard Wimbleton*, *John Wail* or *Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
*Robert Serl* continued Mayor.  
*Richard Renger*, *John Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,  
*Robert Serl* continued Mayor.  
*Richard Joyner*, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,  
*Richard Renger* was Mayor.  
*William Joyner*, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,  
*Richard Renger* continued Mayor.  
*John Travers*, *Andrew Bokerel*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,  
*Richard Renger* continued Mayor.  
*John Trevers*, *Andrew Bokerel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,  
*Richard Renger* continued Mayor.  
*Roger Duke*, *Martin Fitz-Williams*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,  
*Roger Duke* was Mayor.  
*Stephen Bokerel*, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,  
*Roger Duke* continued Mayor.  
*Stephen Bokerel*, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,  
*Roger Duke* continued Mayor.  
*William Winchester*, *Robert Fitz-John*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,  
*Roger Duke* continued Mayor.  
*Richard Walter*, *John de Woborn*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* was Mayor.  
*Michael of St. Helen*, *Walter de Enfeld*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*Henry de Edmonton*, *Gerard Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*Simon Fitz-Mary*, *Roger Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*Ralph Asbway*, *John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*Gerard Bat*, *Richard*, or *Robert Hardel*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*Henry Cobham*, *Jordan Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second Year,  
*Andrew Bokerel* continued Mayor.  
*John Tolason*, *Gervais the Cordwainer*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third Year,  
*Richard Renger* was Mayor.  
*John Codras*, *John Wilball*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth Year,  
*William Joyner* was Mayor.  
*Reymond Bongy*, *Ralph Asbwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth Year,  
*Gerard Bat* was Mayor.  
*John Gisors*, *Michael Tony*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth Year,  
*Reymond Bongy* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Duresm*, *John Voyl*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh Year,  
*Reymond Bongy* continued Mayor.  
*John Fitz-John*, *Ralph Asbwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth Year,  
*Ralph Asbwy* was Mayor.  
*Hugh Blunt*, *Adam Basing*, Sheriffs.

In



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In his twenty-ninth Year,  
*Michael Tony* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Foster, Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth Year,  
*John Gisors* was Mayor.  
*Robert Cornbil, Adam of Bewly*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first Year,  
*John Gisors* continued Mayor.  
*Simon Fitz-Mary, Lawrence Frowick*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-second Year,  
*Peter Fitz-Alwin* was Mayor.  
*John Voil, Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-third Year,  
*Michael Tony* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Fitz-Josue, Geoffry Winchester*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fourth Year,  
*Roger Fitz-Roger* was Mayor.  
*Richard Hardel, John Tolason*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fifth Year,  
*John Gisors* was Mayor.  
*Humphrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-sixth Year,  
*Adam Basing* was Mayor.  
*Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-seventh Year,  
*John Tolason* was Mayor.  
*William Durham, Thomas Wimbourn*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-eighth Year,  
*Richard Hardel* was Mayor.  
*John Northampton, Richard Pichard*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-ninth Year,  
*Richard Hardel* continued Mayor.  
*Ralph Ashwy, Robert of Limon*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth Year,  
*Richard Hardel* continued Mayor.  
*Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond*, Sheriffs.

In his forty-first Year,  
*Richard Hardel* continued Mayor.  
*Michael Bokerel, John the Minor*, Sheriffs.

In his forty-second Year,  
*Richard Hardel* continued Mayor.  
*Richard Otwel, William Ashwy*, Sheriffs.

In his forty-third Year,  
*Richard Hardel* continued Mayor.  
*Robert Cornbil, John Adrian*, Sheriffs.

In his forty-fourth Year,  
*John Gisors* was Mayor.  
*John Adrian, Robert Cornhill*, Sheriffs.

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In his forty-fifth Year,  
*William Fitz-Richard* was Mayor.  
*Adam Browning, Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his forty-sixth Year,  
*William Fitz-Richard* continued Mayor.  
*John Northampton, Richard Pichard* Sheriffs.

In his forty-seventh Year,  
*Thomas Fitz-Richard* was Mayor.  
*John Taylor, Richard Walbroke* Sheriffs.

In his forty-eighth Year,  
*Thomas Fitz-Richard* continued Mayor.  
*Robert de Mountpeter, Osbert de Suffolk*, Sheriffs.

Yet *Fabian* saith, that from this 48th Year to the End of his Reign, there were no Mayors of London, but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty-ninth Year,  
*Thomas-Fitz-Thomas-Fitz-Richard* was Mayor.  
*George Rokesley, Thomas de Detford*, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth Year,  
*Thomas-Fitz-Thomas-Fitz-Richard* continued Mayor.  
*Edward Blunt, Peter Anger*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-first Year,  
*William Richards* was Mayor.  
*John Hind, John Warlaven*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-second Year,  
*Alen de la Souch* was Mayor.  
*John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-third Year,  
*T. Wimbourn*, Custos, Sir *Stephen Edward*.  
*Walter Harvey, William Duresm*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-fourth Year,  
*Hugh Fitz-Ottonis* Custos of London, and Constable of the Tower.  
*Thomas Basing, Robert Cornbil*, Sheriffs.

To this Time the Mayor and Sheriffs had been chosen, but now the King grants the Choice of them to the City it self.

In his fifty-fifth Year,  
*John Adrian* was Mayor.  
*Walter Potter, Philip Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-sixth Year,  
*John Adrian* continued Mayor.  
*Gregory Rochesly, Henry Wallies*, Sheriffs.

In his fifty-seventh Year,  
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Mayor.  
*Richard Harris, John de Wodely*, Sheriffs.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *E D W A R D* I.  
Surnamed of W I N C H E S T E R.

*Of his Coming to the Crown.*

A.D. 1272

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Prince Edward poisoned in the Holy Land.

The Poison suck'd out of his Wounds by his Wife.

He takes the Death of his Father more heavily than of his Son.

Prince Edward's Valour.

As soon as King *Henry* was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son, Prince *Edward*, to be proclaimed King: And assembling at the new Temple in *London*, they there took Order for the quiet governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this Time he was absent in the *Holy Land*, and had been there above a Year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that Time, and in his Return. For at his first coming thither he rescued the great City of *Acon* from being surrendered to the *Souldan*; after which, out of Envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim*, a desperate *Saracen*, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one Time, upon Pretence of some secret Message, admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three Wounds in the Body, two in the Arm, and one near the Arm-pit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unspeakable Love the Lady *Eleanor*, his Wife, had not suck'd out the Poison of his Wounds with her Mouth; and thereby effecting a Cure, which otherwise had been incurable. It is no Wonder, that Love should do Wonders, which is it self a Wonder. And now being disappointed of Aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in fit Places for Defence of the Country, he, with his Wife *Eleanor*, takes his Journey homewards: And first passing by *Sicily*, was there most kindly received by *Charles*, King of that Island, where he first heard of his Father's Death; which he took more heavily, far, than he had taken the Death of his young Son *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before. At which when King *Charles* marvelled, he answered, That other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through *Italy*, where much Honour is done him by the Pope, and other Princes; and then descends into *Burgoyne*, where, by the Earl of *Chalons*, a stout Man at Arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a Pretence to solemnize his Presence; but with a Purpose indeed to disgrace his Person. And though Prince *Edward* in many Respects might justly have refused it, yet the Nobleness of his Mind would

not suffer him to pass by any Occasion of shewing his Valour: And in this Encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no Liar in the Report it had made of him. And here a great Part of his *English* Nobility met him, from whence he passed into *France*, where the King *Philip*, his near Cousin (as being Sisters Sons) entertains him with great Solemnity, and graceth his Solemnity with so much Courtesy, that it won Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him Homage for the Territories he held in *France*: And this Voluntariness in Prince *Edward* won the King of *France* again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him; and so these two great Kings by reciprocal Courtesy, effected that which their Predecessors by Force could never effect. From hence he passed through *Aquitain*, and having there taken Homage of his Subjects, and set all Things in Order, he set sail and arrived in *England*, about a Year after the Death of his Father: A long Time for plotting of Mischief, and a strong Temptation to Plotters of Mischief, if all Causes of Quietness had not concurred: But such was the Worthiness of Prince *Edward*'s Person, and such the Undoubtedness of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no Oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had shewed a special Care over him from his Childhood; whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this; that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chels with a Friend, in the midst of his Game, without any apparent Occasion, he removed himself from the Place where he sat, when suddenly there fell from the Roof of the House a great Stone, which, if he had stayed in the Place but ever so little, had beaten out his Brains. Another Example of the Divine Providence over him (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelsey*, where the Ships were to meet, it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his Horse, frightened with the Noise of a Wind-mill, which the Wind drove violently about, scrambled up, and leap'd over the Mud-wall of the Town, so as neither the King nor the Horse was to be seen, but every one judged, the King could not choose but be thrown and killed; yet such was the Di-

A.D. 1272

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Reciprocal Courtesies between K. Edward and the K. of France.

K. Edward protected by the Divine Hand from his Childhood.

vine



A.D. 1272 vine Providence over him, that the Horse lighted upon his Feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the Wing of this Divine Providence, he had now passed all the Dangers of this tedious Journey; and being safely come to London, was on the fifteenth Day of August, in the Year 1274, crowned at Westminster, together with his Wife Queen Eleanor, by Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward Solemnity was not more great than the inward Joy was universal; every Man rejoicing, not only at a Change, which of it self is pleasing, but at a Change so much for the better as this was like to be.

Of his Acts done after he was crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five Parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords, his Acts with his Clergy; then with Wales; then his Acts with Scotland; and lastly with France: And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good Contentment in the Beginning of his Reign, by enlarging their Liberties, and granting them easier Laws; for which Purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of Westminster the first: So as he had no Difference with them till toward the End of his Reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next Place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good Age, three or four and thirty Years old, in his Father's Reign, he observed in that Time, that their Power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their Wings, at least to keep them farther from growing; which he did by these Means: First, in the sixth Year of his Reign he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King Henry the Third. The next Year after, he got to be enacted the Statute of Mortmain, to hinder the Encrease of their temporal Possessions. In the second Statute of Westminster, he defaulted the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the Moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one Year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisbury, without Admission of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that Marchian, his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and religious Houses there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no Scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of Mortmain, that had been made so much to their Hinderance; he answered, That this was a Statute made by the whole Body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his Power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should

have asked else, he would have had an Answer A.D. 1274 to redeem his Offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

In the next Place are the Welch, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince Leolin being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more Leisure, being required to come and do him Homage, he stood upon Terms of safe Conduct, pretending Doubt to be used as his Father Griffith had been, who upon hard Usage in the Tower, seeking to make Escape, fell from the Walls and broke his Neck. But indeed it was always a Custom with this Nation, at every Change of Princes in England, to try Conclusions, hoping at one Time or other to have a Day of it, and to change their Yoke of Bondage into Liberty: For which they were never better provided than now; especially (which is the greatest Matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an Accident which took off their Edge at this Time: For the Lady Eleanor, a Daughter of the late Earl Simon Mountford, whom Prince Leolin extremely loved, passing out of France into Wales, was by the Way upon the Sea taken by English Ships, and brought to King Edward; and for the Love of her, Prince Leolin was content to submit himself to any Conditions; which besides Subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, and a thousand Pounds per Annum during his Life. And upon these Conditions the Marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in England; whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three Years Leolin continued loyal, and within the Bounds of Obedience; in which Time David, one of his Brothers, staying here in England, and found by the King to be of a stirring Spirit, was much honoured by him, knighted, and matched to a rich Widow, Daughter of the Earl of Derby; and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of Denbigh, with a thousand Pounds per Annum; though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the Nature of a Spy. For when Prince Leolin's Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother David to him, notwithstanding all these Favours of the King; and they together enter the English Borders, surprize the Castles of Flint and Ruddlan, with the Person of the Lord Clifford, sent Justiciar into those Parts; and in a great Battle overthrew the Earls of Northumberland and Surrey, with the Slaughter of Sir William Lindsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and many others. King Edward advertised of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the Devizes in Wiltshire, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen Eleanor, lying at the Nunnery of Amesbury, with whom whilst he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his Sight at the Tomb of King Henry the third. As soon as the King saw the Man, he remembered he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his Mother in no Case to believe him: But his Mother, who much rejoiced

1274.

He is crowned.

He gives Contentment to his Lords.

He abates the Power of the Clergy.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergy-men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

Prince Leolin delays to do his Homage.

For the Love of his Lady he submits himself.

She dead, he falls to Rebellion.

An Impostor discovered by the King.



A.D. 1274 to hear of this Miracle, for the Glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father should be a Saint, grew suddenly into such a Rage against him, that she commanded him to avoid her Chamber; which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the Story of this Impostor, and merrily said, He knew the Justice of his Father to be such, that he would rather pull out the Eyes (being whole) of such a wicked Wretch, than restore them to their Sight. In this mean Time the Archbishop of Canterbury had gone of himself to Prince *Leolin*, and had laboured to bring him and his Brother *David* to a Re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other Reasons that swayed Prince *Leolin*, the Conceit of a Prophecy of *Merlin*, that he should shortly be crowned with a Diadem of Brute, so overweighed him, that he had no Ear for Peace, and shortly after no Head. For after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere-Castle*, which was the Seat of Prince *Leolin*, he was himself slain in Battle; and his Head, cut off by a common Soldier, was sent to King *Edward*, who caused the same to be crowned with Ivy, and to be set upon the *Tower of London*. And this was the End of *Leolin*, the last of the *Welch* Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the Men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* also is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious Death; first drawn at a Horse's Tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunk of his Body divided, his Heart and Bowels burnt, his Head sent to accompany his Brother's on the *Tower of London*, his four Quarters to four Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Winchester*. A manifold Execution, and the first shewed in that Kind in this Kingdom, in the Person of the Son of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something which some here observe, that at the sealing of his Conquest, King *Edward* lost his eldest Son *Alphonfus*, of the Age of 12 Years (a Prince of great Hope) and had only left to succeed him his Son *Edward*, lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the first of the *English* entitled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh Year of this King *Edward's* Reign; who thereupon established the Government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth Year of his Reign.

The last of the *Welch* Princes. His Brother *David's* ignominious Death.

The Work of *Wales* being settled, King *Edward* passeth over into *France*, upon Notice of the Death of *Philip* the *Hardy*, to renew and confirm such Conditions as his State in those Parts required with the new King *Philip* the Fourth, entitled *Fair*; to whom he doth Homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his Claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three Years and a Half, being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next Place comes the Business with *Scotland*, and will hold him Work at Times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. *Alexander* the Third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his Horse, fell Horse and Man to the Ground, and broke his Neck, and died immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving

no Issue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter A.D. 1283 *Margaret*, who died also soon after) there fell out presently great Contention about Succession.

Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, *Erick*, The King of *Norway*, *Florence*, Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Cummin*, Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patrick de Dunbarre*, Earl of *March*, *John de Vescy*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Ross*; all, or most of them, descending from *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This Title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdom, and proving it by Authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which, though the *Scotish* Lords who swayed the *Inter-regnum* opposed, yet are they constrained for avoiding of further Inconveniencies, to make him Arbitrator thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found, between whom the Right lay, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one descended from an elder Daughter; the other from a Son of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest Daughter of this *David*, Brother to King *William*. The Controversy held long: Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws are elected to debate the same at *Berwick*; all the best Civilians in the Universities of *France* are solicited to give their Opinions: All which brought forth rather Doubts than Resolutions. Whereupon King *Edward*, the better to sway this Business by his Presence, takes a Journey Northward, where, being come as far as *Lincolnshire*, he lost his beloved Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and thereupon went back to see her Funeral performed at *Westminster*; that done, he returns presently to his *Scotish* Business. And now six Years were passed since the Death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this Controversy; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title, but the more Friends) and promiseth him, if he would swear Fealty and Homage to the Crown of *England*, he would invest him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* answers, He was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties of his Country. Whereupon, with the like Offers he sets upon *Baliol*, who having better Right, but less Love of the People, and more greedy of a Kingdom than Honour, accepts the Condition; and thereupon is crowned King at *Scone*, hath Fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*; comes to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, where King *Edward* then lay, and there, with many of his Nobles, swears Fealty, and doth Homage to him as his Sovereign Lord. Which act done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became less. Such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the Preservation of their Countries Liberty) took Stomach against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for his Injustice in the Case of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the six Governours in the Time of the *Inter-regnum*.

The Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*.

K. *Edward* Arbitrator, in whom is the Right.

1291. K. *Edward's* Queen *Eleanor* dieth.

K. *Edward* arbitrator: eth the Crown to *Baliol*.



A.D. 1291 *regnum*, who had been slain by the Family of *Alberneth*, the Brother of which Earl prosecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his high Court of Parliament, and having no Right done him (King *Baliol* giving Judgment of the Side of the *Alberneths*) he appeals to the Court of the King of England. Whereupon *Baliol* is summoned, appears, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his Cause was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the Place appointed for Pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon descends to the ordinary Place, and defends his Cause himself. Which Indignity (as he took it) so incenseth him, that he returns home with a Breast full charged with Indignation, meditates Revenge, renews the antient League with *France*, confirms it with Marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, Brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late Offences taken against the King of England to embrace the same; which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his Power, without Consent of the State, to do any such Act. Hereupon brake out the mortal Dissention between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian Blood, and continued longer than ever Quarrel we read of did between any two People in the World: For he that began it, could not end it; but it lasted almost three hundred Years, and was never thoroughly abolished till the late blessed Union. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of Scotland used to be inaugurated, seems to recover its secret Operation, according to antient Prophecy, that whithersoever that Chair should be removed, the Kingdom should be removed with it; and this Chair King *Edward* caused to be brought out of Scotland to *Westminster*, and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King *Baliol*, being summoned to appear at *Newcastle*, and refusing to come, King *Edward* enters Scotland with an Army consisting of four thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, besides five hundred Horse, and one thousand Foot of the Bishop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is first won, with the Slaughter of fifteen thousand Scots (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edinburgh*, *Sterling*, and *St. John's Town*; and King *Baliol* sues for Peace, submits himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Sovereign Lord. Which done, a Parliament for Scotland is held at *Berwick*, where the Nobility likewise did Homage to him, confirming the same by their Charter, under their Hands and Seals; only *William Douglas* refuseth, content rather to endure the Misery of a Prison, than yield to the Subjection of the King of England. But King *Baliol*, notwithstanding his Submission, is sent Prisoner into England after his four Years Reign in Scotland; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all Scotland; *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesly* Chief Justice, with Commission to take in his Name the Homages and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crown. But this continued not long; for King *Edward* being absent in *France*, the Scots

fell upon the Officers he had left, slew Sir *Hugh A.D. 1291 Cressingham* with six thousand English, recovered many Castles, and regained the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the Animation and Conduct of one *William Walleis*, a poor private Gentleman (though nobly descended) who seeing his Country without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great Men either in Captivity or Subjection) assembles certain of as poor and desperate Estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever Advantages they could find to annoy the English; and having therein good Success, it so encreased both his Courage and Company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom, and was in Possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Country from the Subjection of the English, if the speedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his Work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continued above six Years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knight's Service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory Day; where they assemble three thousand Men at Arms on barded Horses, and four thousand other armed Men on Horses without Bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting most of Welsh and Irish, besides five hundred Men at Arms out of *Gascoin*: And with this Power he makes his second Expedition into Scotland; the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Vanguard at the famous Battle of *Fonkirk*, where the Shouts of the Scots were so great, that King *Edward's* Horse frightened withal, cast him off, and brake two of his Ribs; which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets Victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand Foot of the Scots; but *William Walleis*, with some few escaped to make more Work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of Scotland (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the English; and a Parliament is called at *St. Andrews*, where all the great Men of the Kingdom, except only *Walleis*, once again swear Fealty to the King of England. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the Scots but a Ceremony without Substance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third Time they swore Fealty to King *Edward*; yet all did not serve to make them loyal: For not long after comes the News of a new King made and crowned in Scotland. *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, Son to that *Bruce* who was Competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of England, becomes Head to the confused Body of that Kingdom, and perceiving *John Cummin* (who had a Title himself) to go about to bewray his Intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dumfries*, sets upon him, and murders him in the Church: Whereof as soon as King *Edward* heard, he sends *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy* with a strong Power to revenge the Death of *Cummin*, and to relieve his Wardens of Scotland; who upon *Bruce's* Revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow; wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be made,

*Baliol* is incensed against *Edward*, and why.

The fatal Chair of Scotland brought into England.

*Baliol* sues for Peace and submits himself.

*Baliol* is sent Prisoner into England.

*William Walleis* opposeth *K. Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*.

1298. The Battle of *Fonkirk*.

The Scots swear Fealty to *K. Edward*.

*Robert Bruce* attempts for the Crown.



A.D. 1298 made, that whosoever ought by their paternal Succession, or otherwise had Means of their own for Service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knight-hood, and a military Ornament out of the King's Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the Sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the Day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with Gold or Silver, according to every Man's Estate. For which Train (because the King's House was too little, by reason a Part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple Trees cut down at the *New Temple* for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigil with his Train at *Westminster*; and the next Day he girded these three hundred Knights with the military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead he would revenge the Death of *Cummin* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*; adjuring his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in his Journey, they should carry his Corpse with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Country to Subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their Faith, to employ their utmost Power to perform his Vow: And herewithal he sets forth with a potent Army presently after *Whitsuntide*, and makes his last Expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth Year of his Reign; at which Time he made above two hundred Knights.

1306. The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that Power sent before, and Aid of the *Scotch* Party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a Battle near *St. John's Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his Person; but he escaping in Disguise, and sheltering himself in obscure Places, was reserved for greater Battles: his Brothers *Nigel*, *Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traitors at *Berwick*. And now *K. Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his Desire of Revenge made him inexorable, and vowed to spare none of what Degree soever. The Earl of *Athol* (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his Preferment was, to have a higher Pair of Gallows than the rest. The Wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, is sent Prisoner to *London*, and his Daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countess of *Boughan*, who had been aiding at *Bruce's* Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of *Berwick* for People to gaze on. But though *Bruce's* Party was thus dejected, and himself at this Time appeared not, but shifted privily from Place to Place in a distressed manner (attended only with two noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his Misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great Defeat, and within three Days

after chaseth the Earl of *Gloucester* into the Castle A.D. 1306 of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the King's Forces he was driven again to his former Retire. Whereupon King *Edward*, who had spent his Winter at *Carlisle*, in July following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself; but falling into a Dysentery or Bloody-flux at *Borough* upon the Sands, he ended his Life. And thus ended King *Edward's* Troubles with *Scotland*, but not *England's* Troubles, which are more to come than yet are past.

But though this Business of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying Day, yet it had been upon him but as an Ague, sometimes putting him into violent Heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet Temper with such a Vicissitude, that when he had Quietness with *Scotland*, he had Troubles with *France*, whereof the Time is now to speak. It is well known that *Philip* King of *France*, Father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the Sons of two Sisters; and it hath been shewed before at King *Edward's* returning from the *Holy Land*, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary Kindness and mutual Courtesy passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private Men, and not Princes. For private Men may easily continue Friends, as having none to confider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to confider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the Quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but Jealousies, and where Jealousies are, every Trifle makes a Quarrel. And this was the Case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of *England's* Subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandy* done Spoil to some Subjects of the King of *France*; and this Difference of the Subjects made a Difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in Defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a Beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court: And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of Courtesy, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which Refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seize upon the same, led by *Charles Valois*, and *Arnold de Neale*, Constable of *France*. *Bourdeaux*, with divers other Places of Importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what Danger it was to have so powerful an Adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with Friends abroad, seeks to match his Son *Edward* with a Daughter of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, marries one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended Title of *Campaigne*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, sends fifteen thousand Pounds Sterling to *Adolph de Nassau*, the Emperor, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these, and many other confining Princes, he set upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred Men at Arms,

The Order of Knight-hood imposed upon Men of Means.

K. Edward makes a Journey into *Scotland* to revenge the Death of *Cummin*.

He defeats the *Scotch* Army.

The Countess of *Boughan's* ignominious Punishment.

K. Edward enters *Scotland*, and there dieth.

The King of *England* and *France* fall out, and why.



A.D. 1306 Arms, and a Navy of three hundred and sixty Sail. In the mean Time the King of France having had Intelligence of the intended Alliance between King Edward and Guy Earl of Flanders, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at Paris; where, instead of feasting him, he makes him Prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much Mediation is released himself, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl presuming upon Aid from King Edward, takes Arms and defies the King of France: Who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused King Edward with all speed possible to relieve this distressed Earl; and so leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his Absence to the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Raynold, Gray, and Clifford, with five hundred Sail, and eighteen thousand Men at Arms, he passed over into France. But finding the Country distracted into many popular Factions, and the King of France daily getting upon them (having already won Lisle, Douay, Courtray, Bruges, and Dam) and the Emperor Adolph failing to send him Aid as he had promised, he fell into great Perplexity, and having staid the whole Winter at Gaunt, where by reason of many Outrages committed by his Soldiers, he was so affronted by the Gauntois, that his own Person was not without some Danger. He thereupon in the Spring of the Year concludes a Truce with the King of France for two Years, takes his Sister Margaret to Wife, and affianceth the Daughter of the same King to his Son Prince Edward, and so returns into England. And these were all the Troubles King Edward had with France.

A Truce is concluded between them. K. Edward marries his Son Edward to a Daughter of the King of France.

The Lords refuse to attend the King, unless he went himself in Person.

But now must something be spoken of the Troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the Beginning. In a Parliament at Salisbury the five and twentieth Year of his Reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in Gascoin, which needed a present Supply, by reason of the Death of his Brother Edmund; but the Lords make all their Excuses, every Man for himself: Whereupon the King in great Rage threatened they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should. Upon this Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, High-Constable, and Roger Bigot Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, make their Declaration, that if the King went in Person, they would attend him, otherwise not. Which Answer offended the King more; and being urged again, the Earl Marshal protested he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, he should go with any other, though he went not himself in Person. I am not so bound (saith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King swore, by God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang. And I swear by the same Oath (saith the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and so without Leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls assemble many Noblemen, and other their Friends to the Number of thirty Bannerets; so as they were

fifteen hundred Men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their Guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his Times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the Matter pass in regard that his Business called him presently into Flanders. When being ready to take Ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons and the Commons send him a Roll of the Grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their Services by unlawful Courses: To which the King sends Answer, that he could not alter any thing without the Advice of his Council, who were not now about him: and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his Journey (which they absolutely refused to do, though he went in Person, unless he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet do nothing in his Absence prejudicial to the Peace of the Kingdom; and that at his Return he would set all things in good Order to their Contentment. But having taken his Journey, and being held there with long Delays, to his exceeding great Expences, he was forced to send over for more Supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave Order for a Parliament to be held at York by the Prince, and (because of his Minority, for he was then but sixteen Years of Age) by such as had the managing of the Kingdom in his Absence; and to the End he would not be disappointed of Aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter; promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their Consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27th Year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised Confirmation of the two Charters, and the Allowance of what Disafforestation had heretofore been made, was earnestly urg'd, and in the end with much ado granted, and that with Omission of the Clause, *Salvo Jure Corona nostre*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the People by no means would agree; and the Perambulation of the Forests of England was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. But some Years after, in the two and thirtieth Year of his Reign, King Edward began to shew his Resentment of the stubborn Behaviour of his Nobles towards him in Times past; and so terrifies Roger Bigot, Earl Marshal, that to recover his Favour the Earl made him his Heir in Possession (though he had a Brother of his own living) reserving only to himself a thousand Pounds *per Annum* during his Life. Of others likewise he got great Sums for the same Offence. The Earl of Hereford escaped his Fine by Death; but the Archbishop of Canterbury (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his Absence) he sends over to Pope Clement the Fifth (who succeeded Boniface) that he might be crushed with a double Power. This Pope was Native of Bourdeaux, and so the more regardful of the King's Desire, and the King the more confident of his Favour; which to entertain and encrease, K. Edward sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of clean Gold; which great Gift so wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects

K. Edward condescends to the Lords demands.

K. Edward confirms two Charters,

Is released of his Grant by the Pope.



A.D. 1306 jects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath. A safe Time for Princes, when they might tie themselves by any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward, for a Bribe to the Pope, be untied again!

*His Taxations and Ways for raising Money.*

IF Taxations may suffer Degrees of Comparison, it may not unfitly be said of these three last Kings, that King *John* was in the Positive; his Son *Henry* the Third, in the Comparative; and this King *Edward* in the Superlative: For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a Spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him. But then under the Name of Taxations, we must include the Ways he took for raising of Profit; but first in the way of Parliament. In the first Year of his Reign was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy for two Years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth Year, a twentieth of their Goods towards the *Welsh* Wars: In his seventh the old Money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the *Jews*, for which 297 were at one Time executed in *London*; and this brought in Profit of no small Value. In his eleventh Year he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Esuage, forty Shillings of every Knight's Fee. In his fourteenth Year, he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants fined for false Weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh Part of all Moveables of the Clergy, and shortly after a Tenth for six Years. In his twentieth, *William Marchian*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, perceiving great Riches to be in Churches and Religious Houses, put it so into the King's Head, that they were all brought into the King's Treasury. In the eighth Year of his Reign, he sent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what Title Men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till *John* Earl of *Warren*, being called to shew his Title, drew out an old rusty Sword, and then said he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to Death; which though it made the King desist from his Project, yet he obtained at that Time a fifteenth Part of the Clergy. In his seventeenth Year he fined all his Judges for Corruption: Sir *Ralph de Hengham*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Justice of the Common-Pleas, in three thousand Marks; Sir *William Brompton*, in six thousand Marks; Sir *Solomon Rochester*, in four thousand Marks; Sir *Richard Boyland*, in four thousand; Sir *Walter Hopton*, in two thousand; Sir *William Sabam*, in three thousand; *Robert Lithbury*, Master of the Rolls, in one thousand; *Roger Leicester*, in one thousand; *Henry Bray*, Escheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, in one thousand: But Sir *Adam Stratton*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand; and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Substance) had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King, and himself banished out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth Year he banished the *Jews*; of whom there was

at that Time above fifteen thousand in the A.D. 1306 Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiscate, leaving them only Means to bear their Charges in going away.

In his four and twentieth Year, he commanded a Subsidy to be levied upon all Sarplars of Wool going out of *England*; as likewise with Fells and Hides. In his five and twentieth Year, he calls a Parliament at *St. Edmondsbury*, where is granted the eighth Part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other People the twelfth. As for the Clergy, they desire to be excused, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late Payments; as in the two and twentieth Year of his Reign, they payed the Moiety of their Goods: And in his three and twentieth Year he seisseth into his Hands all Priories, Aliens, and their Goods; besides, he had a Loan of the Clergy, which amounted to an hundred thousand Pounds: But notwithstanding, upon this Refusal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy-men out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of the Courts (a Strain of State beyond any of his Predecessors) which so amazed them, that in the End, the Archbishop of *York*, with the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to lay down in their Churches the fifth Part of all their Goods towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; whereby they appeased his Wrath, and were received into Grace. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whose Animation the rest stood out, had all his Goods seised on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocess taken into the King's Hands; and Wardens appointed to minister only Necessaries to the Monks, converting the rest to the King's Use: At length, by much Suit, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth Part of their Goods, redeem themselves and the King's Favour. In the six and twentieth Year of his Reign, at a Parliament holden at *York*, is granted him the ninth Penny of the Goods of the Temporalty, the tenth Penny of the Clergy of the Diocess of *Canterbury*, and of *York* the fifth; and in this Year also he raised the Imposition upon every Sack of Wool, from a Noble to forty Shillings. In his two and thirtieth Year he sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for Intruders on other Mens Lands; who, to oppress the right Owner, would make over their Land to great Men; Batteries hired to beat Men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Assisers, and other such Malefactors; which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King: As likewise did another Commission at the same Time, sent forth to examine the Behaviour of Officers and Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this Time also he called his Lords to account for their Stubbornness some Years before, in denying to attend him in *Flanders*; which brought him in Profit answerable to their Greatness that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth Year, there is granted him the thirtieth Penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his Journey into *Scotland*. And this may be sufficient to shew his Taxations.

The Clergy is put out of the King's Protection.

*John* Earl of *Warren* opposeth the Writ of *Quo Warranto*.

The Judges fined for Corruption.

The Writ of *Trailbaston* sent forth.

He banisheth the *Jews*.



A.D. 1306 Taxations to have been in the superlative Degree. And yet besides these, he had no small Benefit by Silver Mines, which in his Time were found in Devonshire.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the first Year of his Reign were made the Statutes called *Westminster* the First. In his twelfth Year were made the Statutes of *Acton Burnel*. In the fourteenth Year of his Reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Gloucestriae*. He ordained such Men to be Sheriffs in every County as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that Jews should wear a Cognisance upon their upper Garment, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his Time was also enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*. In his Time new Pieces of Money were coined, and Half-pence of Silver, which were before of base Metal. In his Time, three Men for Rescuing of a Prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their Right-hands cut off by the Wrists. In his Time all Jews were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the Burning of Sea-coal in London and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisom Smoak. In his eleventh Year the Bakers of London were first drawn upon Hurdles, *Henry Walleis* Mayor, and Corn was then first sold by Weight. In this King's Time, the Title of Baron, which had before been promiscuous to Men of Estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have Voice in Parliament. In the sixth Year of this King, *Michaelmas Term* was kept at *Shrewsbury*. In his twelfth, he divided *Wales* into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as used in *England*.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN his Time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, that no Ecclesiastical Person should have more than one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls: And that every Person promoted to any Ecclesiastical Living, should take the Order of Priesthood within one Year after. In his Time lived and died Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, of whom his Predecessor had prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his Time.

THIS King founded the Abby of the *Vale Royal* in *Cheshire*, of the *Cisteaux* Order. In his Time *John Baliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Baliol Colledge* in *Oxford*: Also in his Time, *Walter Merton* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and after Bishop of *Rocheſter*, founded *Merton College* in *Oxford*, who was drowned passing over the Water at *Rocheſter*, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his Time was finished the new Work of the Church at *Westminster*, which had been threescore and six Years in building. In his Time was laid the Foundation of the *Black-Friers* beside *Ludgate*, by *Robert Kikwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Also A.D. 1306

in his Time, his second Wife Queen *Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. In his Time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his Time *Henry Walleis*, Mayor of *London*, caused the *Ton* upon *Cornhil*, to be a Prison for Nightwalkers; and also builded a House called the *Stocks*, for a Market of Fish and Flesh, in the midst of the City. In this King's Time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester*, the King's Brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Aldgate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this King's Time, *John Pickham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a College of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Of Casualties happening in his Time.

IN the second Year of this King's Reign, there happened the greatest Rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty Years; and came (as was thought) by one infected Sheep of incredible Greatness, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth Year of this King's Reign, Wheat was sold for ten Groats a Quarter; when the next Year after there was so great a Dearth, that it was sold for eighteen Pence the Bushel. In the seventeenth Year of his Reign there fell so much Rain, that Wheat was raised from three Pence the Bushel, to sixteen Pence; and so encreased Yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty Shillings the Quarter. And this Year the City of *Carlisle*, and the Abby, with all the Houses belonging to the *Friers Minors*, was consumed with Fire. In his one and twentieth Year a great Part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady, was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth Year of his Reign his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monastery adjoining, were consumed with Fire. The Monastery of *Gloucester* also was burnt to the Ground. In this Year also an Act of Common-Council by Consent of the King, was made concerning Victuals; a fat Cock to be sold for three-half Pence, two Pullets for three-half Pence, a fat Capon for two pence half Penny, a Goose four Pence, a Mallard three-half Pence, a Partridge three-half Pence, a Pheasant four Pence, a Heron six Pence, a Plover one Penny, a Swan three Shillings, a Crane twelve Pence, two Woodcocks three-half Pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen Pence, and all the Year after for four Pence; and Wheat was this Year so plentiful, that a Quarter was sold for ten Groats. In his sixteenth Year it chanced in *Gascoin*, that as the King and Queen sate in their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behind them, passed betwixt them, and flew two of their Gentlemen that stood before them.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*;

Seal-Coal prohibited to be burned in London.

The Title of Barons confined to such only as were called by Writ to the Parliament.

No Ecclesiastical Person to have more than one Benefice.

Baliol College in Oxford by whom builded.

Merton College in Oxford, by whom builded.

The Stocks-Market, for Fish and Flesh when made.

A Rot of Sheep five and twenty Years together, and how caused.

The Price of Victuals at this Time ordained.



A.D. 1306 *Spain*; and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*, who having lived with him six and thirty Years, in a Journey with him towards *Scotland* at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she died: In whose Memory, and as Monuments of her Virtue, and his Affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief Places where her Corpse, in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: As at *Stamford*, *Geddington*, *Northampton*, *Dunstable*, *St. Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*, and lastly at the Place called *Charing-Cross*. She was buried in *Westminster*, at the Feet of King *Henry* the Third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Pourtraiture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King *Edward* had four Sons, and nine Daughters; his eldest Son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonfus*, died all young in their Father's Time; his fourth Son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvon*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his Daughters, the Eldest, named *Eleanor*, was first married by Proxy to *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the Marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristol* to *Henry* Earl of *Bury* in *France*; by whom she had Issue Sons and Daughters. *Joan* the second Daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon*, in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, by whom she had Issue Sons and Daughters. She survived her Husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Montbermere*, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Viscount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret*, the third Daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*. *Berenger* and *Alice* their fourth and fifth Daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth Daughter, at ten Years of Age was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Amesbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the Instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh Daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Freezland*: He dying within two Years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknock*, and High-Constable of *England*, by whom she had Issue Sons and Daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth Daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*'s second Wife was *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the *Hardy*, and Sister to *Philip* called the *Fair*: At eighteen Years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above Threescore; yet at these unequal Years she had Issue by him two Sons and a Daughter: Their eldest Son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas* of *Brotherton*: He was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl-Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigot*, who died without Issue. Their second Son *Edmund* was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the Place was so called: He was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* Daughter of *John*, and Sister and sole Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes*, of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had Issue two Sons and one Daughter: His Sons *Edmund* and *John* died without

Monuments  
ordained in  
Memory  
of Queen  
*Eleanor*.

The now  
Viscount  
*Montacute*  
from whence  
descended.

A.D. 1306 Issue: His Daughter *Joan*, for her Beauty called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntingdon*; and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*, and by him Mother of King *Richard* the Second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth Year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the Daughter of King *Edward* by his second Wife *Margaret*, died in her Childhood.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of Stature, higher than ordinary Men by Head and Shoulders, and thereof called *Longshank*; of a swarthy Complexion, Strong of Body, but Lean; of a comely Favour; his Eyes in his Anger sparkling like Fire; the Hair of his Head black and curled. Concerning his Conditions, as he was in War peaceful, so in Peace he was warlike, delighting especially in that Kind of Hunting, which is to kill Stags or other wild Beasts with Spears. In Continency of Life, he was equal to his Father; in Acts of Valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two Wisdoms, not often found in any single, both together seldom or never; an Ability of Judgment in himself, and a Readiness to hear the Judgment of others. He seemed to be a great Observer of Opportunity (a great Point of Wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an Injury long, without seeking to revenge it, as appeared by his Carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigot*, whom when he saw his Time, he called to Account for an Affront he had offered him divers Years before. He was not easily provoked into Passion; but once in Passion, not easily appeased, as was seen by his Dealing with the *Scots*, towards whom he shewed at first Patience, and at last Severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his Money to more Honour of Himself, or Good of his Kingdom. His greatest Unfortunateness was in his greatest Blessing; for of four Sons, which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his own Life-time, who were worthy to have outlived him; and the fourth outlived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

K. Edward  
called  
*Longshank*,  
and why.

### Of his Death and Burial.

IN his last Expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlisle*, he fell sick; and lying on his Death-bed, he sent for his Son *Edward*; to whom, besides many Admonitions to Piety, he commended three Things specially; That he should carry his Bones about with him through *Scotland*, till he had subdued it; That he should send his Heart into the *Holy-land* with Sevenscore Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand Pounds he had provided for that Purpose; And that he should never recal *Gaveston* from Banishment. And soon after, of a Dysentery or Bloody-flux, he died at *Borough* upon the Sands,

1307.  
K. Edward's  
Admonition  
to his Son.



A.D. 1307 Sands, the seventh of July, in the Year 1307, when he had reigned four and thirty Years, and seven Months, lived threescore and eight Years. Being dead, his Corpse was brought to *Waltham Abby*, and there kept the Space of sixteen Weeks, and after, on S. Simon and Jude's Day, buried at *Westminster*.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF martial Men there were many, these especially; *John Earl of Warren*, who opposed the King's Inquisition by *Quo Warranto*; and *Roger Bigot*, who gave the King an Affront to his Face. Of learned Men also many, especially these; *John Breton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, who compiled a Book of the Laws of England called *le Breton*; *Thomas Spot*, a Chronographer;

*John Everfden*, a Writer also of Annals, and of this King's Reign; *Gregory Cairugent*, a Monk of *Gloucester*, and a Writer also of Annals; *John Peckham*, a Franciscan Frier made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who writ many excellent Works; *John Reed*, an Historiographer; *Thomas Bungey*, a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician; *Roger Bacon*, a Franciscan Frier, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician; *Robert Kilwarby*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinal; also *Ralph Baldock*, Bishop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of England in the *Latin Tongue*; but above them all, though of another Country, *Thomas Aquinas*, born of a noble Family, whose Works are too famous to be spoken of, who going to the Council holden at *Lyons* by Pope Gregory the Tenth, died by the Way.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Time.

In his first Year,

SIR *Walter Harvey* was Mayor.  
*John Horn*, *Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,

*Henry Walleis* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Wincheste*, *Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* was Mayor.  
*Lucas Battencourt*, *Henry Frowicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*John Horn*, *Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*Robert de Arar*, *Ralph L. Fewre*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*John Adrian*, *Walter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*Robert Basing*, *William le Meyre*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*Thomas Box*, *Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* continued Mayor.  
*William Farendon*, *Nicholas Wincheste*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,

*Henry Walleis* was Mayor.  
*William le Meyre*, *Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,

*Henry Walleis* continued Mayor.  
*Ralph Blunt*, *Hawkin Betuel*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,

*Henry Walleis* continued Mayor.  
*Jordan Goodchep*, *Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,

*Gregory Rokesley* was Mayor.  
*Stephen Cornehil*, *Robert Rokesley*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* was Mayor.  
*Walter Blunt*, *John Wade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Thomas Cross*, *Walter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*William Hereford*, *Thomas Stanes*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*William Betaine*, *John of Canterbury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Fulk of St. Edmund*, *Solomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Thomas Romain*, *William de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Ralph Blunt*, *Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Elias Russel*, *Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second Year,

*Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Robert Rokesley*, *Martin Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third Year,

*Sir Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.  
*Henry Box*, *Richard Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth Year,

*Sir John Briton* was Mayor.  
*John Dunstable*, *Adam de Halingbery*, Sheriffs.

In



A.D. 1307

In his twenty-fifth Year,  
*Sir John Briton* continued Mayor.  
*Thomas of Suffolk, Adam of Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-sixth Year,  
*Henry Walleis* was Mayor.  
*Richard Refham, Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-seventh Year,  
*Elias Russel* was Mayor.  
*John Armentor, Henry Fingene*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-eighth Year,  
*Elias Russel* continued Mayor.  
*Lucas de Havering, Richard Champness*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-ninth Year,  
*Sir John Blunt* was Mayor.  
*Robert Collor, Peter de Befenbo*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth Year,

*Sir John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*Hugh Pourte, Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-first Year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*William Combmartin, John de Burford*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-second Year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*Roger Paris, John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-third Year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*William Cawson, Reginald Thunderly*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fourth Year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*Geoffry at the Conduit, Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1307

THE



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *E D W A R D* II.

*Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.*

A.D. 1307 **E**DWARD of *Caernarvon*, eldest Son of King *Edward* the First, succeeded him in the Kingdom; and never did Prince come to a Crown with more Applause of Nobility and People: And there was good Cause for it, for he had been trained up in all good Courses for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the Ways of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and presiding in Parliament in his Father's Absence; and he was now three and twenty Years old, a fit Age for bearing the Weight of a Scepter. And yet, for all these Advantages, there wanted not Fears of him in the Minds of many, who could not but remember what Pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of *Chester's* Park, and in most disorderly Manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had been committed to Prison, and his Friend *Pierce Gaveston* banished the Realm; and if he did such Things, being but Prince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldom doth Advancement in Honour alter Men to the better; to the worse often, and commonly then when it is joined with an Authority that sets them above Controulment. Neither yet was their Fear more out of what they had seen, than out of what they saw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the Charge his Father had given him on his Death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing less, nothing more than wholly to break it; for he presently called home *Pierce Gaveston* from Banishment; and the two and thirty thousand Pounds which his Father had specially appointed for the Holy War, either all, or the most of it, he bestowed upon *Gaveston*. And for carrying his Father's Bones with him about *Scotland*, it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at Rest in *England*. For after the Corpse had been kept above Ground sixteen Weeks in the Abby of *Waltham*, and that the Bishop of *Chester*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treasurer, and the Executor of his Father's Will, was busy in preparing for his Funeral, he sent the Constable of the *Tower* to arrest him, and imprison him at *Wallingford*, seizing upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveston*; and all for old Grudges. And (that which seemed a high Strain of Incongruity) before he had seen performed his Father's Funerals, which was not till the 27th of *October* following, he entred into a Treaty of his own A.D. 1307 Nuptials; for going over to *Boloigne* on the two and twentieth of *January*, he married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*; which Marriage was honoured with the Presence of four Kings, the King of *France* himself, the King of *Navarre* his Son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicily*; and three Queens, beside the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*; and yet did *Gaveston* exceed them all in Bravery. This was observed by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a heinous Transgression of his Father's Will it was to call home *Gaveston*; and seeing the Charge was no less given to them than to him, if he did not perform it, they would; and therefore unless he would remove *Gaveston* from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding; which struck such a Damp to Prince *Edward's* Spirits, to think what Disgrace it would be to him, if so many of his great Friends being present, *Charles* of *Valois* the King of *France's* Brother, the Dukes of *Britany* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Dutcheffes of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in Question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24th Day of *February*, in the Year 1307, his Queen and he were both crowned at *Westminster*, by the Hands of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, by Commission from *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then in Exile, and out of the Kingdom; at which Solemnity there was so great a Press of People, that Sir *John Blackwel*, Knight, was crowded to Death. And now in the very Act of his Coronation, there was given another Provocation to the Lords against *Gaveston*; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint *Edward* before him (the greatest Honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other Honours the King had done him (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) so incensed the Lords, that they entred into Consultation how to suppress this Violence of the King's Affection; which shortly after they put in Execution. Portion in Money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife; but

A.D. 1307

The Disor-

ders of King

Edward

when he was

Prince.

A.D. 1307

He marries

Isabel, the

Daughter,

King of

France's

Daughter.

E e

but



A.D. 1307 but the King of France gave him the Dutchy of Guynne, which he had seised upon before, as confiscate to him; and thereupon King Edward did him Homage for that Dutchy, and for the County of Ponthieu.

*Of his Differences with his Lords about Gaveston.*

WE shall have here no *Quinquennium Nerois*, no such five Years as Nero afforded in the Beginning of his Reign; but this King at the first Entrance will shew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took some great and grave Men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the End they should be pliant to him, than that he had any Meaning to apply himself to them. For let them say what they would, Gaveston must be the Oracle; all the King's Actions were but Gaveston's Impressions. And now Gaveston presently after the Coronation, to let the World be a Witness of his Worthiness, and that the King had not bestowed his Favours upon him without Cause, caused to be published a Tournament at Wallingford, whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry Earl of Hereford, Aymer Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Warren, with many others, all valiant Men at Arms: Yet

Gaveston gets the Prize in a publick Tournament.

He casts Scoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

1308. Gaveston is banished into Ireland, where he doth many good Services.

none had the Honour of the Day like to Gaveston. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed here, if having gotten true Glory, he had not fallen into Vain-glory: For the Lords envied him not so much for his Advancement in Honours, as they hated him for his Insolency in Manners; for in a scornful Pride he would be casting Scoffs upon them all, calling Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the Stage-player; the Earl of Lincoln, Bursten-belly; Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the black Dog of Arden; which Scoffs, together with his other Insolencies, drew such a Party upon him, that in the next Parliament the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their Grievances, of which the Chief were; That the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed; That all Strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdom; That the Bu-sineses of the State should be treated of by the Council of the Clergy and the Nobles; And that the King should not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without Consent of the Parliament. Which Articles, though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further Inconvenience, he yields unto them, and especially to the Banishment of his Minion Gaveston, as hoping that would excuse him for all the rest: And Robert of Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, lately called home from Exile, pronounceth Excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon Gaveston is sent away into Ireland, where he lived a while, not as a banished Man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Country; and indeed not unworthily. For in the Time of his being there, he is said to have made a Journey into the Mountains of Dublin, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built Newcastle in the Kerns Country, repaired the Castle of Kervyn, and

passed up to Munster and Thomond, performing every where much Service, with great Valour and Worthiness; that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his Deserts in Ireland have redeemed his Defects in England. But the King impatient of Absence, and asking Advice what Means might be used to recal him, it was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earl of Gloucester's Sister, a Man of such Greatness, and so beloved of the People, for his Sake certainly no Man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for Gaveston; and makes up the Match between them; and married they were at *Bark-hamstead*. But this did no good; for Gaveston still working upon the King in such Manner, that he scarce left him Means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as Gaveston would have it, put the Lords into a new Discontentment; who thereupon went again to the King, and told him plainly, that unless he would put Gaveston out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise up in Arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great Strait; loth he was to leave Gaveston, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the End, his Fear prevailing over his Love, he was content he should be banished; and in such sort banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he should be held and proceeded against as an Enemy of the State. So once again is Gaveston sent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into France, but found no safe harbouring there; for the King of France hearing of it, gave a strait Charge, if he were found in his Dominions, to apprehend him. Then he passeth into Flanders, but is no safer there than in France. After waving about, and finding no Place to rest in safety, he returns secretly into England, relying upon the King's Love, and the Duke of Gloucester's Favour. The King receives him as an Angel sent from Heaven; and to be out of the Lords Eye, goes a Journey to York, taking Gaveston along with him; and there thinks to be in quiet: But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, choosing for their General Thomas Earl of Lancaster, a Man possessed of five Earldoms, Lancaster, Leicester, Ferrers, Lincoln, and Salisbury, besides the Liberties of Pickering, and the Honour of Cockermore, and other Lands in Wales; and there was not a Man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, the King's Sister's Son. These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver Gaveston into their Hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill Counsel, and little regarding the Lords Messuage, takes Gaveston with him to Newcastle upon Tyne, thence to Tinnmouth, where the Queen then lay; who though great with Child, and intreating the King with Tears to stay with her, yet such was his Desire to see Gaveston put into some Place of Security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and passed with Gaveston to Scarborough, and leaving him there in a strong Castle, not easy to be won, he went himself into Warwickshire, perhaps that the Lords might see he had not Gaveston with him. But the Lords hearing where

A.D. 1308

Gaveston is sent for back, and marries the Earl of Gloucester's Sister.

The Lords require Gaveston's Banishment.

So once again he is banished.

1310.

But soon returns again. The King seeks to shelter him.



A.D. 1310 where *Gaveston* was, assaulted the Castle with such Violence, that *Gaveston* seeing no Means to escape, was content to render himself; requesting only that he might but once be allowed to see the King's Face; and the King hearing he was taken, desired as much: To which the Earl of *Pembroke* consented; and taking *Gaveston* into his Custody, promised, upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth-coming: But desiring to be with his Wife that Night, who lay not far off, at *Dedington*, he delivers him to his Servants to carry to *Wallingford*; from whom, as they pass by *Warwick*, the Earl of that Place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Castle. Where, after long Deliberation, whether it were Wisdom to suffer *Gaveston* to speak with the King or no, it was at last concluded to take off his Head; which at a Place thereby, called *Blacklow*, was presently put in Execution. His Corpse was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two Years, till the King caused it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monastery on purpose, where his Soul should be prayed for.

Is beheaded at Blacklow.

The King builds a Monastery on purpose to pray for his Soul. *Gaveston's* Parentage.

This *Gaveston* was the Son of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good Service for King *Edward* the First in *France*; and for his Sake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A Man of excellent Parts of Body, and of no less Endowments of Mind; valiant and witty; to which, if we might add vertuous, he had been compleat. Though the Lords (whether they had heard so, or whether they said it to wean the King from him) told the King, that his Father was a Traytor to the King of *France*, and for the same was executed, and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveston* was banished out of *France* for consenting to his Mother's Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against *Gaveston*? Might not the King place his Affection where he pleased? Might not he make his own Choice of what Companion he liked? No doubt he might, and fit he should; but yet in this Case the Lords had great Cause to do as they did, both in regard of the King, of themselves, and of the Commonwealth. It is true, if the Valour of *Gaveston* could as well have made the King valiant, as his Riot made him riotous, there might some Good have come of their extraordinary Conjunction: But seeing Virtues are but personal, Vices only are communicative; it now made the King not only more vicious than otherwise he would have been, but vicious where otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great Cause, in regard of the King, to remove *Gaveston* from his Company, and no less in regard of the Lords themselves: For *Gaveston's* Advancing was their Debasing; his Greatness with the King, made them but Cyphers; but in regard of the Commonwealth, most Cause of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveston*, and *Gaveston* himself was altogether irregular, the Commonwealth could have but little Hope of Justice, but was sure to suffer as long as *Gaveston* was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justify the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

A ND now we have seen two of the Charges of his Father's Will broken by the King, and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand Pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon *Gaveston*, and the King for it punished himself with Want; *Gaveston* called home from Banishment, and the King for it punished with the Loss of his Subjects Love. It remains to see how well he performed the third Charge of his Father's Will for subduing of *Scotland*. It was now the sixth Year after the Death of his Father King *Edward*, and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had stayed all this while to see how this new King *Edward* would prove. And when he found, by the Courses he held, that he was like to prove a good easy Enemy, he thereupon took Heart, and began to stir, and in a very short Time had brought almost all *Scotland* under his Obedience; and finding no Opposition, entred the *English* Borders, took and burnt Towns: That now King *Edward*, unless he would sit still, and suffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from his Head, he could not choofe but do something to stop his Proceedings. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but, like himself, fitter for a Court than for a Camp. Many Men, and great Bravery; but readier to take Spoils, than to make Spoil; and accordingly they speed. For going to raise the Siege at *Striveling*, defended for King *Edward* by the valiant Knight *Philip Mowbray*, the King's Army, consisting of an 100,000, was defeated and overthrown by the *Scots* Army, consisting of scarce 30,000: So true is that Saying of an antient Soldier, There is more Hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Soldiers be but Sheep, than of an Army where the General is a Sheep, though the Soldiers be Lions. But indeed the *Scots*, beside Valour, used Policy; for having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the Ground three Foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the *English* Horsemen were to pass; who floundring in those Trenches, were killed no less by their own Fellows, than by the Enemy. In this Battel, called of *Bannocks-Bourn*, were slain the Lord *Marble*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marshal*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and seven hundred Knights and Esquires, especially *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloucester*, who had shewed much Valour that Day, and whom the *Scots* would willingly have kept for Ransom, if they had known him, but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms, whereby to be known. The Slaughter of common Soldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as *Hector Boetius* speaks of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, Bearer of the King's Shield; the King himself, with the Bishops, the Earls of *Hertford* and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spencer*, saved themselves by Flight: *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, was afterward released in Exchange for

A.D. 1311

*Bruce* enters the *English* Borders.

King *Edward's* Army of 100,000 overthrown by the *Scots*.

1313.

The *Scots* Stratagem.

The Battel of *Bannocks-Bourn*.



A.D. 1313

The North  
Parts from  
Carlisle to  
York in Sub-  
jection to the  
Scots.

Edw. Bruce  
crowned  
King of Ire-  
land; but af-  
ter 3 Years is  
taken Priso-  
ner and be-  
headed.

1317.

Treachery  
justly punish-  
ed.

K. Edward  
besiegeth  
Berwick.

The Earl of  
Lancaster  
withdraws  
himself from  
K. Edward,  
and why.

for Bruce's Wife, who had been long kept a Prisoner in *England*. After this many *English* fell away to the *Scots*; and all the *North Parts* from *Carlisle* to *York*, came under their Subjection: And the *English* grew so faint-hearted, and into such Contempt, that three *Scots* durst venture upon a hundred *English*, when a hundred *English* durst scarce encounter with three *Scots*. And what can be thought the Cause of this great Disaster to this King, but the want of his Father's Blessing, for not performing the Charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher Blessing, without which a *Vacat* is set upon the Labours of Men that makes them all frustrate? But *Bruce*, not satisfied with his Acquests in *England*, sends his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* also; who so far prevailed, that many *Irish* came in unto him, and in the End crowned him King of a great Part of that Island; and so he continued the Space of three Years, till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brinningham*, Justiciar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together, opposed him, and in a Battel taking him Prisoner, at *Dundalk* cut off his Head, with the Slaughter of many thousands of the *Scots* besides: With which the *Scots* are so incensed, that they invade again the *English* Borders, foraging as far as *York*. Whereupon a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein an Aid is granted of armed Men to go against them. *London* sets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *Saint Albans* ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: Which coming to *York*, through Mutiny, Emulation, and other Impediments, was soon dissolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Berwick* was betrayed to the *Scots*, through the Treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governor, and other *English* Men; whom the King of *Scots*, to make them an Example, caused to be hanged for being Traitors to their Country. King *Edward* hearing of the surrendring of *Berwick*, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the *Scots*, to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other Ways, and were like to have surprised the Person of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The Siege of *Berwick* is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great Possibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* with his Followers withdrawn himself upon Discontent, hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now grown a special Favourite of the King's, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean Time the *Scots* won the Castles of *Harbottle*, *Wark*, and *Midford*, so as they possessed the greater Part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Rippon*, which Town they spoiled; and tarrying there three Days, they received a thousand Marks to save the Town from burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-Briggs*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresborough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*, and all other before them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous Number of Cattle, besides Prisoners, Men and Women. The *Yorkshire* Men thus grievously endamaged, gather together the

Number of ten thousand, and at the Town of *Mitton*, ten Miles from *York*, encounter the *Scots*, where they lost three thousand of their Men, and were defeated: Which Battel, because of the many spiritual Men that were in it, was called the White Battel. Whereof when the King heard, he left the Siege of *Berwick* to follow the *Scots*; but they returned another Way. The Year following King *Edward* once again with a great Army entered *Scotland*; but the *Scots* having destroyed all afore, the King oppressed with Famine, was forced to return, whom the *Scots* followed, and in a Place of the Forest of *Blackmore* set upon him, that he hardly escaped; where were taken *John* Earl of *Britany*, and the *French* King's Embassador, and many others. After this King *Edward* finding the *Scots* either too strong, or too wily for him, made a Truce with them for two Years, some say for thirteen. And this was the Success of this unfortunate King in his Wars with *Scotland*.

### Of his Troubles at Home.

BUT his Troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home; or rather they were those at home that made his Troubles abroad so grievous. For though the Lords having made an End of *Gaveston*, and cut off his Head, thought they had made an End of their Need to bear Arms, and had cut off the Head of all their Discontents; yet, as if *Gaveston* had been a Phoenix, as it were out of his Ashes another Phoenix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much Trouble as ever *Gaveston* did. For now the younger *Spencer* upon a sudden grows as great a Favourite of the King's as ever *Gaveston* was, and indeed in all Points just such another, equal to him in Goodliness of Personage, in Favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords. For though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first to be the King's Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love; yet being once in the Place, he so won upon the King by diligent Service, and by complying with the King's Humour, that he brought the King at last to comply with his Humour, and nothing must be done but as *Spencer* would have it. It seems it was the King's Nature, that he could not be without a Bosom-friend, one or other to be an *alter idem*; and to seek to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himself; as impossible a Thing as to alter Nature. Yet the Lords being more sensible of their own Grievance, to be insulted on by a Favourite, than of the King's Grievance to be affronted by his Subjects, are more intente to work their own Ends than the King's; and therefore to remove *Spencer* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a Work not to be done but by a strong Hand, they continue their Arms; and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the Confirmation and Execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatening withal, That unless he presently perform the same, they would constrain him to it by Force of Arms; and thereupon assemble strong Forces about *Dunstable*, where the King then

The *Yorkshire*  
Men defeated  
by the *Scots*  
in the Battel.

Once again  
K. *Edward*  
enters *Scot-*  
*land* with an  
Army, but  
without Suc-  
cess.

So he makes  
a Truce with  
them for cer-  
tain Years.

The younger  
*Spencer* in as  
great Favour  
as *Gaveston*.

Whereupon  
the Lords  
take Arms a-  
gain; and  
threaten the  
King unless  
he performs  
the Articles  
formerly  
granted.  
then



A.D. 1318 then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of Gloucester, labour to appease them; and with two Cardinals sent lately by the Pope, to reform these Disorders, they repair to Saint Albans, and desire Conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: But the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuse to receive, saying, they were Men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned Men in the Kingdom, whose Counsel they would use, and not Strangers, who knew not the Cause of their Commotion: So the Cardinals with this Answer returned to London. But the Prelates of England so labour the Business, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels, as they had taken of Pierce Gaveston at Newcastle, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon John Sandal, Treasurer of the Kingdom, and Ingelard Warle Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint Albans to receive those Things at their Hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at London, wherein the King complains of the great Contempt was had of him by the Barons; their rising in Arms, their taking and murdering Pierce Gaveston, and such other Affronts, whereunto with one Accord they answer, that they had not offended therein, but rather merited his Love and Favour, having taken Arms, not for any Contempt of his Royal Person, but to destroy the Publick Enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwise would never have been done. Which stout Resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of Gloucester seeing, they seek by all means to qualify their Heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King, and crave Pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into Grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular Pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the Death of Gaveston. And for the greater Shew of true Reconcilement, Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is made of the King's Council, though shortly after he ended his Life, not without Suspicion of Poison; as being a Man much envied by such as possess'd the King. The King kept his Christmas at Clipston, and his Easter at Clarendon; and they seemed to be all good Friends: But this Reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of Fire with Ashes, every little Wind that blew, made it break out into Flames afresh; and the Time being so unsettled as it was, it was impossible but such Winds would continually be blowing. It was such a Wind blew, when the great Earl of Lancaster had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him always in good Fame) taken out of his House at Canford in Dorsetshire, by one Richard Saint Martin, a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his Wife, and had lain with her before the Earl married her. And this Wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Lady's own Confession; for upon Examination, she voluntarily averred, it was all true: And thereupon the ugly Fellow in her Right, claimed the two Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, which he durst not have done, if

he had not been backed with great Abettors; A.D. 1318 and it was not without Asperision upon the King himself. It was another such Wind blew, when at the Feast of Pentecost, at Dinner in the open Hall at Westminster, a Woman fantastically disguised, entred on Horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was signified the great Neglect he shewed of such as had done him and his Father noble Services, taxing him for advancing Men of unworthy Parts, and such other Complaints: Which Letter read, and the Woman departed, put the King into a great Rage; they who guarded the Door being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in such a Manner, answered, It was the Fashion of the King's House in Times of Festivals, to keep out none that came as this Woman did, to make Sport: Search being made for the Woman, she is found, and examined who set her on: She confessed a Knight gave her Money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon Examination, boldly answered, He did it for the King's Honour, and to no other End; and thereupon escaped without farther Trouble. It was such another Wind blew, when a Knight was taken passing by Pomfret, with Letters sealed with the King's Seal directed to the King of Scots, about murdering the Earl of Lancaster; which Messenger is executed, his Head set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters reserved to witness the intended Plot: Which whether it were feigned or true, the Report thereof reflected upon the King, and made many to take the Earl's Part. It was such another Wind blew, when a fanatick Fellow, one John Powdras, a Tanner's Son of Exeter gave forth, that himself was the true Edward, eldest Son of the late King Edward the First, and by a false Nurse was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King Edward was a Carter's Son, and laid in his Place: But this Wind was soon blown over, when at his Death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his House in the Likeness of a Cat, that assured him he should be King of England; and that he had served the said Spirit three Years before to bring his Purpose about: But most of all, it was such a Wind blew, when a Baron, named William Brewis, having wasted his Estate, offers to sell unto divers Men a Part of his Inheritance called Powis: Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, obtains Leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two Roger Mortimers, Uncle and Nephew, great Men likewise in those Parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former Bargain, contract also for the same Land with the said Sir William Brewis: Hugh Spencer the Younger, hearing of this Sale, and the Land adjoining to Part of his, obtains a more special Leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buys it out of their Hands: The Earl of Hereford complains hereof to the Earl of Lancaster, who thereupon at Sherbourn enters into a new Confederation with divers Barons there assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and die together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the Banishment of the two Spencers, Father and Son, whom they now held to be the great Seducers of the King, and the Oppressors of the State, disposing of all Things in

An Affront offered to the King, but put up.

A scandalous Forgery of K. Edward's Birth.

The Lords confederate again to have the two Spencers banished.

The Lords humble themselves to the King, and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of Lancaster's Wife taken from him by a deformed Dwarf.



A.D. 1320 Court at their Pleasure, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their Means: And under this Pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. *Albans*, they send to the King, being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester* (who were there assembled to consult for Peace) requiring him, as he tendred the Quiet of the Realm, to rid his Court of those Traitors, the *Spencers* condemned in many Articles of high Treason by the Commonalty of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters-Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them and all such as took Part with them. The King returns Answer, that *Hugh Spencer* the Father was now beyond the Seas, employed in his Business, and his Son was guarding the Cinque-ports, according to his Office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: And withal swore he should never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Pardon to such notorious Offenders who contemned his Person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which Answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had Leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their Demands. To which at length by Mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Earl of *Hereford*, the *Spencers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the Father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas; but the Son secretly hides himself in *England*, expecting the Turn of a better Season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a Council holden at *London*, pronounceth the Banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spencers* are called Home, and set in as great Authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their Desire, with the King's Letters of Indemnity, return Home; but yet not with such Security as to give over the Provision for their own Defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected Accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords Confusion. The Queen making her Progress towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere* (who had been long the King's Steward, but now took Part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her Train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, That neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like Answer; whereupon she is driven to take such Lodging elsewhere as could be provided. Of which Indignity she complains to the King, who took it so to Heart, that presently with a Power of armed Men out of *London*, he lays Siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper *Thomas Colepeper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the Tower, and seifeth upon all his Goods and Treasure: And having this Power about him, and warmed with Success and the Instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his Course to *Chichester*,

where he keeps his *Christmas*, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: Whereof many (seeing the King's Power encreasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his Mercy: Amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, Men of great Might and Means; the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Berkley*, and others: Who notwithstanding contrary to their Expectation were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this sudden Change, withdrew themselves and their Company from about *Gloucester*, towards the North Parts; whom the King follows with an Army, wherein were the Earls of *Athol* and *Angus*: And at *Burton upon Trent*, where they had made a Head, discomfited their Forces, and put them to Flight. In the mean Time the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent into *Lancashire* a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland* (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this Flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the King's Part. Which so dismays the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for Grace: But being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-Bridge*, was there set upon by Sir *Simon Ward*, Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkely*, Constable of *Carlisle*, who utterly defeat his Forces. In which Fight was slain the Earl of *Hereford* (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the Fundament) Sir *Roger Benefield*, Sir *William Sulyard*, and others. There was taken the Earl of *Lancaster*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tucket*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with divers others, and were led to *York*. This Field was fought the fifteenth Day of *March*, in the Year 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniel*, Sir *Bartholomew de Badlesmere* were taken. Three days after the Earl of *Lancaster* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in Judgment with *Edmund Earl of Kent*, his Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others; Sentence of Death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first Punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal Blood; and beheaded he was the same Day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his Death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like Judgment were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tutchet*, *Thomas Maudit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William*, Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, *Joceline Lord Daniel*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged and quartered at *London*; *William* the Lord *Aldenharn* at *Windfor*; the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Asburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Fleming*; at *Bristol*, Sir *Henry Womington*, and Sir *Henry Mountford* Bannerets; at *Gloucester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elmingbridge*, principal Men in principal Places. To spread the Terror over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances

The King answers for them.

But at last yields to their Banishment;

But soon revoked.

The Queen is denied to lodge in Leeds Castle.

The King revengeth the Indignity.

The King provides an Army against the Barons: Of whom many submit themselves, yet are committed to Custody.

The Earl of Lancaster defeated,

Is taken Prisoner.

1322.

Is condemned, the King himself sitting in Judgment. Is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his Death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

are



A.D. 1322 are confiscated, and many new Men advanced by the same. And this is the first Blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this Manner in England since William the Conqueror.

The first Blood of Nobility shed since the Conquest. The King grieveth for the Earl of Lancaster's Death.

But not long after, the King in a calmer Humour, began to have Sense of the Earl of Lancaster's Execution, which he discovered upon this Occasion. Some about him making earnest Suit for a Pardon to one of the Earl's Followers, and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great Passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the Life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one Word for his near Kinsman the Earl of Lancaster, who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom; but this Fellow, the longer he lives the more Mischief he will do: And therefore by the Soul of God he should die the Death he had deserved. Sir Andrew Harkley, who was the Man that took the Earl of Lancaster Prisoner, being advanced for his Service to the Earldom of Carlisle, enjoyed his Honour but a while; for the next Year after, either thrust out in Discontent by the Spencers envying his high Preferment, or combining with the Scots, upon hope of a great Match (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hanged, and quartered at London for Treason.

K. Edward summoned into France.

But now the King of France summons King Edward to come and do his Homage for Gascoin; and he not coming, all his Territories in France are adjudged to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance are seized on by the French. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common Consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in Person himself, in regard of the Distraction of the Times, but should send some special Men to excuse his Appearance: Whereupon Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's Brother, is sent, but to little Effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the Cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great Variance. Some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this Business; which she negotiated so well, as that all Quarrels were ended, upon Condition the King should give to his Son Edward the Duchy of Aquitain, with the Earldom of Ponthieu, and send him over to do his Homage for them. Which after many Consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent, with the Bishop of Exeter and others, to the Court of France accordingly: But others say, she went out of Discontent, to complain to her Brother the King of France for Wrongs offered her by the Spencers, who had so alienated the King's Mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit Maintenance for her Calling. But whatsoever was the Cause of her going, there appeared no Cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her Company, Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, a gallant young Gentleman, whom she specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, by giving his Keepers (as was said) a sleeping Drink. And withal, the Bishop of Exeter perceiving some Plots to be in Hand, and their close Consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he

His Queen goes to excuse his Appearance. The Reason of the Queen's going uncertain.

The Queen stays in France for the love of Roger Mortimer.

observed in their Courses. Whereupon the King A.D. 1325 sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of France to hasten their Return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed Enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their Adherents out of the Land; and withal caused all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their Landing. It was not without Suspicion, that as the King for love of the Spencers, had his Mind alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of Mortimer had her Mind alienated from loving the King: And therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the King's Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into England without some good Assistance. Whereupon soliciting her Brother the King of France, he aided her with Men and Money, say some; but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under Hand by the Spencers against her, she left the French Court, and went into Heynault, to the Earl of that Country, who upon a Contract between her Son Prince Edward and Philippa the Earl's Daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the Conduct of his Brother John; and with them and her beloved Mortimer, she took Shipping and landed at Orwell, a Port near unto Harwich in Suffolk; where presently came to her the Earl-Marshal, Henry Earl of Leicester, and Henry Earl of Lancaster with the wry Neck, called Torcoll, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this Time being at London, and hearing of the Queen's Landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly struck into a great Amazement; and tho' he had his great Counsellors the Spencers about him, yet now he found what little good their Counsel could do him: And indeed in this Case what should he, or what could he do? To stay in London was apparent Danger, for he plainly saw the Londoners to be more enclining to take the Queen's Part than his; and to go from London to any other Place was as unsafe, all Places being possessed either with certain Enemies, or uncertain Friends: At last the Isle of Lundy is thought of, a Place plentiful of Provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard Access, as having but one Place in it where it could be entered, and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this Place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of Gloucester, the Spencers and Robert Baldock, with some few others, he takes Shipping, but by contrary Winds is driven back, and fain, through Tempests, to land in Wales; and there in the Abby of Nethe in Glamorganshire kept himself close. In the mean Time the Queen was come to Oxford, when Adam Bishop of Hereford took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*; and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its Head, it was fit to remove that Head, and put a sounder in the Place. At this Time also, the Londoners, to shew their Love to the Queen, seized upon Walter Stapleton, the good Bishop of Exeter, and Lord Treasurer of England, left Governor there by the King; and with great Despight

Not coming at the King's sending for, they are proclaimed Enemies to the State.

The Queen, upon a Match of her Son Prince Edward with a Daughter of the Earl of Heynault, is aided by him.

1326. Coming into England many Lords resort unto her.

The King, fearing the Queen's Forces, flies to the Isle of Lundy.

but is driven into Wales.

The Londoners Favour to the Queen.



A.D. 1326 Despight beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean Time the Queen went from Oxford to Gloucester, and from thence to Bristol, where *Hugh Spencer* the Father was, a Man of fourscore and ten Years old; who is there taken, and without Examination of Judgment, in most cruel Manner executed, having his Heart pulled out of his Body being yet alive, and his Body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at Hereford the Space of a Month, and then dividing her Army, she sends one Part of it under the Conduct of *Henry Earl of Lancaster*, and *Rice ap Powel*, a Clerk, to find out the King: And this *Rice* being a *Welshman*, and knowing the Country well, brought the Earl to the Monastery of *Nethe*, where the King was, whom they there take, together with *Spencer* the Son, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon of Reading*. The King is by the Bishop of Hereford committed to the Custody of the Earl of *Leicester*; where all that Winter he was used no worse than was fit for a captive King: But *Edmund Earl of Arundel*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the Instance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Presently after is *Hugh Spencer* the Younger, who was now Earl of Gloucester, drawn, hanged, and quartered; his Head sent up to be set upon London-Bridge, and his four Quarters bestowed in several Cities. The like is done with *Simon of Reading*; but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *Newgate*, against whom, when no just Cause of Death could be found, there was used so much Cruelty in his Imprisonment, that he shortly after died.

Presently after *Christmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King, and set up his Son; which he hearing, refused it, unless his Father would freely resign. Whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgess to go to the King (in Custody then at *Kenelworth*) the Bishops were *John of Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam Tarleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*. But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the rest came, persuade the King to resign his Crown to his eldest Son; craftily promising him he should have as good Maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King: And contrarily threatening him, that if he did not, the People would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By these Promises and Threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Bishop's Motion: But when afterward the Bishop of *Hereford* and the other Commissioners came, and were sat in a Place appointed to take his Resignation, the King coming forth amongst them in Mourning Robes, upon a sudden fell down in a Swoon, in whom the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, had much ado to recover Life: But then the Bishop of *Hereford* rising up, delivered the Cause of their Coming, as the other Bishops before had done. To which the King answered, That as he much grieved his People should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him, so it was some Comfort to him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this, *Thomas Blunt* Knight,

Steward of the King's House, brake the Staff of his Office; and *William Trussel*, Speaker of the Parliament, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward of Carnarvon*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the Time of this King's Deposing, which was in *December*, to the Time of his Son's Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the King's Bench were stayed, and all Prisoners arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at Liberty, which seems to have little Probability, seeing his Son *Edward* presently upon his Deposing was received for King. But howsoever, so great a Dowry was then assigned to Queen *Isabel*, that scarce a third Part of the Revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the late King is allowed a hundred Marks a Month for his Maintenance, with which he lived with his Cousin Earl of *Leicester*, in good Plenty and Contentment for a Time; only this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he swore most devoutly, that from the Time he first saw her Face, he could never like of any other Woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Gaveston*, nor the *Spencers* had so debauched him, as to make him false to his Bed, or to be disloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great Liberty under the Earl of *Leicester*, by Advice of her pestilent Counsellor, *Adam Tarleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gurney*, and *John Matrevers* Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own Custody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from *Kenelworth*, and carry him first to *Corf* Castle, and from thence to *Bristol*; where they shut him in the Castle: Till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the Night and carried him to *Berkley* Castle, where by the Way they abused him most inhumanely, as *Sir Thomas de la More* a Knight of *Gloucestershire* in his Life relateth. For to the End he should not be known, they shaved his Head and Beard, and that in most beastly Manner; for they took him from his Horse, and set him upon a Hillock, and then taking Puddle Water out of a Ditch there by, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold Water must serve for this Time: Whereat the miserable King looking sternly upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm Water to wash him; and therewithal to make good his Word, he presently shed forth a Shower of Tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in such a Manner. Many Kingdoms have been lost by the Chance of War, but this Kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no Blow struck, no Battel fought; done forcibly, and yet without Force; violently, and yet with Consent; both Parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the King was not pleased to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleased to leave him his Life. It was not safe to leave him a Part, by which he might afterward recover the whole: And therefore this was the Mark now aimed at, haven taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his Life secretly; be the

Authors

*Hugh Spencer* the Father executed, and most cruelly.

The King, with *Spencer* the Son and others, are taken and kept in Custody.

*Spencer* the Son hanged and quartered.

The Parliament agrees to depose the King and set up his Son.

The King is persuaded by the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* to resign his Crown to his Son.

Coming to make his Resignation, he falls in a Swoon.

is inhumanely used.



A.D. 1326 Authors of it, and not be seen in it; but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears there is something else besides the Grievances of Taxations, that alienates the Minds of English Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations than in this King's Time, yet never were the Subjects Minds more alienated from their King, than they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at Westminster, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifth Year, in a Parliament at London, was granted him a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifteenth Year was granted the sixth Penny of Temporal Mens Goods, through England, Ireland, and Wales, towards his Wars with Scotland. And more than these we read not of; but then at the Defeat of the Earl of Lancaster, there were Confiscations that supplied the Place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE ordained that the Money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be currant. In the eighth Year of his Reign, by reason of a Dearth which raised the Price of all Victuals, it was ordained by Parliament, that an Ox fatted with Grass should be sold for fifteen Shillings; fatted with Corn, for twenty; the best Cow for twelve Shillings; a fat Hog of two Years old, three Shillings four Pence; a fat Sheep shorn fourteen Pence; with the Fleece, twenty Pence; a fat Goose for two Pence Half-penny; a fat Capon two Pence; a fat Hen a Penny; four Pidgeons a Penny: Whofoever sold for more, should forfeit their Ware to the King. But after these Rates imposed, all kind of Victuals grew so scarce, that Provision could hardly be made for the King's House: Whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market-folks permitted to make the best of their Wares. In this King's Time, an Ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresy and other Crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendom, at one Instant being condemned in a general Council at Vienna. In the fourteenth Year of his Reign, on the 15th of October, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards York with the Book called Doomsday-Book, and other Records, and Provisions, that laded one and twenty Carts; but in half a Year they were brought back again.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the 17th Year of his Reign the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, accused of High Treason, for aiding the King's Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without Leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose Suffragan he

was (and who he said was his direct Judge, A.D. 1326 next the Pope) or without the Consent of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and humbly craved the King's Clemency in his Behalf: But finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before; which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all with their Crosses erected, went to the Place of Judgment, and again took him away with them; charging all Men, upon Pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent Hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded Enquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: Wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seized into the King's Hands. In this King's Time the Crouched-Friers came first into England. In his Time Pope John the two and twentieth, first instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi, begun before by Urban the Fourth.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his Time.

THIS King founded Oriel-College, and St. Mary-Hall in Oxford. He builded a Church of Friers at his Mannor of Langley, where the Soul of Gaveston should be prayed for. In this King's twentieth Year, Richard Rothing, Sheriff of London, builded the Parish Church of Garlick-Hithe in London; Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, gave two thousand Marks to the Building of the new Work of the Chappel on the South-side of St. Paul's Church, and left much more by his Testament.

Casualties.

IN the eighth Year of this King's Reign, was so great a Dearth, that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in Prison plucked in Pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three Years, brought in the End such a Pestilence, that the Living scarce sufficed to bury the Dead. In the fourth Year of his Reign, the Church of Middleton in Dorsetshire, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Matins. In this King's Time, digging the Foundation of a Work about St. Paul's, were found more than a hundred Heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the Opinion, that of old Time it had been the Temple of Diana, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married Isabel, Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, she being but twelve Years of Age; who lived his Wife twenty Years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three Years old, at Risings near London, was buried in the midit of Gray-friers Quire

Price of  
Victuals in a  
Dearth.

Knights  
Templars ac-  
cused of He-  
resy, and  
committed to  
Prison.

A Bishop ar-  
rested by the  
King, was  
refused by  
the other Bi-  
shops.

Crouched-  
Friers come  
first into En-  
gland.

Oriel-College  
in Oxford  
founded.

A marvellous  
Dearth.



A.D. 1326 Quire in London. By her he had Issue two Sons and two Daughters: His eldest Son named *Edward of Windsor*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son named *John of Eltham*, because born there, was at twelve Years old created Earl of *Cornwal*: He died in *Scotland* in the Flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter *Joan*, being a Child, was married in the fourth Year of King *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at seven Years old; who coming afterward into *England* to visit her Brother, died here, and was buried at the *Gray-friers* in *London*. His second Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginald* the Second, Earl of *Gelder*, with a Portion of fifteen thousand Pounds; and had Issue by him two Sons, who were Earls successively.

#### Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was fair of Body, and of great Strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other Conditions, his greatest Fault was, he loved but one; for if his Love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extream in nothing but in loving; and though Love moderated be the best of Affections, yet the Extremity of it is the worst of Passions. He was rather unfortunate than unhappy: Seeing Unfortunateness is in the Event, Unhappiness in the Cause: And if his Fortune had been to love good Men, his own Goodness would have made him happy. Two Virtues were eminent in him above all his Predecessors, Continnence and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base Issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base Courses for raising of Money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their Hearts to make him a Saint.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

Ways devised to take away his Life.

MANY Ways were attempted to take away his Life. First, they vexed him in his Diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat; but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcasses, enough to have poisoned him; and indeed he told a Workman at his Window, He never endured so great a Misery in all his Life: But neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by Poisons; but whether by the Strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent *Achitophel*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, devised a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much Liberty, and for not doing the Service which was expected from them: And in the End of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful Sense, that both the Keepers might find sufficient

Warrant, and himself might find sufficient Ex- A.D. 1326 cuse. The Keepers, guessing at his Meaning, took it in the worst Sense, and accordingly put it in Execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an Iron red hot, and through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no Marks of Violence might be seen: But though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the Fact was doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his Murtherers, looking for Reward, had the Reward of Murtherers: For the Queen and Bishop *Tarleton* disavowing the Command, threatned to question them for the King's Death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: And *Gourney* after three Years being taken in *France*, and sent into *England*, was in the Way upon the Sea, beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the Grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the Year 1327, more than half a Year after his Deposing, when he had reigned almost 19 Years, lived 43. His Body was carried to *Gloucester*, and there, without any Funeral Pomp, buried in the Monastery of *St. Peter*, by the *Benedictine* Monks.

1327.

#### Of Men of Note in his Time.

IN this King's Time, of Martial-men were many, whose Acts have been spoken of in the late King's Life. Of learned Men also many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called Doctor *John Duns*, *Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune*, called Doctor *Subtilis*, when he lived, a Village three Miles distant from *Alnwick*, though both the *Scots* and the *Irish* challenge him for theirs; *Robert Walsingham* a *Carmelite-frier*, who wrote divers Treatises; *Robert Baſton* born in *Nottinghamshire*, a *Carmelite-frier* of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write some Remembrances of his Victories: But being taken by the *Scots*, was constrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; *William Rishanger*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, and Historiographer; *Ralph Baldock*, Bishop of *London*, who wrote a History intituled, *Historia Anglica*; *John Walsingham* a *Carmelite-frier*, who wrote divers Treatises; *Nicholas de Lira*, a Jew by Birth, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity; *William Ockham*, a Frier Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against *John Duns*, and also against Pope *John* the 23d, in favour of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Halſewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicum Compendiarium*; *Robert Perſcrutator*, born in *Yorkshire*, a *Black-frier* and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, lived, and a Knight.



*Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.*

In his first Year,

A.D. 1327 *SIR John Blunt* continued Mayor.  
*Nicholas Pigot, Nigellus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,

*Nicholas Farendon* was Mayor.  
*William Basing, James Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,

*Thomas Romaine* was Mayor.  
*Roger le Palmer, James of St. Edmund*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,

*Richard Reffam* was Mayor.  
*Simon Cooper, Peter Blackney*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,

*Sir John Gysors* was Mayor.  
*Simon Metwood, Richard Wilford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,

*Sir John Gysors* continued Mayor.  
*John Lambin, Adam Lutkin*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,

*Nicholas Farendon* was Mayor.  
*Robert Gurden, Hugh Garton*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,

*Sir John Gysors* was Mayor.  
*Stephen de Abington, Hammond Chickwel*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,

*Stephen de Abington* was Mayor.  
*Hammond Goodcheap, Will. Bodeleigh*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,

*John Wingrave* was Mayor.  
*William Causton, Ralph Balancer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,

*John Wingrave* continued Mayor.  
*John Prior, William Furneaux*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,

*John Wingrave* continued Mayor.  
*John Pointel, John Dalling*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,

*Hammond Chickwel* was Mayor.  
*Simon de Abington, John Preston*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,

*Nicholas Farendon* was Mayor.  
*Renauld at the Conduit, Will. Prodbam*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,

*Hammond Chickwel* was Mayor.  
*Richard Constantine, Rich. de Hackney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,

*Hammond Chickwel* continued Mayor.  
*John Grantbam, Richard de Ely*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,

*Nicholas Farendon* was Mayor.  
*Adam of Salisbury, John of Oxford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,

*Hammond Chickwel* was Mayor.  
*Benet of Fulham, John Causton*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,

*Hammond Chickwel* continued Mayor.  
*Gilbert Mordon, John Causton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,

*Richard Britain* was Mayor.  
*Richard Rothing, Roger Chauntclere*, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1327



# THE LIFE and REIGN of King *EDWARD* III.

*Of his Coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.*

A.D. 1327

K. Edward  
the Third  
crowned.  
A general  
Pardon at  
the King's  
Coronation,  
when first  
begun.

His first  
Action was  
an Expediti-  
on against  
the Scots, but  
without Suc-  
cess, and  
why.

**E**DWARD of Windsor, eldest Son of King Edward the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Father's Resignation, was proclaimed King of England on the five and twentieth Day of January, in the Year 1327. And because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by Henry Earl of Lancaster girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first Day of February following, was crowned at Westminster by Walter Reginald, Archbishop of Canterbury: And thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custom with all succeeding Kings; that at their first Coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is always granted. And because the King was under Age, scarce fifteen Years old (though Froissard saith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the Kingdom; namely, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal, Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's Uncles; John Earl Warren, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Pierce, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Rosse: But though these were appointed and bore the Name, yet the Queen and Roger Mortimer took all the Authority to themselves. The first Action that was undertaken, was an Expedition against the Scots. For Robert Bruce, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) leprous, yet considering the Youth of the new King, and the Distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit Time to do some Good upon England; and entering the English Borders with an Army, sent Defiance to King Edward. Whereupon an Army is raised, and the Heynaulters (whom the Queen had brought over) are joined with the English: But a Variance falling out between the two Nations, made the Action not successful. For the King's Army encountering the Scots at Stanhope Park in Weredal, in the Bishoprick of Durham, though three times as many as the Scots, as being thirty thousand; yet through this Variance, but more through Treason of some great Men, suffered them all to escape their Hands, and the Scots returned home in Safety, the English with Dishonour: And after this, the English seeing the Heynaulters could do them no Good, sent them away to

their own Country. In King Edward's second Year, his Marriage with Philippa of Heynault is solemnized (a Dispensation being first gotten, because of their Nearness in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at Northampton, where the King made three Earls; John of Eltham, his Brother, Earl of Cornwall; Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; and James Butler of Ireland, Earl of Ormond. And in this Parliament a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the Scots, and confirmed by a Match between David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, being but seven Years old, and Jane, Sister to King Edward, not so old. At which Time, by the secret Working of Queen Isabel, Roger Mortimer, and Sir James Douglass, the King surrenders by his Charter all his Title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of Scotland, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called Ragmans-Roll, and many antient Jewels and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Cross of Scotland; and besides, any English-man is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, unless he were a Dweller there. In Consideration whereof K. Bruce was to pay 30,000 Marks, and to renounce his Claim to the Counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and any other Place possessed by him in England. This was no good Beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at Winchester, 1329. Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his Confession, for intending to restore his Brother, the late King Edward. An Intention only without any Fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: But generally so beloved of the People, that he stood on the Scaffold from one o'Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at last a filly Wretch of the Marshalsea was gotten to cut off his Head. But the Authors of his Death escaped not long themselves; for in the third Year of the King's Reign, another Parliament is holden at Nottingham, wherein the Queen hath all her great Jointure taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand Pounds a Year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her Days, no fewer than thirty Years. A Time long enough to find that her being the Daughter of a King, the Sister of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother

A.D. 1327

He marries  
Philippa of  
Heynault.

K. Edward  
surrenders  
all his Title  
to the Crown  
of Scotland.

Edmund  
Earl of Kent,  
the King's  
Uncle, be-  
headed, and  
why.

K. Edward  
confineeth his  
Mother.



A.D. 1330 not worth the Liberty of a mean Estate. And as for *Mortimer* (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*, and lately created Earl of the *Marches in Wales*) he was seized on in this Manner: The King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland* and others, goes secretly one Night by Torch-light, thro' a privy Way under Ground, till they come to the Queen's Chamber; where, leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to go to Bed: Then laying Hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fits ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*; Good Son, good Son, take Pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her Son had been amongst them. This Course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of Tumult, having no fewer than nine Score Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner Servants continually about him. But thus seized on, he is committed presently to the *Tower*, accused of divers great Crimes, whereof these were chief: That he had procured the late King's Death; That he had been the Author of the *Scots* safe escaping at *Stanhope Park*, corrupted with the Gift of thirty thousand Pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been too familiar with the Queen, by whom she was thought to be with Child. Of which Articles he was found guilty, and condemned, and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows, at the Elms, now called *Tyburn*; where his Body remained two Days, as an opprobrious Spectacle for all Beholders.

Seizeth upon *Mortimer*, and in what Manner.

Who is hanged at *Tyburn*.

K. Edward claims the Crown of France, but *Philip of Valois* is preferred, and why.

K. Edward doth Homage to the King of France for his Duchy of *Guyenne*, and the Manner of doing it.

After these Busineses in *England*, there comes a new Business upon him from the King of *France*; for about this Time *Philip le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queen's Brother, dying without Issue, the Right of Succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles*, a former King, wherein are Competitors *Philip Duke de Valois*, and *Edward King of England*. *Edward* is the nearer in Blood, but draws his Pedigree by a Female; *Philip* the farther off, but descending by all Males: And because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all Descendants by Females, therefore is *Philip's* Title preferred before King *Edward's*, and *Philip* is received and crowned King of *France*: To which Preferment of his, *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great Power, gave no small Furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and do his Homage for the Duchy of *Guyenne*, and his other Lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the Custom; which, though it were some Prejudice to King *Edward's* Claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of *England* was scarce well settled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: And thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the Year 1329, K. *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet Gown, embroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, and golden Spurs on his Heels, presents himself in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his Chair of State, in a Velvet Gown of a violet Colour, embroidered with

Flowers *de Lis* of Gold, his Crown on his Head, A.D. 1330 and his Scepter in his Hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount *Melun*, Chamberlain of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a crimson Velvet Cushion before King *Philip*; and then the Viscount putting both his Hands together between the Hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the Words of the Homage, which were these: *You become Liege-man to my Master here present, as Duke of Aquitain, and Peer of France; and you promise to bear Faith and Loyalty to him: Say, Yea.* And King *Edward* said *Yea*, and kissed the King of *France* on the Mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like Homage also he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. But this Act of Submission left a Rancor in King *Edward's* Heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had never been exacted.

This done, King *Edward* returns home, and there finds a new Business with *Scotland* upon this Occasion. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, (sometime King of *Scotland*) two and thirty Years after his Father's Deposition, began now to shew himself, attempting the Recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting Aid under-hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the Government of *Scotland* during the Non-age of the young King *David* (being at that Time with the King of *France*) and in a Battel overcame them, with the Slaughter of many Noblemen, and Thousands of the common People; and thereupon was immediately crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But notwithstanding this great Defeat, K. *Baliol* was forced to retire himself into *England*, to get more Aid of K. *Edward*; who now shews himself in the Action, joins with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-Law, K. *David*; goes in Person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which, after three Months Siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, is taken, and the Army of the *Scots*, which came to the Rescue thereof, at *Hallidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: Where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report: As theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this Effusion of Blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good Correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him Homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not Quietness; for many of the *Scots*, aided by the *French*, made War upon him divers Years after; during all which Time, King *David*, with his Wife, remained in *France*. If any Man marvel why King *Edward* would aid *Baliol* against K. *David*, who had married his Sister, he may consider that Alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

About this Time, the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, for which Service King *Edward* gave him the Title of King of *Man*.

*Edward Baliol* is crowned King of *Scotland*. K. *Edward* aids *Baliol* against his Brother-in-Law, King *David*. 1333. The *Scots* defeated at *Hallidown-Hill*.

*William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, hath the Title given him to be King of *Man*.



## Of his Acts after he came of Age.

A.D. 1330

K. Edward  
is persuaded  
by Robert d'  
Artois to  
make War  
upon France.

AND now Robert of Artois banished out of France, comes into England, whom King Edward makes Earl of Richmond, and of his Council. This Robert persuades King Edward to make War upon France, to which Crown (he said) he had more Right than he that held it. With whose Persuasions, King Edward is at last resolved to undertake the Enterprize; and to furnish himself with noble Chieftains, he at one Time in a Parliament at Westminster, the eighth Year of his Reign, creates six Earls: Henry of Lancaster he made Earl of Derby, William Montacute he made Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audeley Earl of Gloucester, William Clinton Earl of Huntington, and Robert Clifford, or Ufford, Earl of Suffolk: Also twenty Knights, of whom Thomas de la Moore, who writ the Life of the King's Father, was one. Withal, he sends the Bishop of Lincoln to procure Leagues of Amity with divers Princes abroad: Where it is scarce worth remembring what Froissard mentions here; That certain young Gentlemen covered one of their Eyes with a Piece of Silk, and vowed to see but with one Eye, till it might be seen what great Deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this Vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their Exploits. And as the King of England laboured to procure himself Friends, so likewise the King of France got to take his Part the Bishop of Liege, with the Dukes and Earls of Gelders, Juliers, Cleve, Heynault, and Brabant; and with the Archbishop of Colen, and Valeran, his Brother, John, King of Bohemia, Earl of Luxemburg, Henry Count Palatine, Aubert, Bishop of Mentz, Otto Duke of Austria, Ame Earl of Geneva, with many other Princes and Captains out of Germany, Spain, and other Countries. King Edward thus resolved in himself, and furnished with Friends abroad, goes over into Flanders, with his Queen and Children, makes his Residence at Antwerp; where, by Persuasion of the Flemings, he takes upon him the Stile, Title, and Arms of the King of France: For by this they accounted themselves disobliged of the Bond of twenty hundred thousand Crowns which they had entred into, never to bear Arms against the King of France: And hereupon the League was established between them and King Edward. And from this Time forward the Kings of England quartered the Arms of France with those of England, and took upon them the Name of Kings of France. And now King Edward, for a Beginning to put his Claim in Execution, sets upon Cambray, and enters France by the Way of Vermandois and Thierach. On the other Side King Philip seisseth on the Dutchy of Guyenne, and sends thither the Count d'Eu, Constable of France, with the Earls of Foix and Armagnac. At last both Armies came so near together, that a Fight was appointed the Friday after: But, upon better Consideration, the English thought it no Discretion to give Battel to an Army so much greater than their own, if they could avoid it: And the French thought it as little Discretion for them to hazard the Person of the Prince within his own Kingdom, and perhaps were not a little moved

The Armies  
of the two  
Kings being  
near together,  
yet  
part without  
fighting, and  
why.

with the Warning given them by Robert King of A.D. 1330 Sicily, a great Astronomer, That he foresaw by the Stars, some great Misfortune to threaten the French, if they should that Day fight with the English, King Edward being present. And thus both Armies having their several Reasons to decline the Battel, they parted without doing any thing; only an Accident happened scarce worth remembring, yet must be remembred. A Hare starting out before the Head of the French Army, caused a great Shout to be made, whereupon, they who saw not the Hare, but only heard the Shout, supposing it to be the On-set of the Battel, disposed themselves to fight; and fourteen Gentlemen, for Encouragement Sake, as the Custom is, were knighted; called afterward in Merriment, Knights of the Hare.

Knights of  
the Hare,  
why so called.

But now K. Edward must a little look home; and therefore leaving the Queen in Brabant, he passeth himself into England about Candlemas, having been in Brabant about a Year; and landing at the Tower about Midnight, and finding it unguarded, was so much displeased, that he presently sends for the Mayor of London, commanded him to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with Sir John Saint Paul, Michael Wath, Philip Thorpe, Henry Stratford, Clergy-men (who it seems were Officers for his Receipts) and John Stonore, Justice of the Bench: All which, except the Chancellor, were apprehended and committed to Prison, as were afterward in like Manner divers Officers of Justice, and Accomptants, upon Enquiry of their unjust Proceedings. During the King's Abode in England, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, left in Flanders to oppose the French, having performed divers great Exploits, were at last in an Encounter about Lisle so overlaid by Multitude, as they were both taken and sent Prisoners to Paris. Besides, about this Time two Accidents happened that were thought would be great Rubs in King Edward's Proceedings; one, that his Wife's Father, William Earl of Heynault, dying, and leaving his Son to succeed, his Son left his Brother, King Edward, and fell to take Part with the King of France; the other, that the Duke of Normandy thinking himself as strong as ever William Duke of Normandy was that conquered England, he saw no Reason but he might conquer it as well as that William; and thereupon makes Preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the Enterprize: But these were but Vapours that never came to be Winds, at least brought no Storms. For John Earl of Heynault had quickly enough of the King of France, and was soon after reconciled to his Brother King Edward; and the Duke of Normandy went no further than Preparations; for indeed King Edward prosecuted his Courses against France with such Heat, that all the neighbouring Princes seeing a Fire kindled so near their own Borders, were glad to look to themselves at home. But now to impede the King of England's Return into France, King Philip had provided a mighty Navy in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundred Sail of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed Men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his Landing; whereof King Edward being advertised, prepares the like Number of Ships, and sets out to

Sea



A.D. 1330 Sea upon *Midsummer* Eve, is met the Morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North Parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and encounters his Enemy who lay to intercept him, with such Force and Courage, and such Advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew thirty thousand Men, and landed with as great Glory as such a Victory (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the *English* at Sea) could yield, though King *Edward* himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the Thigh. Most of the *French*, rather than to endure the Arrows of the *English*, or be taken, desperately leaped into the Sea; whereupon the *French* King's Jester, set on to give Notice to him of his Overthrow (which being so ill News none else would willingly impart unto him) said, and oftentimes repeated it in the King's Hearing; Cowardly *English-men*, Dastardly *English-men*, Faint-hearted *English-men*! The King at length asked him why? For that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave *French-men* did. By which Speech the King apprehended a Notion of his Overthrow, which the *French* attributed to *Nicholas Butchet*, one of their chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with Men of base Condition (content with small Pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater Wages. And indeed it often happens, that the Avarice of Commanders is the Occasion of great Defeats.

K. Edward takes and sinks two hundred Sail of French Ships.

How the French King's Jester gave Notice of his Overthrow to the King.

K. Edward's Army of five and fifty thousand defeated. K. Edward sends a Challenge to the K. of France, and the K. of France's Answer.

By this Victory King *Edward* gained a free Entrance into *Flanders*, and presently went and besieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thousand; but was so valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, that they routed his Army, and slew four thousand upon the Place: Which so enraged King *Edward*, that two Days after he sent a Challenge to King *Philip* to meet him in a single Combat, or with an hundred against as many, before the Walls of *Tournay*. King *Philip* answers, that his Challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the Wrong he did to the Christian World, by his troublesome Courses, to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the *Holy Land*. Besides this Answer in Writing, he sends to him by Word of Mouth, that by his Challenge, he hazarded nothing of his own, but exposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all Reason: But if he would set his Kingdom of *England*, though much meaner, against his of *France*, he would then accept the Challenge, and meet him in the Field in single Combat. But this King *Edward* would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the Challenge, so he was circumspect to look to the Conditions. But hereupon he continues his Siege of *Tournay*; to the Relief whereof King *Philip* sends all the Forces he could possibly make by himself or his Friends: And after the Siege had continued three Months, partly by Mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicily*, but chiefly by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, Sister to King *Philip*, and Mo-

ther of King *Edward*'s Wife (who had vowed A.D. 1330 herself a Nun, but to do this good Office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a Year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

After this, King *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertised how the *Scots*, after many other Places gained, had besieged the Castle of *Striveling*; for Relief whereof the King makes all the haste he can: And yet before he could come, it was by Force of Battery compelled to render it self upon Conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwick*, passeth to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, where he stays a Month, waiting for his Provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other Parts by Tempest, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or four Months, and then returns home. In the Time of this Truce, the *Scots* send to King *David*, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own Person; who thereupon taking his Leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained seven Years, he with his Wife *Joan*, King *Edward*'s Sister, returns into *Scotland*: Where, after he had been most honourably received by the Prince of *Orkney*, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters *Northumberland*, passing on to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle *John Nevil* was left Governor by King *Edward*, who sending out certain Companies, took the Earl *Murray* Prisoner; and with the Slaughter of divers of his Men, and rich Booties, returned back to his Castle: Which so incensed King *David*, that he assaulted the Castle as a Man enraged; but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of *Durham*, where he used all kinds of Cruelty, first upon the Country, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others, burning and destroying Houses, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of *Werk*, which Castle belonged to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of his Wife; but himself being then Prisoner in *France*, only his Countess, and one *William Montacute*, a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottish* Horse to be so over charged with Pillage, that they were scarce able to go, issues out of the Castle with forty Horse, sets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes six Score, whom he brings with their rich Pillage into the Castle. King *David* soon after with his whole Army arrived; but hearing of King *Edward*'s coming (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himself from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Countess: With whom as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more Battery to her Chastity than King *David* had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a Day and a Night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three Days together he had many Skirmishes, till at last a Truce was concluded for two Years; and amongst other Conditions, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, a Prisoner with the King of *France*, was set at Liberty.

K. David of Scotland enters England with an Army,

is repelled at the Castle of Werk.

K. Edward's Love to the Countess of Salisbury.

William Earl of Salisbury set at Liberty by Exchange.



A.D. 1330 Liberty in Exchange for the Earl Murray, Prisoner with the King of England.

About this Time another Difference fell out between the Kings of England and France. John Earl of Mountford laid Claim to the Duchy of Britain, but in the Quarrel was taken Prisoner by the King of France. His Lady sends to King Edward for Succour; which King Edward grants, upon Condition that a Marriage be made between his Daughter Mary and the Earl of Mountford's Son: Which being agreed on, he sends over to her Aid, first Walter de Manny, a valiant Knight, and afterward Robert d'Artois. But while his Army was preparing, King Edward was informed by Edward Baliol, the pretended King of Scotland, and Governor of Berwick, that the Scots had not kept the Conditions of the Truce: Whereupon King Edward draws a great Army to Berwick, with a Purpose to do great Matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two Years. By this Time Robert d'Artois had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countess of Mountford, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Suffolk, and many other Barons, after great Tempests and Encounters at Sea, lands safely at last near to Vannes, which was held by the French; and laying Siege to the City, with the Assistance of Walter de Manny, who came unto him, after many Assaults, at last he took it, to the great Joy of the Countess of Mountford, though she held it not long; for certain resolute French Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the English. In which Action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly Robert d'Artois himself; who passing over into England, for the better curing of his Wounds, soon after died, and was buried in St. Paul's Church in London. And now King Edward himself with a strong Army passeth over into Britain, and plants his Camp before the City of Vannes, where was like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the Instant there came from Pope Clement the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of Preneeste and Tusculum: Who upon certain Conditions concluded a Peace. Amongst other Conditions this was one; That the City of Vannes should be delivered to King Philip; and thereupon John Earl of Mountford should be set at Liberty; but yet with this Charge, not to go into Britain: Which Promise notwithstanding he kept not, but went presently and besieged a Town in Britain, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by Mountford, was afterward absolutely broken by King Edward; though he charged the Breach of it upon King Philip, and King Philip upon him. But howsoever, broken it was, and Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into France, who won many Towns in Gascoin, and in the Counties of Perigort and Tholouse, and then went to Winter at Bourdeaux: And afterward in May following, pursuing his Victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of Reol. After this again, he took Montpesat, Maurore, Villefranche, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of Angoulesm, and then came to Winter again at Bourdeaux.

Robert d'Artois wounded, dieth.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings, but soon broken.

K. Edward wins many Towns in France.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING Philip informed of so many great Losses, assembles a mighty Army, no less than a hundred thousand Men, with which he recovers Miremont and Villefranche, and then proceeded to besiege Angoulesm: Whom the Earl of Derby having not Forces sufficient to encounter, King Edward (leaving for Wardens of England in his Absence, the Lords Piercy and Nevil) goeth himself in Person with an Army (as Froissard saith) of fourscore thousand Men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of Wales and Ireland; taking with him his Son, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Guyenne, being then but of the Age of fifteen Years. It may be thought preposterous in King Edward to put his Son to be a Soldier before he was come to be a Man; but it seems he had a Longing to try his Son's Valour in the Bud, and perhaps was loth to omit any thing that might give any Countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at Stake: But howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of the Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at Normandy, where at his first setting his Foot on Ground, he had such a Fall, that the Blood gushed out at his Nose; which the Barons took for an ill Sign, but the King took it for a good one, saying, It was a Sign that the Land desired to have him. And indeed he presently took the Towns of Harfleur, Moulborough, Carenton, and St. Loe, and afterward the City of Caen it self; and from thence passed to the County of Eureux, sacked and pillaged it, as also the City of Gisors, Vernon, Meudon, and Boulebourg, to the City of Poissy. King Philip all this while stayed about Paris, as looking for King Edward, to give him Battel there; and for that Purpose had planted his Camp near to St. Germain. But King Edward deceived him: For going from Poissy, he passed into Picardy and Ponthieu, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of Somme, though not without Danger: For King Philip had sent thither Gundemar de Fay, with a thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to stop his Passage. King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass, or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River, crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which Voice every Man strove who should go foremost, and so the Shore was presently gained by the English. Gundemar astonished with this bold Adventure, astonisheth his People with his fearful Countenance: So that the English encountering the French all in Disorder, put them to Flight. King Philip enraged with this Dishonour, resolves to revenge it, and presently provokes King Edward to Battel. King Edward had now encamped in a Village called Cressy, his Army consisting of thirty thousand Men, which he divided into three Battalia's: The first was led by the young Prince of Wales, with whom were joined the Earl of Warwick, Geoffry of Harecourt, Thomas Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandois, Robert Nevil, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the Number of eight hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand

A.D. 1330 The King of France assembles an Army of a hundred thousand Men, and with them recovers some Towns. K. Edward goes in Person with an Army into France, taking the Prince of Wales with him, being but fifteen Years of Age.

K. Edward at his Landing takes a Fall, but takes it for a good Sign.

K. Edward's valiant Resolution.

1346.

The Battel between the two Kings at Cressy.



A.D. 1346 thousand *Welsh*. In the second were the Earls of *Northampton* and of *Arundel*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Basset*, and others, to the Number of eight hundred Men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred Men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The Battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from Rank to Rank to view them; encouraging every Man that Day to have Regard to his Right and Honour. The *French* King's Army was far greater, consisting of above sixty thousand Combatants well armed; whereof the Chief were *Charles* Duke of *Alanson* the King's Brother, *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the King's Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*; of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vanguard he commits to his Brother the Count de *Alanson*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main Battel he leads himself. His Heat, out of Confidence of Victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted Time for a little Counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised, that the Army should take some Repast, and that the Infantry, consisting of *Genoueses* (which were above fifteen thousand Cross-Bows, and sure Men) should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanson*, contrary to this Order, took it ill that the *Genoueses* were in the first Rank; and in Fury caused them to change Place, which bred that Discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader than the Enemy. Besides, there fell at the Instant such a Shower of Rain, as dissolved their Strings, and made their Bows of little Use; and at the Breaking up of the Shower, the Sun shone full in the Face of the *French* (dazling their Sight) and on the Back of the *English*, as if all made for them. King *Edward*, who had gotten to a Wind-mill, beholding, as from a Sentinel, the Countenance of the Enemy, and discovering the Disturbance made by the Change of Place, instantly sends to charge that Part, without giving them Time to re-accommodate themselves: Whereupon the discontented *Genoueses* recoil, which the Count de *Alanson* perceiving, he comes on with the Horse, and in great Rage cries out, On, on, let us make Way upon the Bellies of these *Genoueses*, who do but hinder us; and instantly pricks on with a full Career through the Midst of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, and never stays till he came up to the *English* Battel, where the Prince was. The Fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince send to K. *Edward* to come up with his Power to aid him. The King asks the Messengers, Whether his Son were slain or hurt: Who answering, No, but that he was like to be overlaid: Well then (said the King) return and tell them who sent you, That so long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me whatever happen; for I will that the Honour of this Day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the *French* King having his Horse slain under him,

K. Edward refuseth to send Aid to his Son.

and in Danger to be trodden to Death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*, was to the great Discouragement of his People, withdrawn out of the Field: Whereof Notice being once taken by the *English*, the Day was soon after theirs, and the greatest Victory they ever had yet against the *French*; and so bloody, as there is no Mention made of any one Prisoner taken in the Battel, but all slain out-right; only some few Troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to Places near adjoining. The *French* King himself, with a small Company, got to *Bray* in the Night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking, who goes there? He answered, The Fortune of *France*. By his Voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town with the Tears and Lamentation of his People. The Number of the Slain are certified to be thirty thousand: The Chief whereof were, *Charles de Alanson*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphine de Viennois*, Son to *Imbert* (who after gave *Dauphiné* to the Crown of *France*) the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the Number of fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* Day, in the Year 1346. The next Day early in the Morning, being Sunday, he sent out three hundred Launces, and two thousand Archers, to discover what was become of the Enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbeville*, *St. Requier*, *Roan* and *Beauvais* (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the Prior of *France*: Whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand.

Thirty thousand French slain.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that Year; there was another of no less Importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his People at home, against the *Scots*: Who being set on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred upon this Kingdom with threescore thousand Men (as our Writers report) assuring himself of Success, in regard (as he supposed) the main Strength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umpbreville*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Neville*, *William Dayncourt*, with the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them by the Animation of the Queen (who was there in Person) as fighting a great Battel at *Nevil's Cross*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King Prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and others; and put to the Sword fifteen thousand *Scots*. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, six Weeks after that of *Cressy*. He that took King *David* Prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King *Edward* rewarded with five hundred Pound Land a Year, and made him a Banneret. And, as if all concurred to make this Year Triumphant, the Aids sent to the

The Scots, in K. Edward's Absence, with an Army of threescore thousand invade England:

But are defeated, and King David taken Prisoner. John Copland, who took King David Prisoner, is rewarded with 500 l. Land a Year.



A.D. 1346 Countess of Mountford in Britain, led by Thomas Dagworth a valiant Knight, overthrew and took Prisoner Charles de Blois, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him Monsieur la Val, the Lords Rochford, Beaumanoire, Loyacque, with many other Barons, Knights, and Esquires; where were slain the Lord De la Val, Father to him that was taken, Viscount Rohan, Monsieur de Chasteau, Brayan de Malestroit, de Quintin, de Direuil, besides many other Knights and Esquires, to the Number of seven hundred. And now King Edward, without meddling with the great Cities of Amiens and Abbeville, marched on directly, and sits down before Calais, a Town of more Importance for England, and the Gate to all the rest; wherein John de Vienne Marshal of France, and the Lord de Andregben (a great Man in his Time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter Siege, erected for him and his People so many Houses and Lodges, that it was named New Calais.

K. Edward  
sits down be-  
fore Calais.

When Guns  
first used.

All that Winter King Edward lay without any Molestation by the French King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of Money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approacheth Calais, but finds no Way open to come to relieve it. The King of England was both Master of the Haven, and posses'd all other Ways that were passable; and the Flemmings, his Friends, had besieged Aire. To oppose whom, John Duke of Normandy is sent for out of Guyenne: Who departing, leaves Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Master of the Field; and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of Xaintonge and Poictou, and in the End besieged and sacked Poitiers, and then returns to Bourdeaux, with more Pillage than his People could well bear: Thus the English prosper every where, and the French suffer. During the Siege of Calais (in which some think King Edward first used Guns) the Flemmings send to King Edward to make a Marriage between his Daughter Isabel and their Lord, the young Count Lewis; to which the King consented, but the Duke of Brabant gets the King of France to make the Match for a Daughter of his. The Flemmings press their Lord with the Match of England; but he absolutely refused it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This Answer so incensed the Flemmings, that they put their Lord in Prison, till with long Durance he at last consented; and thereupon King Edward and his Queen, with their Daughter Isabel came over to Berghes, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: But returning afterwards into Flanders, as soon as he found Opportunity, he went to King Philip, and left his affianced Lady unmarried, and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of Brabant's. But all this while the Siege of Calais was continued; and King Philip not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King Edward to appoint some Place of Battel, and he would meet him. But King Edward returns Answer, That if he would make his own Way to come thither to him, there he should find him, but from thence

he would not part, having lain there so long A.D. 1346 to his great Labour and Expence, and being now so near the Point of gaining the Place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; so as the French King was forced to brake up his Army, and retire to Paris, leaving Calais to the Mercy of the Besieger: Which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parly, had it granted, and therein received this final Answer, That six of the chief Burgeses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Castle in their Hands, and submit themselves to the King's Will; the rest he was content to take to Mercy. This seemed a hard Condition, and much Difficulty who should be those six: But one rising up, and out of Love to his Country offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his Example every one strove to be of the Number: Who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to Death. Great Supplication was made by his Lords for their Lives; but the King would not be drawn to alter his Sentence, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her Knees, and with Tears obtained Pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be clothed, and besides a good Repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a-piece. But though the King in his Sentence shewed Severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed Mercy; for when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuseful Persons, as old Men, Women, and Children, were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again, as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their Store; but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them to eat, and two Pence a-piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of Calais gained, the third Day of August, in the Year 1347, after eleven Months Siege, and continued afterward in Possession of the English two hundred and ten Years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priest, and two old Men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: And a Colony of English, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of London, sent to inhabit it: The King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their Abode there, till the Queen was brought to Bed of her Daughter Margaret. The King made Governor of the Town Aymery of Pavia, a Lombard, whom he had brought up from his Infancy; and then with his Queen returns into England. At which Time the Princes Electors send to signify, that they had chosen him King of the Romans; but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an Honour out of his Way, and scarce compatible with his State at home.

Calais desires  
a Parly.  
K. Edward  
requires six  
of their chief  
Burgeses to  
bring the  
Keys of the  
Town to him  
with Halters  
about their  
Necks, whom  
he judged to  
be put to  
Death:

But at the  
Queen's In-  
tercession  
spares them.

1347.  
Calais after  
eleven  
Months Siege  
yielded up to  
K. Edward.

K. Edward is  
chosen King  
of the Ro-  
mans, but re-  
fuseth it.

After this, Truces were made by Mediation, from one Time to another, for the Space of two Years; in which Time, Geoffry de Charmy, Captain of St. Omer, agreed with Aymery of Pavia, whom King Edward had left Governor of Calais, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns; which King Edward hearing of, sent to Aymery, and charged him with this Perfidiousness; whereupon Aymery comes to the King, and humbly desiring Pardon, promiseth to handle

1349.  
Aymery of  
Pavia, Govern-  
or of Calais,  
is bribed to  
betray it:



A.D. 1349 the Matter so as shall be to the King's Advantage, and thereupon is sent back to *Calais*. The King, the Night before the Time of Agreement, arrives with three hundred Men at Arms, and six hundred Archers. *Monsieur de Charmy* sets out likewise the same Night from *St. Omers* with his Forces, and sent a hundred Men before with the Crowns to *Aymery*. The Men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crowns received, and assured to be all Weight: Which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before Day to encounter *Monsieur de Charmy*; who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King *Edward* to a hard Bickering, who, for that he would not be known there in Person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten down on his Knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom he fought Hand to Hand) and yet recovered, and in the End took *Riboumont* Prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the Night after (which was the first of the new Year) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave *Riboumont*, in Honour of his Valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his Head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his Ransom, and set him at Liberty. But the *English* not long after, in the like Practice, had better Success, and got the Castle of *Guifnes* (a Place of great Importance near *Calais*) for a Sum of Money given to one *Beauconroy*, a *French-man*; of which Castle, when the *French* King demanded Restitution, in regard of the Truce, King *Edward* returns Answer, That for Things bought and sold between their People, there was no Exception, and so held it.

But gets the Bribe, and yet keeps the Town.

K. Edward twice beaten down on his Knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*; yet at last takes him Prisoner. He rewards *Riboumont* for his Valour.

1350. The *French* King's eldest Son to be *Dauphine* of *France*, whence it began.

1355. The Prince of *Wales* is sent into *Gascony*.

About this Time *Philip* King of *France* died, leaving his Son *John* to succeed him; in the Beginning of whose Reign, *Humbert* Prince of *Dauphine*, dying without Issue, made him his Heir; and thereupon *Charles*, King *John's* Son, was created the first *Dauphine* of *France*: From whence it grew to be a Custom, that the King of *France's* Heir should always be called *Dauphine* of *France*. About this Time also the Duke of *Lancaster* was to perform a Combat, upon a Challenge with a Prince of *Bohemia*; but when they had entred the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, K. *John* interposed and made them Friends. And now when, after many Means of Mediation, no Peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of *Wales* being now grown a Man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gascony* with a thousand Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great Number of *Welsh-men*; and in *June* following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *James Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himself passeth over to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulster* in Right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Calais* of Mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand Men at Arms: So that his Army consisted of three thousand Men at Arms, and two thousand Arch-

ers on Horse-back, besides Archers on Foot. A.D. 1355 The City of *London* sent three hundred Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own Charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that Time, by Reason the King of *France* would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disfurnished the Country of all Provisions, that the King of *England* was forced to return. King *Edward*, solicited by the King of *Navarre* to aid him against the King of *France*, sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with four thousand Men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, passeth over *Languedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, and *Bourges*, without any Encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes; and, laden with Booties, returns to *Bordeaux*. The *French* King thus assaulted on all Sides, gathers all the Power he possibly could; and first makes against his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawn of Force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Touraine*, against whom he brings his whole Army, consisting of above three-score thousand: Whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to *Bordeaux*. But the *French* King, to prevent this Course, follows; and within two Leagues of *Poitiers* hath him at a great Advantage. At which Instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French* King, supposing he had his Enemy now in his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages; and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his Discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without Prejudice of his Honour, wherein he said he stood accountable to his Father, and to his Country. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his Demands, as making himself sure of Victory; and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince; who seeing himself reduced to this Strait, takes what Advantage he could of the Ground, and providently got the Benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that Part he was like to be assailed, to impester and entangle the *French* Horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The Success answered his Expectation; for the Cavalry of his Enemies, upon their first Assault, were so wrapt and encumbered among the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their Pleasure: For, the *French* King, to give the Honour of the Day to his Cavalry, employed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordered and put to Rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battel were taken Prisoners King *John* himself, with his youngest Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque*, a Knight of *Artois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*; the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*, Conte de *Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his Brother Count de *Longueville*; *John de Melun*; Count de *Tanquerville*; the Counts of *Venafme*, *Vaudemont*, *Estampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, and *John de Centre*, accounted (as *Froissard* saith) the best Knight of *France*, with many other Lords, besides

John King of *France*, with an Army of sixty thousand, opposeth the Prince of *Wales* at *Poitiers*.

The Prince's Policy.

K. *John* himself, with many great Lords taken Prisoners.



A.D. 1355 fides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen; in-  
 somuch as the Conquerors holding it not safe to  
 retain so many, let many of them go. The French,  
 who can give best Account of their own Losses,  
 report there died in this Battel a thousand seven  
 hundred Gentlemen; amongst which were fifty  
 two Bannerets: The most eminent, *Peter de*  
*Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens*, Constable of  
*France*, *Jehan de Clermont*, Marshal, *Geoffry de*  
*Charmy*, High-chamberlain, the Bishop of *Chal-*  
*ons*, the Lords of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Cham-*  
*bly*. There escaped from this Battel three of the  
 French King's Sons (for he brought them all thi-  
 ther) *Charles*, Prince *Dauphine*; *Louis*, after Duke  
 of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*; all great  
 Actors in the Time following. The special great  
 Men of the English in this Fight were the Earls  
 of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*;  
 the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, *Basset*: Of  
*Gascoyne*, *Le Capitaine de Beuff*; the Lords *Pu-*  
*mier*, *Chamout*, and others. The Lord *James*  
*Audeley* won Honour both by his Valour and  
 his Bounty; for having vowed to be foremost  
 in this Fight, he performed his Word, and sealed  
 it with many Wounds: For which the Prince  
 having rewarded him with the Gift of five hun-  
 dred Marks Fee-simple in *England*, he presently  
 gave it to four of his Esquires. Whereupon the  
 Prince demanding whether he accepted not his  
 Gift? He answered, That these Men had de-  
 served the same as well as himself, and had more  
 Need of it. With which Reply the Prince was  
 so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred  
 Marks more in the same Kind. A rare Example,  
 where Desert in the Subject, and Reward in  
 the Prince, strive which should be the greater!

The Lord  
*Jam. Aude-*  
*ley's* Valour,  
 and his  
 Bounty.

But here great Strife arose between many,  
 who should be the Man that took King *John*  
 Prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to  
 forbear their Claims till they came into *England*:  
 Where the Matter being heard, it was adjudg-  
 ed by King *John's* own Testimony, that one  
 Sir *Dennis Morbecque* of *St. Omers* had taken him  
 Prisoner: For which Service the King reward-  
 ed him with a thousand Marks.

1357.

And now, though King *John* had the Mis-  
 fortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemy,  
 yet he had the Happiness to fall into the Hands  
 of a noble Enemy; for Prince *Edward* used  
 him with such Respect and Observance, that he  
 could not find much Difference between his  
 Captivity and Liberty. After the Battel, which  
 was fought the nineteenth Day of *September*,  
 in the Year 1357, Prince *Edward* leads King  
*John* and the captive Lords to *Bordeaux*, where-  
 in he retains them till the Spring following;  
 but sends present News of this Victory to his  
 Father; who thereupon causeth a general  
 Thanksgiving all *England* over eight Days to-  
 gether. And in *May* following K. *John* rather  
 coming over with the Prince, than brought over  
 by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belong-  
 ing to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the fairest  
 at that Time about *London*. And K. *Edward*,  
 as though he thought it Honour enough to  
 have one King his Prisoner at once, at the Suit  
 of his Sister, Queen *Joan*, sets her Husband *Da-*  
*vid* King of *Scots* at Liberty, after he had been  
 Prisoner in *England* eleven Years; but not with-  
 out paying a Ransom, which was a hundred  
 thousand Marks to be paid in ten Years.

A Thank-  
 giving all  
*England* over  
 eight Days  
 together.  
 K. *John* is  
 brought over  
 and lodged at  
 the *Savoy*.

*David* King  
 of *Scots*, after  
 eleven Years  
 Imprison-  
 ment is set  
 at Liberty.

After this, by Mediation of Cardinals sent by A.D. 1357  
 the Pope, a Truce for two Years is concluded  
 between the two Kingdoms of *England* and  
*France*; and in the Time of this Truce, Articles  
 of Peace between the two Kings are propound-  
 ed: King *Edward* requires the Duchies of *Nor-*  
*mandy* and *Guyenne*, the Countries of *Poitou*,  
*Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, with all their Ap-  
 purtenances, as large as King *Richard* the first  
 held them, and many other Provinces besides,  
 and to hold them all without Homage, or any  
 other Service: To which Articles King *John*  
 (weary of Imprisonment) assents and seals, but  
 the *Dauphine* and Council of *France* utterly  
 reject it. Whereupon K. *Edward*, in great Dis-  
 pleasure, resolves to make an End of this Work  
 with the Sword, and to take Possession of the  
 Kingdom of *France*; and leaving his younger  
 Son *Thomas* Governour of his Kingdom at home,  
 with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and  
 taking all the great Lords of the Realm with  
 him, he passed over to *Calais*, dividing his Ar-  
 my into three Battels, whereof one he commits  
 to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke  
 of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himself. And  
 first marching through *Picardy*, where he takes  
 in many Towns, he plants his Siege afterward  
 before *Rheims*: But having spent there six or  
 seven Weeks without effecting any thing, he  
 passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of *Sens*  
 and *Nevers*, the Duchy of *Burgoyne* redeems it  
 self from Spoil with paying two hundred thou-  
 sand *Florens* of Gold. Then he marched up to  
*Paris*, and plants his Camp within two small  
 Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400  
 Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of  
 Knighthood: But when Sir *Walter de Manny*  
 had made a Bravado before the Gates of the  
 City, and the King saw that the *Dauphine* would  
 by no Provocations be drawn out to Battel, he  
 raiseth his Siege, and returns into *Britain* to re-  
 fresh his Army; from thence he marched to-  
 wards *Chartres* with a Purpose to besiege that  
 City: And though great Offers were made him  
 by the French, and Commissioners from the  
 Pope solicited him with all Earnestness to ac-  
 cept them; yet neither they, nor the Duke of  
*Lancaster's* Persuasions could prevail with him,  
 till a terrible Storm of Hail, with Thunder and  
 Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terri-  
 fied him, being a Warning, as it were from Hea-  
 ven, that he presently vowed to make Peace  
 with the French King upon any reasonable Con-  
 ditions, as shortly after he did at the Treaty of  
*Britigny* near to *Chartres* upon these Articles:  
 That the Feifs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the  
 Duchy of *Guyenne*, comprising *Gascoin*, *Poi-*  
*etou*, *Xaintonge*, *Limousin*, *Perigort*, *Quercy*,  
*Rhodes*, *Angoulesm*, and *Rochel*, together with  
 the Countries of *Guines* and *Calais*, and some  
 other Places, with the Homages of the Lords  
 within those Territories, should be to the King  
 of *England*, who besides was to have three  
 Millions of Crowns of Gold; whereof six hun-  
 dred thousand in Hand, four hundred thousand  
 the Year following, and the rest in two Years  
 after: And for this the King of *England*, and  
 his Son the Prince of *Wales*, for them and their  
 Successors for ever, should renounce all their  
 Right pretended to the Crown of *France*, the  
 Duchy

The *Dauphine*  
 and Council  
 of *France* not  
 yielding to  
 K. *Edward's*  
 Demands,  
 he passeth  
 with an Ar-  
 my over in-  
 to *France*.

He marcheth  
 up to *Paris*.

K. *Edward*  
 would heark-  
 en to no  
 Conditions  
 of Peace, till  
 terrified by  
 Thunder and  
 Lightning.

Articles of  
 Peace be-  
 tween the  
 two Kings  
 of *England*  
 and *France*.



A.D. 1357 Duchy of Normandy, the Countries of Touraine, Anjou, Maine, the Homage and Sovereignty of Britain, and the Earldom of Flanders, and within three Weeks, King John to be rendred at Calais, at the Charge of the King of England, except the Expences of his House. For Assurance of which Accord, should be given into his Hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of France for Hostages: The Scots not to be aided by the French King, nor the Flemmings by the English. This Accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, Edward and Charles, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered up to K. Edward, who brought them into England; and thereupon King John is honourably conducted to Calais, after he had remained Prisoner in England near about five Years; but being come to Calais, he was detained there above three Months, till the Money which he was to pay in Hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard Shifts, being fain to give the Jews leave to dwell in France for twenty Years, paying twelve Florens a Man at the Entry, and six every Year after. At this Time the Prince, by Dispensation, marries the Countess of Kent, Daughter to Edmund, Brother to Edward the Second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of Aquitaine, he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent: And not long after, with the Princess his Wife, he passeth over into France, and keeps his Court at Bourdeaux.

K. John after five Years Imprisonment is released.

Edward Prince of Wales marries the Countess of Kent, and keeps his Court at Bourdeaux.

1362.

This was now the Year 1362, and the fiftieth Year of K. Edward's Age, wherein for a Jubile he shews himself extraordinary gracious to his People, freely pardoning many Offences, releasing Prisoners, revoking Exiles; with many other Expressions of his Love and Bounty. The Year following was famous for three Kings coming into England; John King of France, Peter King of Cyprus, and David King of Scots. The King of Cyprus came to solicit King Edward to join with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only Royal Entertainment and Excuses. The King of Scots came for Business and Visitation; but why the King of France came, is not so certain, whether it were about taking Order for his Hostages, or to satisfy K. Edward for breach of some Articles, or else for Love to the Countess of Salisbury, or perhaps out of a Desire to let England see his Majesty, being at Liberty; which had been darkened before by the Cloud of Captivity: But whatsoever the Cause of his coming was, the Cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying than he meant) was a mortal Sicknes, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the Savoy) in March or April following he died, and his Body conveyed over into France, was buried at St. Dennis with his Ancestors.

K. John comes into England.

And here falls sick, and dieth.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous all the Christian World over, and the Man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to fly for Succour: For which End there came at this Time to his Court, James King of Majorca, and happened to come at a Time when the Princess lay in; and thereupon he and Richard King of Navarre were taken to be Godfathers to his

Son Richard. For the like Assistance also there came at the same Time to him, Peter King of Castile, driven out of his Kingdom by the French, in favour to Peter King of Arragon: And Prince Edward, partly out of Charity, to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of Policy, to keep his Soldiers in Exercise, undertakes the Enterprize, and was so prosperous in it, that with one Battle (having but 30,000 against 100,000) he put King Peter in Possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his Labour; for the ungrateful King would not so much as pay his Soldiers. And it is memorable which Froissard writes, that of the Enemies were slain and drowned above 2000, and of the Prince's Party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate Journey for the Prince; for though he came back with Victory, yet he brought back with him such an Indisposition of Body, that he was never thoroughly well after: Not perhaps by Poison, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of Lancaster, though both were suspected; but there were Causes distempering him enough besides, the Country, the Season, the Action itself: And it may be more marvelled that his Soldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill. But howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his Indisposition of Body, added Discontentment of Mind; for not having Means to pay his Soldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not choose but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Country, and thereupon how the Country murmured against him. And now to stop this Murmuring, his Chancellor, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new Dispensation, of levying a Frank of every Chimney; and this to continue for five Years, to pay the Prince's Debts: But this Imposition made the Murmuring the more. For tho' some Part of his Dominions, as the Poictovins, Xantoigns, and Limousins, in a sort consented to it; yet the Count of Armagnac, the Count of Cominges, the Viscount of Carmain, and many others, so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as to their Supreme Lord; who, upon Examination, finding their Complaint to be just, he thereupon, by Advice of his Council, summons Prince Edward to appear in Person to answer the Complaint: Whereupon Prince Edward made Answer, That if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand Men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against Paris, if he had not fallen into Symptoms of a Dropsy, which (Walsingham saith) was wrought by Enchantment. But upon this Answer of the Prince, King Charles sends Defiance to King Edward, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The French enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and Defeats divers of his Troops; in Revenge whereof John Chandois, the Prince's Lieutenant, assaults Terrers in the Province of Tholouse, and takes it. The Count of Perigort assaults Royanville in Quercy, and puts all the English to the Sword; in revenge whereof James Audeley, Seneschal of Poitou, assaults the City of Broiss, and takes it. In the mean time Robert Knolls, by some called Robin, and by others Arnold, or Reynold Knoll, had

Prince Edward makes a Journey into Spain, to aid Peter King of Castile, and recovers his Kingdom for him: But is ill rewarded.

The Prince never thoroughly well after this Journey.

Prince Edward summoned by the King of France. What Answer he makes.

The two Kings enter into Arms, and interchangeably take Towns.

K k drawn



A.D. 1367 drawn *Perducas de Albert* to the Party of the English; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of *Darcuel* in *Quercy*, which *John Chandois* understanding, went also and joined with him in the Siege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and besieged the City of *Damme*; and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froins*, *Rochevandon*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angoulesme*. At the same Time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, having spent nine Weeks at the Siege of *Bordeille*, at last took it; but other Captains of the English did yet more, for they scaled *Belleperche* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and takes her Prisoner.

Q. Philippa dieth.

About this Time *Philippa* Queen of England, King *Edward's* Wife, died, and was buried at *Westminster*. But this hindred not the Proceeding of the English in France. The Earl of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns. The Duke of *Lancaster* doth the like about *Calais*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a Purpose to burn the King of *France's* Navy; but being watched by the Count *St. Paul*, was forced to forbear that Design: And so passing other Ways, and spoiling all the Places where he passed, he returned to *Calais*. Winter was now drawing on, and *John Chandois* desiring to recover the Abby of *St. Silvan* in *Poitou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the French, was in the Enterprize discovered; and being assaulted by greater Forces, was slain in the Place, to the great Grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the English Lords: But dying without Issue, his Estate, which amounted to four hundred thousand *Franks*, came to the Prince. At this Time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertised, assembles Forces to oppose them: But when the News was brought him of the taking of *Limoges*, he was so much troubled at it, by reason the Bishop of that Place was his Gossip, and one in whom he especially had Affiance, that he resolved to recover it at any Price, and not to spare a Man that had a Hand in rendring it up. And thereupon taking it by Force, he commanded to sack and pillage it, and would not be stayed by the Cries of the People, casting themselves down at his Feet, till passing through the Town, he perceived three French Captains, who themselves alone had withstood the Assault of his victorious Army; and moved with the Consideration of their Valour, he then abated his Anger, and for their sakes granted Mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is Virtue, even in an Enemy, respected by generous Minds. In the mean

Valour respected in an Enemy.

Robert Stuart Crowned King of Scotland.

Time *David* King of Scots died without Issue, and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew succeeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this Time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is sent into France, where making many Attempts with Valour enough, but with little Success, he was coming home, tho' with no Gain, yet with no Loss: Till *Bertrand de Guesclin* assaulting him, slew the most Part of his Men; and

so this great Army on a sudden came to nothing. A.D. 1367 It seems *Knolls's* Action was the less successful, by reason of some young Lords that went with him, who scorning to be under his Command, as being now a new Man, and risen from a low Estate, were refractory to his Directions: And indeed, what can a General do, if he have not as well Reputation of Person, as of Place?

And now the Prince of *Wales's* eldest Son *Edward* dying at *Bordeaux*, the Prince with his Wife and other Son *Richard* came over into England; at which time the valiant Knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monastery of the *Chartreux* which he had builded, leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembroke*. This Earl of *Pembroke* was soon after sent Governor into *Aquitain*; but set upon by the way by *Spaniards* in favour of the French, was by them taken Prisoner, and carried with others into *Spain*: Who being chained together, as the Manner is, one *Evans* a Welsh Fugitive, who gave himself out for the right Heir of *Wales*, came upon him, foolishly playing upon him with scornful Language; as though to insult over another Man's Misery, could serve for a Cordial to mitigate his own.

1371.

Sir Walter de Manny dieth.

1372.

And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Prince's Dominions in France are either taken away, or fall away faster than they were gotten. *Guesclin* enters *Poitou*, takes *Montmorillon*, *Chouvigny*, *Lussac*, and *Moncontour*: Straight after follows the Country of *Aunis*, or *Xantougn*, and the rest of *Poitou*; then *St. Maxent*, *Nesse*, *Aulnai*; then *Rendon*, *Marant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*, and at last they came to *Thouras*, where the most Part of the Lords of *Poitou*, that held with the Prince, were assembled. At which time King *Edward*, with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and all the great Lords of England, set forward to their Succour, but being driven back by Tempest, never came to give them Assistance, so as *Thouras* yielded up by Composition: Yet did this Preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Marks; that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Towns, than it had cost him before to win them: So great odds there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of

The Earl of Pembroke being taken Prisoner, the Prince's Dominions in France fall soon away.

1373.

*Lancaster* is sent over with another great Army, who passed up into many Parts of the Country; but King *Charles* resolved to hazard no Battel, saying, They were but Clouds, and would soon pass away; yet so watched him, that what with light Skirmishes, and what with Scarcity of Victuals, his Forces were so diminished, that of thirty thousand which went out of *Calais*, there scarce Returned six thousand home; which made King *Edward* say of this King *Charles*, That he did him more Mischief sitting still, than his Predecessors had done with all their stirring. And now by this Time all *Poitou* is lost, and all *Aquitain* also, but only *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*; when the Archbishop of *Roan* and others are sent from Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings: But each of them standing upon high Terms of Conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three Years together. In which Time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may say the Fortune

The Duke of Lancaster is sent over with an Army of thirty thousand, but scarce six thousand returned home.

Edward Prince of Wales dieth.



A.D. 1376 tune of England, being a Prince so full of Virtues, that he left no Place for any Vice: And if he had lived in the Heroick Times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His Body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. K. Edward in his seven and fortieth Year called a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight Days; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergymen only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

A Parliament called, to which, of Clergymen, were summoned only four Bishops and five Abbots.

Of King Edward's Acts after the Death of the Prince.

IN the Time of the Prince's Sickness, King Edward calls a Parliament at *Westminster*; in which, when Demands were made for Supply of the King, Demands were presently made for Redress of Grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord of *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pierce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court: And this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter de la Moore*, that the King rather than not to be supplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these Persons are presently put from Court: But the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former Places.

Subsidies are demanded by the King; and Redress of Grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Pierce are banished the Court, but soon revoked. Defrauding of Soldiers punished with Death.

About this Time exemplary Justice was done upon Sir *John Midseforth*, Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tyburn* for Treason by him committed, in defrauding Soldiers of their Wages.

About this Time the Duke of *Lancaster* being at *Bordeaux*, and hearing of the Death of *Peter King of Castile*, whom Prince Edward had vested in his Kingdom; and that he left only two Daughters the Heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gascoign* for their Safety: He sent and caused them to be brought to *Bordeaux*, and there himself married the elder Sister *Constance*; in whose Right he afterward took upon him the Title of King of *Castile* and *Leon*: And not long after his younger Brother *Edmund Earl of Cambridge* married the younger Sister *Isabel*.

It was now the fiftieth Year of Edward's Reign; and he for another Jubile, grants another general Pardon to his Subjects, only *William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the King's Displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the *Good Parliament*, though it wrought ill Effects; for Sir *Peter de la Moore*, at the Suit of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetual Imprisonment at *Forthingham*, though within two Years after, by importunate Suit of Friends he regained his Liberty. This *Alice Pierce* presuming upon the King's Favour, grew so insolent, that she intermeddled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices, where she herself would sit, to countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of *Lancaster* is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King Edward, to prevent the Mischiefs which by disordering the Succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard of Bordeaux*, creating him first

Wickham Bishop of Winchester forbidden to come to the Parliament called the Good Parliament

Alice Pierce her insolent Carriage.

Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwal*, and then Prince of *Wales*; and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath to accept him for their King, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean Time a Treaty was had about a Marriage between this Prince *Richard*, and *Mary* a Daughter of *Charles King of France*: And an Offer was made to K. Edward, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in *Aquitain*, upon Condition he would render *Calais*, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, K. Edward died.

Richard of Bordeaux is created Prince of Wales, and published Heir apparent of the Crown. Fourteen hundred Towns offered for Calais.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth Year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a Fifteenth of the Temporalty, a Twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a Tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth Year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a Tenth-penny of Cities and Boroughs, a Fifteenth of others, and a Tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to the Churches through *England* for the Holy War is taken out for the King's Use, towards his Wars with *France*. The next Year after, all the Goods of two Orders of Monks, *Cluniacs* and *Cistercians*, are likewise seized into the King's Hands; and the like Subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth Year (and as some write, in Absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity one half of the Wool, but of the Clergy the whole. The next Year after a Fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth Year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for Custom of every Sack of Wool, forty Shillings; for every three hundred Wool-fells, forty Shillings; for every Last of Leather, forty Shillings; and of other Merchandizes, according to the Rate; the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve Months after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses, a ninth Part of their Goods; of foreign Merchants and others, a Fifteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two Years; also another tenth of the Clergy: And for his present Supply, he had Loans of divers Persons; and the City of *London* lent twenty thousand Marks. For the Grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to divers Kinds of Offenders) remits all Amerciaments for Transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage, to the first Time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all Aids for the Marriage of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all antient Debts and Arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth Year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth Year, in a Parliament at *London*, a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of Mens Abilities; and all of five Pounds to ten of Lay-fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horseback; of twenty five, a Demy-lance, and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain Coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of base Alloy, for the King's Benefit, towards

Men rated to find Soldiers.



A.D. 1376 towards his Wars in *France*; but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer Metal coined, to the great Contentment of the People. In his nine and twentieth Year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool, for six Years next ensuing; by which Imposition it was thought the King might dispend a thousand Marks *Sterling* a Day, the Vent of Wool was so great in that Time: But that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ransom he had in his four and thirtieth Year of the King of *France*, three Millions of Crowns of Gold. In his twelfth Year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their Houses, Lands, and Tenements, for the Maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty Years in his Hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth Year was granted twenty-six Shillings eight Pence for Transportation of every Sack of Wool for three Years. In the five and fortieth Year of his Reign, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand Pounds to be paid the same Year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by setting a certain Rate of five Pounds fifteen Shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty-seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to 50,181 l. 8 d. But 181 l. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonshire*, in regard of their Poverty. In his eight and fortieth Year, in a Parliament is granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth Year a Subsidy of a new Nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven Years of Age) the Duke of *Lancaster* had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the Demand; to have two Tenths to be paid in one Year, or twelve Pence in the Pound of all Merchandise sold for one Year; and one Pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-house one Penny: But instead of this Subsidy, after much Alteration, there was granted another of as new a Nature as this, that every Person, Man and Woman within the Kingdom, above the Age of fourteen Years, should pay four Pence (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve Pence of every Person beneficed, and all other Religious Persons four Pence. A mighty Aid, and such as was never granted to any King of *England* before!

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what Cause is not certain: The common Opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady *Joan*, Countess of *Salisbury*, slipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* stooped and took it up; whereat some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous Action, he seriously said, It should not be long e'er Sovereign Honour should be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; therein checking his Lords sinister Suspicion. Some conjecture that he instituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word *Garter* for the Word or Sign: And some again are of Opinion, that the Institution of this Order is more antient, and begun by

K. *Richard* the First, but that this K. *Edward* A.D. 1376 adorned it, and brought it into Splendor. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty Six, whereof the King himself is always one, and President; and their Feast yearly celebrated at *Windsor* on St. *George's* Day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a Book of Purpose. In the five and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he was earnestly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, That the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests, might be duly observed; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom should (as in former Times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, tho' the King at first stood stiff upon his own Election and Prerogative, yet at last (in regard to have his present Turn served, as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do Justice to all Men in their Offices: And thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the King's Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

This King also causeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the Course of the Law. Also in his Time an Act was passed for Purveyors, that nothing should be taken up but for ready Money, upon strict Punishment. In the next Parliament, holden the seven and thirtieth Year of his Reign, certain sumptuary Laws were ordained both for Apparel and Diet, appointing every Degree of Men the Stuff and Habits they should wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs, to all but eminent Persons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one Meal a Day, and what Meals he should eat. Also in his Time, at the Instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers Colours; nor Furs, but Garments reversed the wrong Side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bolingbroke* Earl of *Lancaster*, created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth Year of his Reign was the first: But afterward he erected *Cornwall* also into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: After which Time the King's eldest Son used always to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. This King also altered Moneys, and abated them in Weight, and yet made them to pass according to the former Value. Before this Time there were no other Pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the small Pieces of Silver called *Sterlings*; but now Groats of Four-pence, and half Groats of Two-pence, equivalent to the *Sterling* Money, are coined, which enhanced the Prices of Things, that rise or fall according to the Plenty or Scarcity of Coin; which made Servants and Labourers to raise their Wages accordingly: Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former Rate. Also an Act was made in this King's Time, That all Weirs, Mills, and other Stoppages of Rivers, hindring the Passages of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels, should be removed; which though it were most commodious to

Three Millions of Crowns of Gold paid to K. *Edward* by the King of *France*.

Eight thousand six hundred Parishes in *England*.

A Subsidy demanded of a new Nature.

Every Person above fourteen Years old pay four Pence.

The Order of the Garter instituted, and whereupon.

The great Officers of the Kingdom chosen by Parliament.

All Pleas in Law were first ordained to be made in *English*. Purveyors to take up nothing but for ready Money.

Houholders appointed what Meat they should eat. Whores to wear their Garments reversed. Dukes first created.

New Coins created.



A.D. 1376 to the Kingdom, yet it took little Effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great Men, who regarded more their own private, than the publick Benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth Year of his Reign, it was enacted, that no Wool growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in England. *Peter-pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to Rome, but yet in many Shires of England are gathered to this Day, saith *Fabian*. The Custom of washing poor Mens Feet on *Maunday-Thursday*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of London, and ordained that the Mayor for the Time being should sit in all Places of Judgment, within the Liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the King's Person only excepted; and that every Alderman that had been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace in all London and *Middlesex*; and every Alderman that had not been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of London, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight, or defend the Land for any Need. Also that after that Day the Franchises of the City should not be seized into the King's Hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the Rule of the City, and the Mayor to choose a Bailiff there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of London, that the Officers of the Mayors and Sheriffs should from that Day forward use Maces of Silver Parcel gilt.

### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

**K**ING Edward upon some Displeasure had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon *John Stratford*, Archbishop of Canterbury, writes him a Letter, charging him with Violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the Breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good Counsel given him, threatens that if he amend not these Disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of London, charging the Archbishop to be the Cause of all this Disturbance, having been the Man that first set him upon the War with France, assuring him he should want no Money; and now had been the Hindrance, that Monies given him by Parliament were not duly levied; and after many Remonstrances to such Purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious Obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this Difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishop's Submission, reconciled. And indeed the great Account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his employing almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of Account. *Simon Langham*, Archbishop of Canterbury, was Chancellor of England; *William Wickham*, Archdeacon of Lincoln, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; *David Willer*, Parson of *Somerham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Bene-

ficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; A.D. 1376 *William Mulse*, Dean of *St. Martins le Grand*, chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's Treasure and Jewels; *William Askby*, Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton*, Prebendary of *St. Martins*, Clerk of the Privy-Seal; *Richard Chesterfield*, Prebend of *St. Stephens*, Treasurer of the King's House; *Henry Snatch*, Parson of *Oundle*, Master of the King's Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rowseby*, Parson of *Harwich*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the King's Works; *Thomas Brittingham*, Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King for the Part of *Guifnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*; *John Troyes*, a Priest, Treasurer of Ireland.

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, Complaint is made of the great Inconvenience that came by the Pope's Collation of Benefices in England, The Pope re-conferring them upon Strangers, who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastors over a Flock they could not feed: And hereupon Sir *John Shordich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the Sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signify his Consent therein: But this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his Silence for Consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a Prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on Pain of Imprisonment, or Death, to whomsoever should in Time to come present or admit any such Persons, who by the Pope were so preferred, to the Prejudice of the King's Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline; but towards the End of his Reign, there fell a Disturbance in matter of Doctrine; for a certain Divine, named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, against the Abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders; and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him (who after were called Lollards) professing Poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Russet. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught, that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in Perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the Goods of religious Persons to relieve them in their Necessities, by the Example of *William Rufus*, and others. This Man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his Learning and Integrity of Life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and others in *St. Paul's*. At the Day appointed, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Lady's Chappel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the Man had much to answer, and needed a convenient Seat. The Bishop of London told him,

The Pope re-conferring Benefices in England.

*John Wickliffe* bringeth in new Doctrine,

whom the Duke of Lancaster favours.



A.D. 1376 him, it was against all Law and Reason that he who was there cited before his Ordinary should sit. Whereupon a great Contention between the Duke and the Bishop of London.

The Londoners take the Bishop's Part, and set upon the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's House.

Whereupon a great Contention between the Duke and the Bishop of London. The Duke takes the Marshal's Part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop, the Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great Rage swore he would pull down the Pride of him, and of all the Bishops in England: And whispering in his Ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the Hair of the Head, than to suffer such Indignities. Which Words the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud Voice they would rather lose their Lives than to suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their Fury was the more against the Duke, for that the Day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the King's Name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Mayor of London, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marshal of England should arrest Offenders within the Liberties, as in other Places. The Morrow after, the Citizens assembling to consult of this Business, it happened the Lord Fitz-Walter, and Guido Bryan, came into the City; which the People seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord Fitz-Walter protested he came to no other End, but to offer his Service to the City, being by Inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take Injuries offered to them, as to himself, and therefore willed them to look to their Defence, whereupon they presently take Arms, assail the Marshal's Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a Prisoner in his Girdle, and set him at Liberty, but found not the Lord Marshal, who with the Duke was that Day to dine with one John de Ypres. Then this furious Multitude ran to assail the Savoy, which a Knight of the Duke's seeing, hastens to the Place where his Lord dined, and acquaints him with this Uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his Shins on the Form; and with Sir Henry Percy alone takes Boat, and goes to Kennington near Lambeth, where the Princess with the young Prince lay: To whom he complains of this Riot, and the Violence offered him. In the mean Time, the Multitude coming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive to know the Business, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshal, and compel them to deliver Sir Peter de la Moore, unjustly kept in Prison. The Priest replied that Sir Peter was a Traitor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which Words they all cried out, This is Percy, This is the Traitor of England, his Speech bewrays him, though his Apparel be disguised: And presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to Death. The Bishop of London hearing of this Outrage, leaves his Dinner, hastes to the Savoy, admonisheth them of the holy Time, being Lent; assuring them, all should be fairly ended for the Good of the City. With those Persuasions they were somewhat pacified, but yet they took the Duke's Arms, and hung them up reversed, in Sign of Treason, in all the principal Parts of the City. Upon the Princesses Advice, the chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this Tumult, saying, It was not in their Power to suppress it,

the Commonalty being in Commotion, upon an A.D. 1376 Information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his Thought to infringe their Liberties; but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this Affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down some of the Principal of them; for he caused the Mayor and Aldermen to be displaced, and others put in their Rooms. A Revenge he had better been without, for he never had the Love of the City after: And to want their Love is a kind of Banishment. Wickliffe himself, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Country than his Doctrine; and going over into Bohemia, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he died: At least a great Part of his Doctrine continues in Veneration amongst that People to this Day.

*Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his Time.*

HIS Works of Piety were great and many, as the Founding of East-Minster, an Abby (of the Cistercian Order) near the Tower. An Abby of Nuns at Dartford in Kent: The King's Hall in Cambridge, for poor Scholars: An Hospital for the Poor at Calais. He conferred upon the University of Oxford, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned Walter Burleigh, the chief Rule of the City, subordinating the Mayor and Citizens to the Chancellor of the University. He built St. Stephen's Chappel at Westminster, with the Endowment of 300 Pounds per Annum. He augmented the Chappel at Windsor, and made Provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. These were his publick Works. But besides these, his private Buildings were the Castle of Windsor, which he re-edified and enlarged; the Castle at Queenborough, Fortifications at Calais and other Places. His Queen Philippa founded Queen's College in Oxford: And Mary Countess of Pembroke, the College called Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge. In this King's Time, Sir John Poultney, Mayor of London, built the College in London called Saint Lawrence Poultney, and little Alhallows, a Parish Church in Thames-street; and also the Carmelite-friers Church in Coventry. Henry Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, founded the Hospital by the Castle of Leicester, wherein a hundred poor impotent People were provided for with all Things necessary. William Elsing Mercer of London, made a new Hospital of an old House of Nuns by Cripplegate; and placing Canons Regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. Walter Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, founded Exeter-College, and Hart-Hall in Oxford. William Bateman Bishop of Norwich, builded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge. Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, founded Canterbury-College in Oxford. William Edendon, Treasurer of England, founded the Monastery of Edendon; the Religious Brethren whereof were called Bon Hommes. Sir Walter de Manny, born in Cambray, purchased a Piece of Ground called Spittle-Croft, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of West-Smithfield, and caused the same to be enclosed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the same to be a House of Charter-House Monks. founded.



A.D. 1376 Monks. *Humphrey Bobun* Earl of Hereford and *Essex*, re-edified the *Augustine* Friars Church in London, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth Year of this King's Reign, *John Stody*, Mayor of London, gave unto the Vintners of London all the Quadrant where *Vintners-Hall* now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this Day called *Stody's Lane*; where are founded thirteen Houses for thirteen poor People, which are there kept of Charity. Also in this King's Time Sir *John Cobham* founded the College of *Cobham* in Kent. *John Loufkin*, four times Mayor of London, builded at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel, called *Magdalen's*, to the which he joined an Hospital, wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certain poor Men: And for that the Parish-Church of *St. Michael* by *Crooked-Lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely Thing, and the Ground thereabout a filthy Plot by Reason of the Butchers in *Eastcheap*, who made the same their Lay-stall, he on the same Ground builded the fair new Parish-Church of *St. Michael* now standing, and was buried there in the Middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of Stone. He also founded a College to the same Church, near thereunto adjoining. *John Barnes*, Mayor of London, gave a Chest with three Locks, and a thousand Marks to be lent to young Men upon Security, so that it passed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to say at his Pleasure, *De profundis*, for the Soul of *John Barnes*: If he were not learned, to say *Pater Noster*: But howsoever the Money is lent, the Chest at this Day standeth in the Chamber of London, without Money or Pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, the youngest Son of *K. Edward*, founded a College at *Playfie* in *Essex*, where in his Life he had provided a sumptuous Tomb, where he was first laid, but translated afterward to *Westminster*.

#### Casualties happening in his Time.

A very great Pestilence, and continued nine Years.

After which the Number of Mens Teeth lessened.

IN the two and twentieth Year of his Reign, a contagious Pestilence arose in the East and South Parts of the World, and spread it self all over Christendom; and coming at last into *England*, it so wasted the People, that scarce the tenth Person of all Sorts were left alive. There died in *London* (some say in *Norwich*) between the first of *January*, and the first of *July*, 57,374 Persons. In *Yarmouth*, in one Year 7052 Men and Women: Before which Time, the Parsonage there was worth 700 Marks a Year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty Pounds a Year. This Plague began in *London* about *All-hallontide*, in the Year 1348, and continued till the Year 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were born after the Beginning of this Mortality had but twenty-eight Teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth Year of his Reign, a sudden Inundation of Water at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, bare down a Piece of the Town Wall, and six Perches in Length, near to a Place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty Men and Women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth Year of his Reign, another Pestilence happened in *England*, which was called the second Pestilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of

*Lancaster*; also *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Wal-ter Fitz-Warren*, two famous Men, and five Bishops, of *Worcester*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chichester*. In this King's Time a Frost lasted from the midst of *September* to the Month of *April*. In the fourth Year of his Reign a solemn Justing or Tournament was holden at *London* in *Cheapside*, betwixt the great Cross and the great Conduit, near *Soper-lane*, which lasted three Days, where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies, fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Justing; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to punish the Carpenters for their Negligence, till the Queen entreated Pardon for them upon her Knees; as indeed she was always ready to do all good Offices of Mercy to all People. In the eleventh Year of his Reign was so great Plenty, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold at *London* for two Shillings, a fat Ox for a Noble, a fat Sheep for Six-pence, and five Pigeons for a Penny, a fat Goose for Two-pence, a Pig for a Penny; other Things after that Rate. But in his twenty seventh Year there was a great Scarcity, by Reason there fell no Rain, or very little, from the End of *March*, to the End of *July*, and was therefore called the dry Summer.

Many great Men died of the Plague. A Frost that lasted seven Months.

Price of Victuals in a Plenty.

#### Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa*, the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Heynault*, at *York*. A Match made up in Haste by Queen *Isabel*, his Mother, for her own Ends, although a better could never have been made upon Deliberation for King *Edward's* Ends. For though her Parentage was not great, and her Portion less, yet she made Amends for both in Virtue; for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had seven Sons, and five Daughters. His eldest Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the *Black Prince* (but why so called uncertain; for to say of his dreadful Acts, as *Speed* saith, hath little Probability: And indeed *Froissard*, who hath written the Reign of *K. Edward* the Third more particularly than any other, and lived in his Time, never calls Prince *Edward* the *Black Prince*, nor any where makes Mention that he was so called) was born at *Woodstock*, in the third Year of his Father's Reign. He married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, Brother by the Father's Side to *K. Edward* the Second. She had been twice married before; first to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorced; next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whose Decease, this Prince passionately loving her, married her. By her he had Issue two Sons, *Edward* the eldest, born at *Angoulesme*, who died at seven Years of Age, and *Richard* born at *Bordeaux*, who after his Father was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather, King of *England*. This Prince had also natural Issue Sir *John Soud-er*, and *Roger Clarendon*, Knights; the latter being attainted in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, is thought to have been Ancestor to the House of *Smiths* in *Essex*. He died at *Canterbury*, in the six and fortieth Year of his Age, and of his Father's Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at *Christ's Church* there. His second Son *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*,

The Family of *Smiths* in *Essex*, from whom descended.



A.D. 1376 *shire*, who deceased in his Childhood, and was buried at *York*. His third Son *Lionel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth Year of his Father's Reign. He married first *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, in whose Right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*; and because he had with her the Honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Thomond*, he was in a Parliament created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Country about the Town and Honour of *Clare*: From which Duchy, the Name

The King of Arms, why called *Clarencieux*. of *Clarencieux* (being the Title of the King of Arms for the South-parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had Issue by her one only Daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countess of *Cambridge*, the Mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of *K. Edward* the Fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at *Milan* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violante*, Daughter of *Galeacio*, the second Duke thereof; but through Intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward's* fourth Son, named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth Year of his Father's Reign. He had three Wives; the first was *Blanch*, Daughter and Co-heir, and in the End, the sole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom he had Issue *Henry* of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry* the Fourth, who first placed the Crown in the House of *Lancaster*. By her also *John* of *Gaunt* had two Daughters, *Philippa*, Wife of *John* the First, King of *Portugal*, and *Elizabeth*, married first to *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, and after him to Sir *John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanbope*. *John* of *Gaunt's* second Wife was *Constance*, the eldest Daughter of *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; in whose Right for the Time he entitled himself King of both those Realms. By her he had Issue one only Daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henry*, the third Son of King *John*, in Possession before, and in her Right after King of both the said Realms. *John* of *Gaunt's* third Wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest Daughter and Co-heir of *Pane-Roet*, a *Gascoin*, called *Guien*, King of Arms for that Country; his younger Daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had Issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth Year of King *Richard* the Second, *John* Earl of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal, and *Joan* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Wemme* and *Ousley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevill*, the first Earl of *Westmoreland*. She and all her Brethren were

The Name of *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all born, and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognizance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth Year of his Nephew *K. Richard*, was created Duke of *Aquitain*, but in the sixteenth Year he was called home, and this Title recalled; and the third Year after, in the sixtieth of his Age, he died at *Ely-house*

in *Holbourn*, and lieth honourably entombed in A.D. 1376 the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edward's* fifth Son *Edmund*, surnamed of *Langley*, was first in the Year 1362 created Earl of *Cambridge*; and afterwards in the Year 1386 made Duke of *York*. He married *Isabel*, Daughter and Co-heir to *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*: His Son *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, took to Wife *Ann Mortimer*, Heir of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder Brother to *Edmund* of *Langley*. *K. Edward's* sixth Son *William*, surnamed of *Windsor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edward's* youngest Son *Thomas*, surnamed of *Woodstock*, where he was born, was first Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Gloucester* by his Nephew King *Richard* the Second. He was a Man of Valour and Wisdom; but the King surmising him to be too severe an Observer of his Doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: Whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, conveyed secretly to *Calais*, where he was strangled the twentieth Year of *K. Richard's* Reign. He had Issue one Son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who died at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the Year 1400, and two Daughters, *Ann*, married first to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earl of *Essex*; and *Joan*, married to *Gilbert Lord Talbot*, and had Issue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward's* Daughters, the eldest, named *Isabel*, was married at *Windsor* to *Ingelram* of *Guysnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soissons*, and after Archduke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*; by whom she was Mother of two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquess of *Dublin*. This *Robert*, in the Height of his Fortunes, forsook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona*, a Joiner's Daughter (as was said) which came with King *Richard* the Second's Wife out of *Bohemia*: And being for abusing the King's Ear, driven out of the Land by the Lords, he died at *Lovain*, in extream Poverty in the Year 1392. *Isabel*, his Wife's Mother, was buried in the Church of *Friers Minors*, near *Aldgate* in *London*. King *Edward's* second Daughter *Joan* was married by Proxy to *Alphonfus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; but passing into *Spain*, died by the Way, and King *Alphonfus* met her, instead of consummating his Espousal, to solemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth, named *Mary*, was married to *John Mountford*, Duke of *Britain*. His youngest, named *Margaret*, born in *Calais*, was the first Wife of *John de Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, but died without Issue.

#### Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was of Stature indifferent tall, of sparkling Eyes, of a comely and manly Countenance, in his latter Time somewhat bald; and concerning his Conditions, no Man was more gentle, where there was Submission; where Opposition, no Man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his Passions, than of his People; for he was never so loving as to be fond, nor ever so



A.D. 1376 so angry as to be inexorable: But this must be understood of the Time when he was a Man; for in his old Age, when he came to be a Child again, he was a Prince of neither. He was no less fortunate than valiant, and his Fortunate-ness was the greater by a kind of *Antiperistasis*, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Successor to one, and Predecessor to another. He was of so warlike a Disposition, that his very Sports were warlike; for no Delights were so frequent with him as Jufts and Tournaments. To shew his Devotion, one Example may be sufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellors could move him to make Peace with France, a Tempest from Heaven did it: To which may be added, that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he presently gave the Glory of it to God by publick Thanksgiving. He out-lived the best Wife, and the best Son that ever King had; and to say the Truth, he out-lived the best of himself, for his latter Years were not answerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Edward, besides his being old, and worn with the Labours of War, had other Causes that hastned his End; his Grief for the Loss of so worthy a Son, dead but ten Months before; his Grief for the Loss of all Benefit of his Conquests in France, of all which he had little now left but only Calais. And oppressed thus in Body and Mind, he was drawing his last Breath, when his Concubine Alice Pierce packing away what she could catch, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; and by her Example, other of his Attendants seizing on what they could come by, shift away; and all his Counsellors and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty: Which a poor Priest in his House seeing, he approaches to the King's Bed-side, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask Mercy for his Offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the Voice of this Priest, he shews all Signs of Contrition, and at last Breath he expresseth the Name of Jesus. Thus died this victorious King, at his Mannor of Sheene (now Richmond) the 21st Day of June, in the Year 1377, in the 64th Year of his Age, having reigned 50 Years, 4 Months, and odd Days. His Body was conveyed from Sheene by his four Sons, and other Lords, and solemnly interred within Westminster Church, where he hath his Monument; and where it is said the Sword he used in Battel is yet to be seen, being 8 Pounds in Weight, and 7 Foot in Length.

Men of Note in his Time.

Martial-men were never more plentiful than in this King's Reign: Whether it were that the Stars have an Influence to procure such Men at one Time more than another, or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the King's Example made his Subjects like himself: Or lastly, that his continual Exercise of Arms put them as it were into a Mould of Fortitude. The first of this Kind is worthily Edward the Black Prince, and so worthily the first, that *Longe erit a primo quisque secundus erit*. Next him

Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Prince's Right-hand in all his great Achievements; then William, the valiant Earl of Salisbury; then John Eure, Ancestor to the Lord Eure that now liveth; then follow the Lord John Chandois, Sir James Audelay, Sir Walter de Manny, Sir Robert Knolls; then Sir John Hawkwood, born in Essex, who, tho' not much honoured at home, having been a Taylor, yet in foreign Parts, and especially in Italy, so famous, that his Statue was erected in publick for a Monument to testify his Valour to Posterity. And here must not be forgotten Robert Venile, Knight, a Norfolk Man, who, when the Scots and English were ready to give Battel, a certain stout Champion of great Stature, commonly called Turnbull, coming out of the Scots Army, and challenging any English-man to meet him in a single Combat, this Robert Venile accepteth the Challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the Way a certain black mastiff Dog, which waited on the Champion, he suddenly, with his Sword cut him off at the Loins; and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his Head from off his Shoulders. And as there was this great Plenty of Martial-men, so there was no less Plenty of learned Men; John Baconthorpe, born in Norfolk, a Carmelite-Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; Nicholas Trivet, born also in Norfolk, a Black Frier, who wrote two Histories, and a Book of Annals; Richard Stradley, born in the Marches of Wales, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures; William Herbert, a Welch-man, and a Frier-Minor, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity; Tho. Wallies, a Dominican Frier, and a Writer of many excellent Books; John Eversden, a Monk, of Bury in Suffolk, an Historiographer; Walter Burley, a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in Merton College in Oxford, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural and Moral Philosophy, which remain in Estimation to this Day, and who, for the great Fame of his Learning, had the Honour to be one of the great Instructors of Edward the Black Prince; Roger of Chester, a Monk of that City, and an Historiographer; John Burgh, a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers Homilies; Richard, surnamed from the Place of his Birth, de Bury (Son of Sir Richard Aungervil) Bishop of Durham, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Treasurer of England; Walter Hemingford, an Historiographer; Richard Chichester, a Monk of Westminster, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the Year 449, to the Year 1348; Richard Rolle, alias Hampole, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity; Robert Holcot, a Black Frier, born in Northampton, a learned Schoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity; Thomas Bradwardin, born near Chichester in Suffex, Archbishop of Canterbury, and who wrote against the Pelagians, and, for his Depth of Learning, had the Title of Doctor Profundus; Richard Fitz-Ralph, Arch-bishop of Armagh in Ireland, a learned Writer; William Gryfant, named Anglicus, a notable Physician, whose Son came to be Pope, and was called Urbane the Fifth; John Killingworth, an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician;

A.D. 1377  
Sir John Hawkwood, a Taylor so famous in Italy, that his Statue is there erected.

Robert Venile his Valour.

Walter Burley one of the Black Prince's Schoolmasters.

Robert Holcot a learned School-man.

Thomas Bradwardin, called Doctor Profundus.

Lying on his Death-bed forsaken of all.

1377.



A.D. 1377 *Ranulph Higdon*, a Monk of *Chester*, an Historiographer; *Bartholomew Glanville*, descended of those *Glanvilles* that were sometimes Earls of *Suffolk*; *Simon Islip*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Founder of *Canterbury College* in *Oxford*, who wrote many Treatises; *Matthew Westminster*, who wrote the Book called *Flores Historiarum*; *William Fleet*, an Hermit, who wrote sundry Treatises, exhorting *England* to

*Matthew Westminster* lived in this Time.

Repentance; *Henry Knighton*, who wrote a History entitled, *De gestis Anglorum*; and, lastly, two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed first, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight, who died at *Liege*, in the Year 1372, and *Sir Geoffry Chaucer*, the Homer of our Nation; and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of *Woodstock*, as the Antients did upon the Banks of *Helicon*.

A.D. 1377 *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, *Sir Geoffry Chaucer* lived at this Time.

### The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

In his first Year,  
**H** Ammond Chickwel was Mayor.  
*Henry Darcy*, *John Hawton*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
*John Grantham* was Mayor.  
*Simon Francis*, *Henry Cobmartin*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
*Richard Swanland* was Mayor.  
*Richard Lazer*, *William Gisors*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
*Sir John Pountney* was Mayor.  
*Robert of Ely*, *Thomas Worwode*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
*Sir John Pountney* continued Mayor.  
*John Mocking*, *Andrew Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
*John Preston* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Pike*, *John Husband*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,  
*Sir John Pountney* was Mayor.  
*John Hammond*, *William Hanford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,  
*Reginald at the Conduit* was Mayor.  
*John Kingstone*, *Walter Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,  
*Reginald at the Conduit* continued Mayor.  
*Walter Morden*, *Richard Upton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,  
*Sir John Pountney* was Mayor.  
*John Clark*, *W. Curtes*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,  
*Henry Darcy* was Mayor.  
*Walter Neale*, *Nicholas Crane*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,  
*Henry Darcy* continued Mayor.  
*William de Pomfret*, *Hugh Marbler*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,  
*Andrew Aubery* was Mayor.  
*William Thorney*, *Roger Frosham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,  
*Andrew Aubery* continued Mayor.  
*Adam Lucas*, *Bartholomew Morris*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,  
*John of Oxensford* was Mayor.  
*Richard de Barking*, *John de Rokesly*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,  
*Simon Frances* was Mayor.  
*John Loufskin*, *Richard Killingbury*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,  
*John Hammond* was Mayor.  
*John Steward*, *John Aylesham*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,  
*John Hammond* continued Mayor.  
*Geoffry Witchingham*, *Thomas Leg*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,  
*Richard Lazer* was Mayor.  
*Edmund Hemenball*, *John of Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,  
*Geoffry Witchingham* was Mayor.  
*John Croydon*, *William Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first Year,  
*Thomas Leggy* was Mayor.  
*Adam Brampson*, *Richard Fas*, or *Bas*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second Year,  
*John Loufskin* was Mayor.  
*Henry Bicard*, *Simon Doleby*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third Year,  
*Walter Turk* was Mayor.  
*Adam Bury*, *Ralph of Lynne*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth Year,  
*Richard Killingbury* was Mayor.  
*John Notte*, *William of Worcester*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fifth Year,  
*Andrew Aubery* was Mayor.  
*John Wroth*, *Gilbert of Steninesborpe*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-sixth Year,  
*Adam Francis* was Mayor.  
*John Peace*, *John Stotly*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-seventh Year,  
*Adam Francis* continued Mayor.  
*William Wood*, *John Little*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-eighth Year,  
*Thomas Leggy* was Mayor.  
*William Nottingham*, *Roger Smelt*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-ninth Year,  
*Simon Francis* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Foster*, *Thomas Brandon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth Year,  
*Henry Piccard* was Mayor.  
*Richard Nottingham*, *Thomas Dolsel*, Sheriffs.



A.D. 1377

In his thirty-first Year,

Sir John Stody was Mayor.  
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Frothing, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-second Year,

John Loufkin was Mayor.  
John Barnes, John Buris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-third Year,

Simon Doulfey was Mayor.  
Simon of Benington, John of Chichester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fourth Year,

John Wroth was Mayor.  
John Dennis, Walter Berny, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fifth Year,

John Peche was Mayor.  
William Holbech, James Tame, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-sixth Year,

Stephen Candish was Mayor.  
John of St. Albans, James Andrew, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-seventh Year,

John Not was Mayor.  
Richard of Croyden, John Hiltoft, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-eighth Year,

Adam of Bury was Mayor.  
John de Metford, Simon de Morden, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-ninth Year,

John Loufkin was Mayor.  
John Bukilsworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth Year,

John Loufkin continued Mayor.  
John Ward, Thomas of Lee, Sheriffs.

In his forty-first Year,

James Andrew was Mayor.  
John Tarngold, William Dickman, Sheriffs.

In his forty-second Year,

Simon Mordan was Mayor.  
Robert Girdeler, Adam Wimondham, Sheriffs.

In his forty-third Year,

John Chichester was Mayor.  
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his forty-fourth Year,

John Barns was Mayor.  
William Walworth, Robert Gayton, Sheriffs.

In his forty-fifth Year,

John Barns continued Mayor.  
Adam Staple, Robert Hatfield, Sheriffs.

In his forty-sixth Year,

John Piel was Mayor.  
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, Sheriffs.

In his forty-seventh Year,

Adam of Bury was Mayor.  
John Aubery, John Fished, Sheriffs.

In his forty-eighth Year,

William Walworth was Mayor.  
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his forty-ninth Year,

John Ward was Mayor.  
John Hadley, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth Year,

Adam Staple was Mayor.  
John Northampton, Robert Laund, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1377

THE



# T H E L I F E and R E I G N of King R I C H A R D II.

A.D. 1377

K. Richard  
the Second  
crowned.

Claims of  
Office at his  
Coronation.

**R**ICHARD called of Bourdeaux, because born there, the only Son of Edward the Black Prince, was by his Grandfather in his Life-time declared to be his Heir and lawful Successor; and accordingly after his Death was crowned King of England at Westminster, the sixteenth Day of July, in the Year 1377, by Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury. And for the more Solemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls; Thomas of Woodstock, King Edward the Third's youngest Son, was created Earl of Buckingham and Northampton; Thomas Mowbray, younger Brother of John Lord Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham; Gifford Angoulesme, a Gascon, was made Earl of Huntingdon; and Henry Percy, Son of Henry Lord Percy, was created Earl of Northumberland. At the Time of the Coronation, the Duke of Lancaster, by the Name of John King of Castile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaster, put in his Claim as Earl of Leicester, to have the Place of Earl-Marshal of England; as Duke of Lancaster, to carry the Sword called Curtana; as Earl of Lincoln, to be Carver that Day: All which to be executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy; which, with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewise, divers others made their Claims: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to pour out Water for the King to wash: John Wiltshire, Citizen of London, by Reason of a Moiety of the Mannor of Heydon, holden in Sergeantry, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to Meat; Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to bear the third Sword before the King; and also to exercise the Office of Pantler: Sir John Argentine, by Reason of his Mannor of Wimondey in the County of Hertford, to serve the King at his Cup: William Lord Furnival for his Mannor of Farnham, to support the King's right Arm when he held the Royal Sceptre; Anne, late Wife of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, for his Mannor of Asbele in Norfolk, to have the Office of Naperer; which she was admitted to do by her Deputy, Sir Thomas Blunt; Richard Earl of Arundel, for his Mannor of B. in Kent, was admitted to be chief Butler; the Lord Mayor of London, to attend in his own Person as chief Cup-waiter; Sir John Dimmock for his Mannor of Strivelsby, and Sir Baldwin Freville, for his Castle of Tamworth, in the County of Warwick, contended for

the Office of being the King's Champion, but adjudged to Dimmock; William de Latimer, and John, the Son and Heir of John Mowbray of Axholme, jointly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner, but adjudged to Latimer; Richard Lion, as Tenant of the Mannor of L. held by the Service of making Wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted; the Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the King's Canopy, upon four Staves of Silver, over the King's Head; and also to sit at Meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the King's Right-hand; John Fitz-John, by Reason of his Mannor of S. in Norfolk, was admitted to be chief Larderer: Richard Herring for the Mannor of C. in the County of Surrey, claimed to be Usher of the King's Chamber; but because that Claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to pursue his Right some other Time. The Coronation it self was performed with great Solemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbishop blessed the King; which done, he tore off his Garments, and stripped him into his Shift; then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the Joints of his Arms, with the sacred Oil; and, after certain Prayers, he then clad him first with the Coat of St. Edward, and after with his Mantle: After which the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, saying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this he put upon him an upper Vesture, called a Pall, saying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean Time, while the Archbishop blessed the Crown, he to whose Office it pertained, put Spurs on his Heels; after the Crown was blessed, the Archbishop set it on his Head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*: Then he delivered him a Ring, saying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the Lord Furnival, by Virtue of his Office, offering him a red Glove, which the Archbishop blessed, and putting it on his Hand, delivered him a Sceptre, saying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: And after that, into his other Hand, delivered him a Rod, on the Top whereof stood a Dove, saying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*, and then blessed the King, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*; which done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his Seat; and so ended the Solemnity.

The tender Years of the King, being but eleven Years of Age, required a Protector: But being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that

Autho-

A.D. 1377

The Manner  
of his Coro-  
nation.



A.D. 1377 Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, than to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon John Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, the Kings Uncles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joined in Commission to manage the State: And Guichard de Angoulesme appointed to be his Schoolmaster. And now the King's Minority made foreign Princes conceive, that this would be a Time of Advantage for any that had Quarrel to England, which the French and Scots took presently hold of. For the French came now, and burnt the Town of Rye; and soon after, entering the Isle of Wight, burnt divers Towns there; and tho' they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir Hugh Tyrrel Captain there, yet they constrained the Men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks to spare the Residue of their Houses and Goods: And departing thence, they set on Land where they saw Advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the Shore, as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimouth, and then sailing towards Dover, they burnt Hastings, assaulted Winchelsey: But being valiantly defended by the Abbot of Battel, were forced to retire. After this, they landed not far from the Abby of Lewis, at a Place called Rottington; where the Prior of Lewis, with Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir John Fallesly, encountering them, were overthrown and taken Prisoners. And no less than the French were the Scots also now busy; for coming one Morning by Stealth, they won the Castle of Berwick: But shortly after, upon Knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham; and all the Scots they found in it, except Alexander Ramsay their Captain, put to the Sword. About Michaelmas a Parliament was held at Westminster, wherein Alice Pierce, the late King's Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her Goods confiscated, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted: But so, as that two Citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for Defence of the Realm. In his Time, Sir Hugh Calverley, Deputy of Calais, burnt six and twenty French Ships in the Haven of Bologne. And at the same Time a great Navy set out, under the Guiding of the Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Britain, the Lord Latimer, Sir Robert Knolls, and others, with a Purpose to intercept the Spanish Fleet, but through Tempest was twice driven back: When in the mean Time, one Mercer, a Scottish Pirate, came to Scarborough, took there divers Ships, and committed many Outrages: And no Order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of London, named John Philpot, at his own Charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own Person encountering them, took the said Mercer, and all his Ships: And returning home, instead of being rewarded for his Service, he was called in Question for presuming to raise a Navy without Advice of the King's Council. But he gave such Reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with Credit, but lives in Reputation for it to this Day. Indeed Reasons of State, tho' they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled; for this were to bring Authority into Contempt, and instead of Errors to bring in Confusion: But yet when Wrongs be offered that are Publick, every particular Person seems to have an Interest in taking Revenge; and though it may be no Manners not to stay the State's Leisure, yet it can be no Offence to do their Work for them.

Many Actions passed at this Time with the French and Scots, some prosperous, and some adverse. The Scots burn Roxborough, this was adverse; but the Earl of Northumberland entering Scotland with ten thousand Men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of March, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: But when the Northern Men would needs make a Road into Scotland, and were encountered by the Scots, and put to Flight, this was adverse. Anon, after Midsummer, the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Buckingham, Warwick, Stafford, and others of the Nobility, with a strong Power took the Sea, and landing in Britain, besieged the Town of St. Malo, but finding strong Opposition, is forced to raise the Siege, and return home: This was adverse. And now again, the Scots by Night entered secretly into the Castle of Berwick, and slew Sir Robert Baynton that was Constable there: This also was adverse. But when the Earl of Northumberland being advertised thereof, came with a Power, assaulted the Castle, and after two Days Defence recovered it again, this was prosperous. William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, the King's Lieutenant in Calais, forageth the Country round about, and furnisheth Calais with Booties of French Cattel. Sir Hugh Calverley, and Sir Thomas Piercy made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers Ships laden with Merchandise, and one Ship of War; Sir John Hurleston, Captain of Cherbourg in France, issuing forth, assaults a Fortress of the French, which was the Store-house of their Provision, and with much Valour takes it: These were prosperous. But when Sir John Clark lying in Garrison in a Castle in Britain, where lay many English Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the French; where though he shewed incredible Valour in the Action, yet the Ships were taken; and himself slain: This was adverse. Also in the third Year of this King's Reign, Sir John Arundel, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Banister, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a Purpose to pass over into Britain: But were so beaten back with Tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumpington, Sir Thomas Dale, and above a Thousand others were all drowned; only Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmham, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the Sumptuousness of those Times; for this Sir John Arundel was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new Suits of Apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tissue all lost at Sea.

This Year also, there being found Inconvenience in having many Governors of the King and Kingdom; it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, should

Three in Commission of the Protectorship.

The French enter England, and take and burn divers Towns.

The Scots also invade the Borders, but with little Success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm. A Subsidy granted, but with Condition.

John Philpot, a Citizen of London, his worthy Act: But ill rewarded.

Actions with the French and Scots, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir John Arundel and a thousand others drowned.

His Sumptuousness of Apparel.

The Earl of Warwick appointed Protector.



A.D. 1380 should himself alone hold the Place of Protector. About this Time Sir John Annesley Knight accused Thomas Katrington Esq; for betraying the Fortrefs of S. Saviour to the French: Which Katrington denying, at the Suit of Annesley, a solemn Combat is permitted to be between them; at which Combat the King and all the great Lords were present. The Esquire Katrington was a Man of a mighty Stature, the Knight, Annesley, a little Man; yet through the Justness of his Cause, after a long Fight, the Knight prevailed, and Katrington the Day after the Combat died. Fabian saith, he was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged for his false Accusation. In the Beginning of the fourth Year of this King, Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, the Kings Uncle, with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into France, to aid the Duke of Britain; but the King of France at that Time dying, the Duke of Britain grew to have Peace with the new King; whereupon the Earl of Buckingham came home again without doing much, but making of Knights, and foraging the Country. In this Time the French and Spanish Gallies did much Mischief on the Coast of England: They burnt Rye, Hastings, and Portsmouth; and at last entring the River of Thames, they came up to Gravesend, where they burnt most Part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties, returned into France.

A Combat between Katrington and Annesley.

The French burn divers Towns in England.

An Insurrection in Kent, and the Cause.

At this Time also, there fell out an Accident of great Disturbance to the Realm; for the Commons rose in divers Parts, beginning at Deptford in Kent: And the Cause of their Rising grew (as was thought) through the rude Behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, who coming into the House of one John Tyler, and demanding Poll-money of his Wife for a Daughter of hers; and she saying, that her Daughter was not of Age to pay, the rude Fellow said he would presently see whether that were so or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her Cloaths; whereat the Mother making an Outcry, her Husband being at Work hard by, and hearing the Noise, came in with his Lathing-staff in his Hand, with which he gave the Collector such a Blow on the Head, that his Brains flew out, and he presently died. Upon this, at the Complaint of Tyler amongst his Neighbours, and withal a factious Clergy-man, one John Ball, taking Occasion hereat to rip up the Ground of this Misgovernment, and telling the People that this Difference of Mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bondmen, was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme,

When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,  
Who was then a Gentleman?

He so incensed them that the Commons in divers Parts drew together; and whether beginning in Kent, or otherwise in Essex, they drew at last into their Faction the Commons of Sussex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King Richard, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called John; which they did for the Envy they bore to John Duke of Lancaster. Thus their Number still encreased, that by that time they were come so far as Black-

They agree to receive no King that should be called John, and why.

beath, they were esteemed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to London, was to send for one Richard Lion, a grave Citizen, who had been Tyler's Master, and his Head they struck off, and carried it upon a Pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's House; which they set on Fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels; and throwing them into the Thames, saying, they were Men of Justice, and would not, like Robbers, enrich themselves with any Man's Goods; and when one of their Fellows was espied to thrust a fair Silver Piece into his Bosom, they took him, and cast both him and the Piece into the Fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Duke's Wine-Cellar, where they staid drinking so long, till the Rafter of the House on Fire fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven Days after, and then perished. From the Savoy they went to the Temple, where they burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, with their Books and Writings, and all they could lay Hands on. Also the House of St. John's by Smithfield they set on Fire, so that it burnt for the Space of seven Days together. After this they came to the Tower, where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that Time six hundred armed Men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter; where they abused the King's Mother, offering to kiss her, in such rude Manner, that she fell into a Swoon: And finding in the Place Simon Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales also Lord Treasurer, they led them to the Tower-hill, and there in most cruel Manner struck off their Heads, as also of divers others. Neither spared they sacred Places: For breaking into the Church of the Augustine Friars, they drew forth thirteen Flemmings, and beheaded them in the open Streets; as also seventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all these Outrages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the Essex Men did, but the Kentish Men continued still with their Captain Wat Tyler: To whom when the King sent Sir John Newton to understand what his Meaning was, Wat Tyler, offended because he came on Horseback, told him it became him to light from his Horse in his Presence; and therewith drew out his Dagger to strike him: The King perceiving his Knight to be in Danger, bade him alight from his Horse; but when this would not pacify him, the Mayor of London, William Walworth, by the King's Appointment, rode to him, and arrested him, and gave him such a Blow on the Head, that he astonished him; and then other of the King's Servants drew their Swords, and thrust him through in divers Parts of his Body, so as he died there in the Place. When the Commons saw this, they cried out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen Years of Age, yet had the Courage to ride unto them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead,

They set up on the Savoy the Duke of Lancaster's House.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the Tower, and abused the King's Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

Wat Tyler's insolent Carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Mayor kills him.



A.D. 1380 dead, he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the Fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Mayor *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a Thousand armed Men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance, got him to be their Leader; who coming into the Fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their Weapons, they cried for Mercy: That it was a wonderful Thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their Words of Insolency were out of their Mouths, when they fell to Words of most servile Submission: And as strange an Alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprised Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the Sight of the Rebels, when suddenly, upon Sight of this Aid, their Fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by Compulsion; and to set upon them thus mingled, might as well be the Death of the innocent as of the guilty. But to pacify them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing Outrages at St. *Alban's*, and cancelling the antient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the Sedition was more general, than that the appeasing it in one Place could be final; for at the same Time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the Number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw*, a lewd Priest: And these fell to destroying the Houses of Lawyers especially; and Sir *John Cavendish*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, they beheaded, and set his Head upon the Pillory in St. *Edmundsbury*. The like Commotion of the Commons was at the same Time also in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Littester* a Dyer: And to countenance their Proceeding the more, they had a Purpose to have brought *William Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*, into their Fellowship; but he, advertised of their Intention, suddenly rose from Supper, and got him away: But many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*, who not enduring their Insolencies, had his Brains dash'd out by a Country Clown who was his Bondman. The rest terrified by this Example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, *John Littester*, who named himself King of the Commons, and counted Preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the Essay of his Meats and Drinks, with kneeling humbly before him as he sat at Meat. And now these Fellows, upon a Consultation, send two choice Men, namely, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons to the King, for their Charter of Manumission and Enfranchising: Who being on their Way at *Ichingham*, not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their Company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their Heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards *Northwalsham* in *Norfolk*,

where the Commons stayed for an Answer from the King; by that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small Number of Archers in his Company, his Number was so encreased, that it came to be a compleat Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Littester* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed: And by this Means the Country was quieted. After this the Mayor of *London* sat in Judgment upon Offenders, where many were found culpable, and lost their Heads; amongst others, *Jack Straw*, *John Kerby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloried that he was the Man that had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, was appointed to sit in Judgment against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry Places put to Death. Amongst others *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary: Of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory, and what Strength of Perswasion there was in Nonsense.

John Sheep St. Mary Priest of York, and now John Ball's of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of Guile in Borough, and stand together in God's Name; and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his Work and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his Fellows, and no moe. John the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the King's Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your Friend from your Foe: Have enough and say ho; and do well and better: Flee Sin, and seek Peace, and hold you therein: And so biddeth John Trewman and all his Fellows.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution. "When we were assembled (said he) upon *Black-beath*, and had sent to the King to come to us, our Purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gentlemen that should be about him: And as for the King, we would have kept him amongst us, to the End the People might more boldly have repaired to us, and when we had gotten Power enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of *Rhodes*; and lastly, we would have killed the King, and all Men of Possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of Churches, only Friars Mendicants we would have spared for Administration of the Sacraments. Then we would have devised Laws according to which the People should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and others in other Countries: And the same Evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed we were determined to set Fire in four Corners of the City, and to have divided the Spoil amongst us: And this was our Purpose, as God may help me now at my last End." For his Service done in this seditious Business, the King knighted the Mayor *Will. Walworth*, and gave him a hundred Pounds a Year in Fee. Also he knighted five Aldermen his Brethren, girding them about the Waist with the Girdle of Knighthood, which

But is set upon by the Bishop of *Norwich*, taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

Letter of Nonsense.

The Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution.

*William Walworth*, the Mayor, how rewarded.

was



A.D. 1380 was the Manner of graduating in those Days :

*The Manner of Knighting at this Time.* But as *Stow* saith, the Manner of Knighting was rather thus; to cause him to put a Basenet on his Head, and then the King with a Sword in both his Hands, to strike him strongly on the Neck. And to do the City itself Honour, the

*A Dagger added to the Arms of the City.*

King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this Time the City bore only the Cross without the Dagger.

And now all Parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of enfranchising the Bondmen of the Realm, and that they should stand in the same Condition they were before. In the Time of this Sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet; who so carried the Matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the Sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three Years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick*, was denied by the Captain, Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Commandment given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any Person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*: But howsoever, this bred such

*A Difference between the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland.* A Spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming Home he laid many Things to the Earl's Charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his Objections; and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great Numbers of Armed Men, and themselves in Armour, to the great

*K. Richard marries the Lady Anne, Sister to the Emperor Wenceslaus.*

Terror of the People; but the King wisely taking the Matter into his own Hands, made them Friends. At which the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperor *Wenceslaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Calais*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to *London*, joined in Marriage to the King, and crowned Queen at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with great Solemnity. After the Marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*, being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver, in Behalf of the Commonwealth, certain Matters concerning the same; the very Day and Hour in which he should have done the Business, as he went up Stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and died, having being merry and well before, to all Mens Judgments. About this Time the Lord *Scroop* was deposed from the Chancellorship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his Hands, kept it a certain Time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased, till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braibroke*, Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellor.

*William Ufford Earl of Suffolk dieth suddenly.*

*The King keeps the Great Seal in his own Hands.*

1383.

*Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the King's Leave, raised an Army, and was gone into *France* in Behalf of Pope *Urban* against the Anti-pope *Clement*; and entering first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns; at last besieged *Ypres*, till by an Army of *French* (greater than was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his Siege;

and then passing divers Places, he came to *Graveling*, from whence he writ to *K. Richard*, that if he ever meant to try Battel with the *French*, now was the Time. The King was at that Time at *Daintry* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at Supper when the Word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got on Horseback and rode in Post with such Speed, that he came to *St. Alban's* about Midnight, where making no Stay, but while he borrowed the Abbot's Gelding, he hastened forth till he came to *Westminster*, as tho' he had meant never to rest till he had given Battel to the *French-men*. But after he had taken a Counsel of his Pillow, his Mind was altered, and he thought it better to employ some other, than to go himself; so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest Man: But he protracted the Time so long in making Preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the Condition of many, to spend so much Time in preparing, that they utterly lose all Opportunity of acting; like to Men that are putting on their Cloaths so long, till it be Time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feast of *St. Michael*, which should be in the Year 1384.

*The King's Haste soon delayed.*

*A Truce is concluded between England and France.*

#### Of his Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them: But having entered *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

About this Time an *Irish* Frier, of the Order of the *Carmelites*, charged the Duke of *Lancaster* with heinous Crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown; shewing the Time, the Place, and other Circumstances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his Answer, so cleared himself, at least gave such Colours of clearing, that the Accuser was committed to the Custody of *John Holland* the King's half Brother, till a Day appointed for further Trial. The Night before which Day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are said to have come to this Frier, and putting a Cord about his Neck, tied the other End about his Privy-members; and after hanging him up from the Ground, laid a Stone upon his Belly, with the Weight whereof his very Back-bone burst asunder; thereby putting him to a most tormenting Death. An Act not more inhuman than unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet made the Accusation more suspicious.

*A Frier accusing the Duke of Lancaster with Treason, is secretly put to a miserable Death.*

At this Time, tho' a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet, but entered and won the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another: For which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier Course; for with the Sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendered into his Hands again. The King upon some new

1385.

*The Scots win Berwick, but are bought out with Money.*



A.D. 1385 new Displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of Lancaster, had a Purpose to have him arrested and arraigned of certain Points of Treason, before Sir Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, tho' he ought to be tried by his Peers: But the Duke having Intimation hereof, got him to his Castle of Pomfret, and stood upon his Guard, till the King's Mother (notwithstanding her Indisposition of Body, by reason of her Corpulency) riding to and fro between them, pacified the King, and made them Friends.

In the ninth Year of K. Richard's Reign, the French King sent the Admiral of France into Scotland, with a thousand Men of Arms, besides Cross-bows and others, to aid the Scots against the English; with which Aid the Scots encouraged, enter the English Borders. Whereof K. Richard advertised, himself with a mighty Army enters Scotland, and coming to Edinburgh, and finding all the People fled, he set Fire on the Houses, burnt the Church of St. Giles, only Holy-rood-house was spared at the Duke of Lancaster's Suit, in Remembrance of the Friendship he had formerly received in that House. The Scots by no means could be drawn to any Battel; but to divert the King's Army, they entered Cumberland, and besieged Carlisle, where, by the Valour of Sir Lewis Clifford, and Sir Thomas Musgrave, they were repelled: And hearing of the King's Army coming towards them, and fearing to be enclosed, they drew back into Scotland, and the King returned into England. But in this mean while, the English of Calais took many Prizes of French Ships at Sea, and many Booties also by Land, at one Time four thousand Sheep, and three hundred Head of great Cattel.

This Year the King called a Parliament at Westminster, where he created two Dukes, one Marquis, and five Earls: Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, the King's Uncle, was created Duke of York: Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, his other Uncle, Duke of Gloucester: Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, was made Marquis of Dublin: Henry of Bolingbroke, Son of John of Gaunt, was created Earl of Derby: Edward Plantagenet, Son to the Duke of York, was made Earl of Rutland: Michael de la Pool, Chancellor of England, was created Earl of Suffolk: And Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, was made Earl-Marshal. Also by Authority of this Parliament, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Son and Heir of Edmund Mortimer and of the Lady Philip, eldest Daughter and Heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son to K. Edward the third, was established Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and shortly after so proclaimed: But going into Ireland to his Lordship of Ulster, was there by the wild Irish slain. This Roger Earl of March had Issue, Edmund, Roger, Anne, Alice, and Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a Nun. The two Sons died without Issue: Anne his eldest Daughter was married to Richard Earl of Cambridge, Son to Edmund of Langley; which Richard had Issue by the said Anne, a Son, called Richard, that was after Duke of York, and Father to K. Edward the fourth: Also a Daughter named Isabel, married to the Lord Bourchier. Also this Year Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, married the Daughter and Heir of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in whose

Right he was afterwards made Duke of Hereford. A.D. 1386

This Year also King Richard holding his Christmas at Eltham, Leo King of Armenia came thither to him, who in Fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the Turks, was come into Christendom to seek for Aid: But his chief Errand into England was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of England and France; but their Spleens were so great against one another, that 'it was not in the Power of his Physick to cure them.

At this Time the Duke of Lancaster, taking with him his Wife, the Lady Constance, and a Daughter he had by her, named Katharine, and two other Daughters which he had by his former Wife, sailed into Spain. He was attended in his Journey with the Lord Lucy, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Basset, Willoughby, Fitz-walter, Poynings, Bradston, and many other Lords and Knights, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men of Arms; whereof a thousand at least were Knights and Esquires. The King at his taking Leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of Spain: And the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Duchefs. He landed first at Brest, and freed that Castle from the French. From thence he sailed, and arrived at the Groin in Spain, where he remained a Month, and then went to Compostella, where he stayed a while: In which Time his Constable Sir John Holland won divers Towns. At Manson, the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster met; where a Marriage was concluded between the said King of Portugal and the Lady Philip, Daughter to the Duke: Which Marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into Portugal honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at Compostella all the Winter. At March the King of Portugal and he entered the Confines of Castile, where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of Dure, entered into the Country Delcampo: But the Spaniards not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to weary them out with Delays, the English not used to such hot Air, fell daily into many Diseases, which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this Action the Lord Fitz-walter, Sir Richard Burley, a Knight of the Garter; the Lord Poining, and Sir Henry Piercy, Cousin-german to the Earl of Northumberland; also the Lord Talbot; and in all twelve great Lords, four-score Knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner Sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of Lancaster and the Duchefs his Wife went into Portugal; and after some Stay there, they sailed to Bayonne, in the Marches of Gascony, where he reited a long Time after. In which mean while there were Offers made for a Marriage to be had between the Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French King, and the Lady Katharine, Daughter to the Duke of Lancaster; which the King of Spain understanding, he began to doubt, lest if that Marriage went forward, it might turn to his Disadvantage; and thereupon by earnest Suit, at length concluded a Peace with the Duke of Lancaster, on this wise, that his eldest Son Henry should marry the Lady Katharine, the

The Duke of Lancaster goes with a great Train into Spain, whom K. Richard commands to be called K. of Spain.

The K. of Portugal marries a Daughter of the Duke of Lancaster.

Many Lords about the Duke die of Sickness.

The K. of Spain's eldest Son marries the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter.

O o Duke

K. Richard with a mighty Army enters Scotland, burns some Towns and returns.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown. His Issue.



A.D. 1386 Duke of *Lancaster's* Daughter, and be entitled Prince of the *Asturias*: And in Consideration of this Marriage, and that all Claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend. It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive Yearly the Sum of ten thousand Marks, during the Lives of him and his Duchefs: And to have in Hand the Sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

At this Time the *French* had a Purpose to invade *England*, with no less a Hope than to make a Conquest; and to that End, they prepared a mighty Navy: So as in the Month of *September* there were numbered about *Sluce, Dam, and Blankerke*, 1287 Ships, besides those which were rigged in *Britain* by the Constable, who had caused an Enclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith enclose their Field, and so lodge at more Surety. But it so fortune that the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Captain of *Calais*, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a Piece of the said Enclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder and other Instruments of War; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with Parcels of the said Enclosure, which *K. Richard* caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey Town*. At last the aforesaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluce*; where after some Stay, they were so distressed for Victuals, that in the End of *November* they were glad to be gone, and return into *France*.

At this Time, in Parliament, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marquis of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Pool*, a Merchant's Son, had lately been before created Earl of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellor of *England*. And now begins King *Richard* to enter (I may say) upon the Confines of his Destiny. His gracing of undeserving Men, and disgracing of Men deserving, if they were not the Causes, they were at least the Occasions of his own Disgracing, and Destruction in the End. He was now come to full Age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of full Age to undo himself; for the Faults of his younger Years might have the Excuse to be but Errors: But the Faults of the Age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no Defence. And to hasten the Pace of his Destiny the faster, the ill Counsel which before was but whispered in his Ear, was now scarce forbore to be given him aloud. It is told him, that he is under Tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controuled, as in former Times he had been; that to be cross'd of his Will by his Subjects, was to be their Subject. It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the Instigation of which Counsel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with the Lords, asking them what Years they thought him to be of? Who answering, that he was somewhat more than one and twenty; well then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your selves at the like Years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembered, that tho' the King may not be controuled, where he can command, yet he may be opposed where he can but demand, as

The King takes the Government upon himself.

now indeed he was: For when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his Wars, he was answered, that he needed no Subsidy from his Subjects, if he would but call in the Debts which the Chancellor owed him: And if he were so tender of him, that he could not find in his Heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: And thereupon charged him with such Crimes, that all his Goods were confiscated, and himself adjudged to die, if the King so pleased: Tho' some write, his Sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks, and a thousand Pounds Yearly beside. Upon this Provocation, the opposite Side seek present Revenge. It is devised, that the Duke of *Gloucester* as Principal, and other Lords that crossed the King's Courses, should be invited to a Supper in *London*, and there be murdered. In the Execution of which Plot, the former Lord Mayor, *Sir Nicholas Brember*, had a special Hand: But the present Mayor, *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the King, would by no Means consent; and thereupon the Plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh Strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with Condition, that it should not be issued, but by Order from the Lords; and the Earl of *Arundel* was appointed to receive it. But before this Time, both Houses had directly agreed, that unless the Chancellor were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons that they should send unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their Minds unto him: But upon Conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Thomas Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, should in the Name of the Parliament go unto him; who coming to the King declared, that by an old Statute the King once a Year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for Reformation of all Corruption and Enormities within the Realm: And further declared, that by an old Ordinance also it was enacted, that if the King should absent himself forty Days, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this, the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our People go about to rise against us; and therefore we think we cannot do better than to ask Aid of our Cousin the King of *France*, and rather submit us to him than to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondered at this Opinion of his Majesty, seeing the *French* King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom, and he might remember what Mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in *K. John's* Time, by such a Course. By these and the like Perswasions the King was induced to come to the Parliament: And soon after *John Fortham*, Bishop of *Durham*, is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer, and in his Place was appointed *John Gilbert*, Bishop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the Order of Preachers: Also *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, is discharged of his Office of Chancellor, and *Thomas Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, by Consent of Parliament, placed in his Room. Also by Order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to govern the Realm.

A.D. 1386

The Chancellor is censured by the Parliament.

A Plot to murder the Duke of Gloucester and others that opposed the King: But stopped by Richard Exton, Mayor.

The Parliament require to have the Chancellor removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty Days, it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor are discharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.



A.D. 1386 have Oversight under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: Of which Thirteen there were three of the new Officers named; as the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford Lord Treasurer, and Nicholas, Abbot of Waltham, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal: The other Ten were, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund of Angely Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Lord Scroop, and John Lord Devereux. But this Participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament it was granted that Robert de Vere, lately before created Duke of Ireland, should have and receive to his own Use 30,000 Marks, which the French Men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Blois; but it was granted upon this Condition, That before the next Easter he should pass over into Ireland, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him; so desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the King's Presence. But tho' the King gave way to this Torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done either against the Lord Chancellor, or against the Duke of Ireland, or against Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, and received them into more Favour than ever he had done before.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, all they had done was presently again undone.

The English Admiral takes 100 Ships, all laden with Rachel Wines.

In his tenth Year, about the Beginning of March, Richard Earl of Arundel, appointed Admiral, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the Earl of Devonshire, and the Bishop of Norwich, went to Sea, with a warlike Power of Men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of Flanders, that was ready to come from Rochel with Wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them, took of them to the Number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with Wines: So as Wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen Shillings four Pence the Tun, and the best and choicest for twenty Shillings. Besides this, they landed in Flanders, where they relieved and fortified Brest, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy Service of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Richard Sturrey, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy than to commend; inasmuch that when the Earl of Nottingham, that had ever been the Play-fellow, and of equal Age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of Ireland with any good Welcome, nor by the King with any good Countenance; and therefore indeed not by the King with any good Countenance, because not by the Duke of Ireland with any good Welcome.

1387.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his lawful Wife, near a-kin to the Duke of Gloucester, and marries a Bohemian Maid.

About this Time the Duke of Ireland sought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady Isabel, one of King Edward the Third's Daughters, and took to Wife one Lancasterona, a Vintner's Daughter of Bohemia, one of the Queen's Maids: At which Indignity the Duke of Gloucester, that was Uncle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great Displeasure; which the Duke of Ireland understanding, studied how

by some Means he might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester out of the Way. Easter was now past, the Time appointed for the Duke of Ireland's going over into Ireland; when the King with shew of seeing him to the Water's side, went with him into Wales: And in his Company Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in those Parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of Ireland with him; and so his Voyage into Ireland was clean forgotten. About the same Time, Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, came to Coventry, where he indicted two thousand Persons. The King and the Queen came to Groby; and thither came by his Commandment the Justices of the Realm, Robert Belknap, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and William Borough, Knights: To whom it was propounded to answer to these Questions following:

Which the Duke of Gloucester offended at, it is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament were against the King's Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was.

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and commission to be made? They answered with one Assent, that they deserved Death, except the King would pardon them.

Questions propounded by the King to the Judges against the Lords: Who all answer as the King would have them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered, they ought to lose their Lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They answered, That in this the King should overrule: And if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his Pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the King's Will, impeach Officers and Justices upon their Offences in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein Edward the Second was indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by Inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgment given in Parliament against Michael de la Pool were erroneous



A.D. 1387 neous and revocable? They answered, It was Erroneous and Revocable: And that if the Judgment were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

*In witness of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals, in the Presence of Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert Archbishop of Dublin, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chester, John Bishop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolk, John Ripon Clerk, and John Blake.*

No Man to be gotten to fight against the Lords.

The King would have no Burgeffes chosen to the Parliament but such as he should name; but this could not be.

The King seeks to apprehend the Duke of Gloucester, and others.

At this Time the Londoners incurred much Obloquy: For having before been pardoned by the King of some Crimes laid to their Charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his Desires; and thereupon being impannelled, they indicted some Lords of many Crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this Time to Nottingham; the chief Cause was to understand what Power of Men they could assure the King of to serve him against the Lords: And further, that whereas he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should use the Matter, that no Knight or Burgeffs should be chosen, but such as the King and his Council should name. To which the Sheriffs made Answer, That it lay not in their Power to assemble any Forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing Knights and Burgeffes, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their antient Liberty, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of Ireland sent into all Parts of the Realm, to raise Men in this Quarrel against the Lords; whereof the Duke of Gloucester being advertised, he came secretly to Conference with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby: Who upon Consultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them; and the King on the other Part, took Advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon sent the Earl of Northumberland, and others, to the Castle of Rygate, to take the Earl of Arundel, who lay there at that Time: But howsoever it fortun'd, they failed of their Purpose. After this he sent others to apprehend him, but he being warned by a Messenger from the Duke of Gloucester, conveyed himself away by Night; and by Morning was come to Haringey Park, where he found the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Warwick, with a great Power of Men about them. The King hearing of this Assembly at Haringey Park, called his Council to hear their Opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of Opinion, that the King should assemble his Friends, and joining them with the Londoners, give them Battel; the chiefest of this Mind was the Archbishop of York. Others thought best, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair Promises, till a fitter Opportunity to suppress them. But the King not yet resolved what Course to take, caused only Order to be taken, that no Citizen of London should sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or Furniture of War, under a great Pain. But for all this, the Lords proceeded in their

Course, and sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1387 the Lord John Lovel, the Lord Cobham, and the Lord John Devereux, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm; and further to declare, that their Assembling was for the Honour and Wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and two or three other about the King, persuaded him to offer Calais to the King of France, to have his Assistance against the Lords. Withal, the King sent to the Mayor of London, requiring to know how many able Men the City could make? To which the Mayor answered, That he thought it could make fifty thousand Men at an Hour's Warning. Well then, said the King, go and prove what will be done. But when the Mayor went about it, he was answered, They would never fight against the King's Friends, and Defenders of the Realm. At the same Time the Earl of Northumberland said to the King, Sir, There is no doubt but these Lords have always been, and still are your true and faithful Subjects, though now distemper'd by certain Persons about you, that seek to oppress them; therefore my Advice is, That you send to them, to come before your Presence in some publick Place: And I verily believe they will shew such Reasons of their Doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earl's Advice; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to Westminster on Sunday then next following: Which upon Oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellor, that no Fraud nor evil Practice should be used against them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the Day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to entrap them at the Meuse; and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the Time appointed. Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their Promise? It was answered, Because he kept not his Promise: There being an Ambush of a thousand armed Men laid to surprize them at the Meuse. The King hearing this was astonished, and swore he knew of no such Thing, and commanded presently the Place should be searched: But it was true, an Ambush was laid; but not at the Meuse, but in a Place about Westminster, where Sir Thomas Trivet, and Sir Nicholas Brember had assembled them. This one Action might have made the King sensible of his Favourites abusing his Authority; but that where Affection makes the Construction, all Things are taken in a good Sense: Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant dormant, to prosecute the King's Ends without the King's Knowledge? Yet the Lords, after this, receiving a safe Conduct from the King, came to Westminster; of whose coming when the King heard, he apparelled himself in his Royal Robes, and with his Sceptre in his Hand, came into the great Hall, before whom the Lords upon their Knees presented themselves, the King bidding them Welcome, and taking each of them by the Hand. Then the Lord

The Lords require to have some about the King delivered to them.

What Power the City could make upon a sudden.

The King requires the Lords to come unto him, but they hearing of an Ambush laid for them forbore.

But by safe Conduct from the King they came, and the King received them in Shew kindly.



A.D. 1387 Lord Chancellor making a Speech, wherein he blamed them for raising of Arms, and requiring to know the Cause, they answered, *They had done it for the Good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King.* Upon this the King himself spake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by strong Hand? *Have not I (saith he) sufficient Men to beat you down? Truly in this Behalf I make no more Account of you, than of the basest Scullion in my Kitchen.* Yet after these great Words he lift up the Duke of Gloucester, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise; and then led them courteously to his Chamber, where they sate and drank together. And finally, it was concluded they should all meet again, as well these Lords, as those they accused, at the next Parliament, which the King promised to call speedily, and each Party to receive there according to Justice, and in the mean Time all Parties to be in the King's Protection. But when the favourite Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, *They neither durst, nor would put themselves to the Hazard of such a Meeting; and therefore the Duke of Ireland, and the rest of that Faction, left the Court, to be out of the Way.* But the King, not enduring their Absence, appointed Thomas Molineux, Constable of the Castle of Chester, to raise an Army, and to safe conduct the Duke of Ireland to him. But they being come as far as Radcoat-Bridge, were encountred by the Earl of Derby; and the Duke of Ireland not daring to join Battel with him, fled, and being to pass a River, cast away his Gantlets and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his Horse the Spur, leap'd into the River, and so escaped. But when these Things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till News

The Duke of Ireland flies into Holland, and after two or three Years died at Lovain.

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The Earl of Derby a Terror both to the Duke of Ireland, and to the King himself.

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The Lords with an Army of 40,000 came to the King at London, and shew their Grievance.

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the King in the Tower. To whom, after humble A.D. 1388 Salutations, they shewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of Ireland, to levy an Army for their Destruction: Likewise the Letters which the French King had written to him, containing a safe Conduct for him to come into France, there to do Acts to his own Dishonour and the Kingdom's.

This done, upon the King's Promise that he would come the next Day to Westminster to treat further of these Matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of Nottingham and Derby, at the King's Instance, stayed all Night; but before the King went to Bed, his Mind was clean altered for keeping his Promise to meet the Lords the next Day at Westminster; which the Lords understanding, they sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his Promise, they would choose another King that should hearken to the faithful Counsel of his Lords. This touched the King so to the Quick, that the next Morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, *How much it concerned the Good of the Kingdom, that those Traitors so often spoken of, should be removed from the Court.* To which the King, tho' much against his Will, yet at last condescended; and thereupon presently Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, and Thomas Rushoke, Bishop of Chichester, and Confessor to the King, were expelled the Court; who, not willing to come to After-reckonings, fled no Man knew whither.

They threaten to choose a new King.

They expelled also John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, Lord-Treasurer; the Lord Zouch of Haringworth, the Lord Burvel, the Lord Beaumont, Albercy de Vere, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Adderbury, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Lovel, Knights, but constrained to put in Sureties to appear at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court, as the Lady Poynings, the Lady Mouling, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were also arrested and committed to several Prisons, Sir Simon Burley, William Elmham, John Beauchamp, Steward of the King's House, Sir John Salisbury, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir James Bernays, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir Nicholas Brembar, Knights: Also Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, Richard Mitford, the King's Chaplains; Nicholas Sclake, Dean of the King's Chappel, and John Blake, a Lawyer.

Hereupon the King removes, or puts in Prison all those whom the Lords required.

Shortly after the Parliament began (called afterward, the Parliament that wrought Wonders) on the first Day whereof were arrested, as they sate in their Places, all the Justices (but only Sir William Skipwith) as Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir Robert Belknappe, Sir John Cary, Sir John Holt, Sir William Brook, and John Alaston, the King's Sergeant at Law; and were all sent to the Tower, for doing contrary to an Agreement made the last Parliament. Also in the Beginning of this Parliament, Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of England, were openly called to answer Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, Henry Earl of Derby, and Thomas Earl of Nottingham, upon certain Articles of High-Treason; and because none of them appeared, it was ordained by the whole Consent

The Parliament that wrought Wonders. Where all the Judges but one are arrested and sent to the Tower.



A.D. 1388 of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their Lands and Goods seised into the King's Hands (their intailed Lands only excepted) Shortly after the Lord Chief Justice, *Robert Tresilian*, was found in an Apothecary's House in *Westminster*; where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who caused him the same Day to be had to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. On the Morrow after, Sir *Nicholas Brember* was brought to his Answer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Ax which himself had caused to be made for beheading of others. After this, Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, lusty young Men, were drawn and hanged; as also Sir *John Beauchamp*, Lord Steward of the King's House; *John Blake* Esquire: And lastly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley*, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; whose Death the King took more heavily and more heinously than all the rest. Also all the Justices were condemned to die, but by the Queen's Intercession, they were only banished the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiscate, only a small Portion of Money was assigned them for their Sustentation. Finally, in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he should stand unto, and abide by such Rule and Order as the Lords should take: And this Oath was likewise required also of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

*Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, hanged at *Tyburn* by the Duke of *Gloucester*. Divers others executed.

All the Judges banished the Realm.

The King bound by Oath to stand to such Order as the Lords should take.

In the latter End of the King's eleventh Year, the Earl of *Arundel* was sent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War; with whom went the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Devonshire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the King of *France*; but before they came, the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and so needing not their Aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a Year of doing nothing, unless we reckon some petty Inroads of the *Scots*, and that Sir *Thomas Trivet* died with a Fall off his Horse; and that Sir *John Holland*, the King's Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntingdon*; and that there was Contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of *Gloucester*.

1389. A Truce for three Years between England, France, and Scotland.

*William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, made Lord Chancellor.

In his twelfth Year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Calais* and *Boloigne*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: And after long debating, a Truce was at last concluded, to begin at *Midsummer* next, and to last three Years. But now the King, to shew his plenary Authority of being at full Age, removed the Archbishop of *York* from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his Place *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*: Also he removed the Bishop of *Hereford* from being Treasurer, and put another in his Place: The Earl of *Arundel* likewise, unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed, and the Admiralty of the Sea was removed, and the Earl of *Huntingdon* put in his Room.

About this Time the Lord *John Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practising to learn to Just,

was stricken about the privy Parts by a Knight A.D. 1389 called Sir *John St. John*; of which Hurt he soon after died: In whose Family it is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever saw his Father (the Father being always dead before the Son was born) the Original of this Family was from *Hastings* the Dane, who in the Reign of K. *Alured*, long before the Conquest, about the Year 890, came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howsoever, in this *John Hastings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Hastings*; for this Man dying without Issue, his Inheritances were dispersed to divers Persons: The Honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis* at Court, by the King's Gift: The Baronies of *Hastings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthen*; the Barony of *Abergavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A strange Accident in the Family of the *Hastings*, Earls of *Pembroke*, and the Original of their Family.

About this Time *John Duke of Lancaster* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, receiving at the King's Hands the Rod and the Cap, as Investitures of that Duchy: Also the Duke of *York's* Son and Heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth Year Royal Jufts were proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of St. *Michael*; which being published, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almain*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many Strangers came hither: Amongst others *Valeran* Earl of St. *Pol*, that had married K. *Richard's* Sister, and *William* the young Earl of *Ostervant*, Son to *Albert de Baviere*, Earl of *Holland* and *Heynalt*. At the Day appointed, there issued forth of the *Tower*, about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, sixty Courfers apparelled for the Jufts; and upon every one an Esquire of Honour, riding a soft Pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour (*Froissard* saith threescore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold. These Knights being on the King's Part, had their Armour and Apparel garnished with White Harts, and Crowns of Gold about their Necks; and so they came riding through the Streets of *London* unto *Smithfield*. The Just lasted divers Days, *Fabian* saith, four and twenty: All which Time the King and Queen lay at the Bishop's Palace by St. *Paul's* Church, and kept open House to all Comers.

1390. A Royal Just held in *Smithfield*, and the Solemnity of it.

In his fifteenth Year the Duke of *Lancaster* went into *France*, having in his Train a thousand Horse, and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms: But after long Debate, a Truce was concluded for a Year.

1392.

About this Time the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thousand Pounds; which they refused to do, and not only so, but they abused an *Italian* Merchant for offering to lend it. This moved the King to some Indignation: To which was added the Complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens against the Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury*, Lord Treasurer; for that where one of the Bishop's Servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a Horse-loaf out of a Baker's Basket as he passed in the Streets, and ran with it into his Lord's House. The Citizens thereupon assaulted the House, and would not be quieted, till the Mayor and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeased them. Upon Complaint hereof,

The King displeased with the City of *London*, and why pacified.



A.D. 1392 hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor, the Mayor and Aldermen, and divers other substantial Citizens are arrested. The Mayor is committed to the Castle of Windsor, and the other to other Castles; the Liberties of the City are seized into the King's Hands, and the Authority of the Mayor utterly ceased, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first Sir Edmund Derligrug, and afterward Sir Baldwin Raddington; till at length, by the special Suit of the Duke of Gloucester, the King was contented to come to London, to so great Joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on Horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich Gifts; yet all gave not Satisfaction, to have their Liberties restored, till they afterwards paid ten thousand Pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion. It may be Fortune enough to us, if by any Means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his Paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not to be torn in Pieces.

1393. In his sixteenth Year, the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester are once again sent into France, to treat of a Peace: But when they could not agree with the French Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four Years; tho' perhaps a further Agreement had then been made, but that the King of France fell newly again into his old Fit of Frensy, which called away the French Commissioners from further Treaty.

1395. In his eighteenth Year a Proclamation was set forth, That all Irish-men should avoid this Realm, and return home. The Occasion was, because so many Irish were come over, that Ireland in a Manner was left unpeopled; insomuch, that where K. Edward the Third had received from thence Yearly the Sum of thirty thousand Pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon, at Michaelmas, K. Richard went himself into Ireland, attended with the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Nottingham and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Percy, Lord Steward, and divers other of the English Nobility; to whom came in the great O'neal, King of Meath, Brian of Thomond, King of Thomond, Arthur Macmur, King of Leymster, and Conbur, King of Chewency and Darpe; and there King Richard stayed all that Winter, and after Christmas called a Parliament: At which Time also the Duke of York, Lord Warden of England, in the King's Name called a Parliament at Westminster; to the which was sent forth of Ireland the Duke of Gloucester, that he might declare to the Commons the King's great Occasions for Supply of Money; whose Words so far prevailed, that a whole Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity.

1397. In his twentieth Year was a famous Interview between the two Kings of England and France; where was set up for King Richard a rich Pavilion, a little beyond Guisnes, within the English Pale; and another the like for the French King, on this Side Arge. The Distance betwixt the two Tents was beset on either Side with Knights armed with their Swords in their Hands, four hundred English on one Side, and four hun-

dred French on the other. The two Kings before A.D. 1397 their Meeting took a solemn Oath for Assurance of their faithful and true Meaning, to observe the sacred Laws of Amity one toward another in this Interview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same Place where they met, there should be builded, at both their Costs, a Chappel for a perpetual Memory, which should be called the Chappel of our Lady of Peace. On Simon and Jude's Day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the French King brought his Daughter Isabel, and delivered her to K. Richard, who shortly after at Calais married her; and upon the seventeenth of January following she was crowned Queen at Westminster. A Match of great Honour, but of little Conveniency, and less Profit; for the Lady being but eight Years of Age, there could be no Hope of Issue for a long Time, which was K. Richard's greatest Want; and as little Supply of his Wants otherwise, her Portion perhaps scarce paying the Charges of his Journey to fetch her, which cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

The Duke of Lancaster, in the thirteenth Year of King Richard's Reign, had been created Duke of Aquitain; but when the Gascoigners would not receive him, shewing Reasons why that Dukedom ought not to be separated from the Crown of England, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Demesne of the Crown.

At this Time, in a Parliament, the Duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated the Issue he had by Katharine Swinford, before he married her; of whom Thomas Beaufort was created Earl of Somerset.

This Year also, the King receiving the Money back which had been lent to the Duke of Britain upon Brest, delivered up the Town unto him: And thereupon the English Soldiers that were there in Garrison were all discharged and sent home; who, at a Feast which the King kept at Westminster, coming in Companies together into the Hall, as soon as the King had dined, and was entering into his Chamber, the Duke of Gloucester asked him, if he did mark those Men that stood in such Troops in the Hall? Yes, marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Soldiers who by your rendring up of Brest have been sent home, and now must either starve or steal; and therewithal, very unadvisedly in Words, taxed the King with Unadvisedness of his Deed. To whom the King, in great Anger, replied, Why, Uncle, Do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to sell my Land? By St. John Baptist, No: But could I refuse to render the Town, when Tender was made me of the Money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of Gloucester's either Weakness, if he knew not that Brest was but only a Mortgage, or Injustice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, tho' the Money were tendred, to have kept it still; but such is the Course of many, to take Part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their Ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly ought

K. Richard marries Isabel, the King of France's Daughter, being but eight Years of Age.

The Duke of Lancaster's Issue by Katharine Swinford, legitimated by Parliament.

The Duke of Gloucester with unadvised Words moves the King to Anger.

The Liberties of the City are seized, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

All Irish-men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

K. Richard goes into Ireland.

A famous Interview between the two Kings of England and France, and the Manner of it.



A.D. 1397 ought to be their chiefeſt End. However it was, the multiplying of Words about this Matter, kindled in the King ſuch Diſpleaſure againſt the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched but by his Blood. And firſt he complained to his other two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, of his undutiſul Behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall ſome unadviſed Words, but they knew his Heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might preſs upon them to answer for their Brother's Faithfulneſs, they retired from Court; which gave the Duke's Enemies Time to incenſe the King farther againſt him.

The Duke of Glouceſter and other Lords conſpire to ſeiſe upon K. Richard, but are diſcovered.

It happened that the Duke of Glouceſter had with him one Day at his Houſe, the Abbot of *St. Albans*, that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Weſtminſter*; and after Dinner falling in Talk with them, amongſt other Communications, the Duke required the Prior to tell Truth, whether he had any Viſion the Night before? To which the Prior was loth at firſt to make a direct Answer; but at laſt being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confeſſed that he had a Viſion indeed, which was, that the Realm of *England* ſhould be deſtroyed through the Miſgovernance of King *Richard*. By the Virgin *Mary* (ſaith the Abbot) I had the very ſame Viſion. Whereupon the Duke preſently diſcloſed to them all the Secrets of his Mind; and by their Devices contrived an Aſſembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at *Arundel* Caſtle that Day Fortnight; at which Time he appointed to be there himſelf, with the Earls of *Derby*, *Arundel*, *Marſhall*, and *Warwick*; alſo the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Albans*, the Prior of *Weſtminſter*, with divers others. And accordingly all theſe met at *Arundel* Caſtle, at the Day appointed; where, receiving firſt the Sacrament, by the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be aſſiſtant each to other, in all ſuch Matters as they ſhould determine, They reſolved to ſeiſe upon K. *Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, and commit them to Priſon; and all the other Lords of the King's Council they determined ſhould be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marſhal, that was Deputy of *Calais*, and had married the Earl of *Arundel*'s Daughter, diſcovered all their Counſel to the King; who thereupon, by a Plot deviſed by his Council, took his Brother, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, with him, and riſing from Supper, rode that Night to the Duke of Glouceſter's Houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Effex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was in Bed; but informed of it, caſt his Cloak about his Shoulders, and came down, bidding the King's Grace, with all Reverence,

The King by a Wile, ſeiſeth upon the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſends him preſently to *Calais*, where ſoon after he loſt his Life.

Welcome. The King courteouſly requeſted him to go and make himſelf ready, for that he muſt needs ride with him a little Way, to confer of ſome Buſineſs. The Duke preſently made him ready and came down; and as ſoon as the King and his Company was gone a little Way from the Houſe, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marſhal arreſted the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was ſent to *Calais*; where, after ſome Time he was diſpatched of his Life, either ſtrangled, or elſe

ſmothered with Pillows, as ſome write. At the A.D. 1397 very ſame Time was the Earl of *Arundel* apprehended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Kent*: The Earl of *Warwick* alſo, when the King had invited him to Dinner, and ſhewed him very good Countenance, was taken and arreſted in the Place: As likewiſe at the ſame Time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Shortly after the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, ſuborning ſuch as ſhould appeal them in Parliament; namely, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marſhal, *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerſet*, *John Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer*, and the Lord *William Scroop*, Lord Chamberlain: And in the mean Time, the King ſent for a Power of *Cheſhire* Men to keep Watch and Ward about his Perſon.

Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

On the 17th of September a Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the King complained as well of many Things done by the Lords in his Minority, as alſo of the hard Dealing which they had uſed towards the Queen, who was three Hours at one Time on her Knees before the Earl of *Arundel*, for one of her Eſquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheleſs had his Head ſmiten from his Shoulders; and all the Answer ſhe could get, was this; *Madam, pray for your ſelf and your Husband, and let this Suit alone.* Thoſe that ſet forth the King's Grievances in this Parliament, were *John Buſby*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Green*. The Cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament was ſhewed, That the King had called it for Reformation of divers Tranſgreſſions againſt the Peace of this Land, by the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and others. Then Sir *John Buſby*, Speaker of the Parliament, made Requeſt on Behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be puniſhed according to their Deſervings; and eſpecially the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who then ſat next the King, whom he accuſed of High-treaſon. When the Archbiſhop began to answer, Sir *John Buſby* beſought the King, That he might not be admitted to answer, leſt by his great Wit and Cunning he might lead Men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Buſby*, in all his Talk, did not attribute to the King's Titles of Honour due and accuſtomed, but ſuch as were fitter for the Ma- jeſty of God than for any Earthly Prince. And when the Archbiſhop was conſtrained to keep Silence, Sir *John Buſby* proceeded; requiring, on the Behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon granted to the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, ſhould be revoked. The King for his Part proteſted that they were drawn from him by Compulſion; and therefore beſought them to deliver their Opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon the Biſhops firſt gave their Sen- tence, that the ſaid Pardons were revocable, and might be called in; but pretending a Scrupuloſity, as if they might not with ſafe Conſciences be preſent where Judgment of Blood ſhould paſs, they appointed a Layman to be their Prolocutor for that Turn. The Temporal Lords likewiſe gave their Sentence, That the Pardons were revocable; only the Judges and

Sir *John Buſby*, Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine Titles to the King.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal give their Opinions one Way, and Judges and Lawyers another.

Lawyers



A.D. 1397 Lawyers were not of this Opinion. But howso-  
 ever the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is hereupon  
 condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed  
 to avoid the Realm within fix Weeks. Also the  
 Earl of *Arundel* is by the Duke of *Lancaster*, who  
 fate that Day as High-Steward, condemned  
 of Treason, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded.  
 There went to see the Execution divers Lords,  
 amongst whom was the Earl of *Nottingham*,  
 that had married his Daughter, and the Earl  
 of *Kent*, that was his Daughter's Son; to  
 whom, at the Place of his Execution he said.  
 Truly it would have befecmed you rather to be  
 absent, than here at this Businels; but the Time  
 will come e'er long, that as many shall marvel  
 at your Misfortune, as they do now at mine.  
 After his Death a Fame went, that his Head  
 was grown to his Body again: Whereupon, the  
 tenth Day after his Burial, his Body by the King's  
 Appointment was taken up, and then found to  
 be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beau-*  
*champ* Earl of *Warwick* was brought forth, and  
 charged with the like Treasons; but by the In-  
 tercession of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and other  
 Lords, after Confession of his Fault, was only  
 confined into the Isle of *Man*. Likewise the  
 Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney* were only  
 banished (or as *Fabian* saith) condemned to per-  
 petual Prison. The Parliament after this was  
 held at *Shrewsbury*; where, for the Love the  
 King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of  
 the Shire of *Chester*, he caused it to be ordain-  
 ed, that from thenceforth it should be called  
 and known by the Name of the Principality of  
*Chester*: And herewith entituled himself Prince  
 of *Chester*. At this Parliament also, called the  
 Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a  
 Ducheis, one Marqueis, and four Earls. The  
 Earl of *Derby* was created Duke of *Hereford*;  
 the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; the  
 Earl of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*; the Earl  
 of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the Earl of *Hun-*  
*tingdon*, Duke of *Exeter*; and the Lady *Marg-*  
*aret Marshal*, Countess of *Norfolk*, was crea-  
 ted Ducheis of *Norfolk*: The Earl of *Somerset*  
 was created Marqueis of *Dorset*; the Lord *Spencer*  
 was made Earl of *Gloucester*; the Lord *Ne-*  
*vill*, Earl of *Westmorland*; the Lord *Scroop*, Earl  
 of *Wiltshire*; and the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Lord  
 Steward of the King's House, was made Earl  
 of *Worcester*; and for the better Maintenance  
 of their Estate, he divided amongst them a great  
 Part of those Lands that belonged to the Duke  
 of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*.  
 Also in this Parliament the Judges gave their  
 Opinions, That when Articles are propounded  
 by the King to be handled in Parliament, if  
 other Articles be handled before those be first  
 determined, that it is Treason in them that do  
 it. And in this Parliament, the King brought  
 it so about, that he obtained the whole Power  
 of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain  
 Persons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Ed-*  
*mund* Duke of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of *Aumerle*,  
*Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*,  
*John* Marqueis of *Dorset*, *Roger* Earl of *March*,  
*John* Earl of *Salisbury*, and divers others, or  
 to any seven or eight of them; and these, by  
 virtue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude  
 upon many Things which concerned generally  
 the Things of the whole Parliament, to the A.D. 1397  
 great Prejudice of the State, and a dangerous  
 Example in Time to come. A general Pardon  
 was also granted for all Offences, to all the  
 King's Subjects, but only to fifty, whose Names  
 he would not exprefs, but reserved them to his  
 own Knowledge, That when any of the No-  
 bility offended him, he might at his Pleasure  
 name him to be one of the Number excepted,  
 and so keep them still within his Danger. And  
 for the more strentkening the Acts of this Par-  
 liament, the King purchased the Pope's Bulls,  
 containing grievous Censures and Curfes to them  
 that should break them. And now the chief  
 of the opposite Faction having lost their Heads,  
 and all Things as well settled as could be desi-  
 red, the King was secure, as thinking him-  
 self safe; and he had indeed been safe, if Time and  
 Fortune were not Actors in Revenge, as well  
 as Men; or rather if a superior Power did not  
 interpose, whose Ways are as secret as himself  
 is invincible.  
 It now fell out (tho' Writers differ what it  
 was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas Mow-*  
*bray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that  
*Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused *Thomas Mow-*  
*bray* Duke of *Norfolk*, for speaking Words found-  
 ing highly to the King's Dishonour; to which  
 the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to answer,  
 charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King,  
 that he lied falsly: Whereupon a Combat was  
 agreed upon between them. The King labour-  
 ed to make them Friends, but not prevailing,  
 he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the  
 Place to be at *Coventry*; where at the Day and  
 Hour appointed, the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted  
 on a white Courser, barded with green and blue  
 Velvet, embroidered sumptuously with Swains  
 and Antilopes of Goldsmiths Work, approached  
 the Lifts: Of whom the Marshal, being the  
 Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was, he an-  
 swered, *I am Henry of Lancaster, Duke of He-*  
*reford, that am come hither to do my Endeavour*  
*against Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, as*  
*a Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and*  
*me*: Then incontinently he swore upon the holy  
 Evangelists, that his Quarrel was true and just;  
 and thereupon required to enter the Lifts, where  
 in a Chair of green Velvet he sat down and re-  
 posed himself. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*,  
 his Horse barded with crimson Velvet, embroi-  
 dered richly with Lions of Silver, and Mulber-  
 ry-trees; and when he had taken his Oath be-  
 fore the Constable, the Duke of *Aumerle*, that  
 his Quarrel was just, he entered the Lifts, and  
 sat him down in his Chair of crimson Velvet,  
 curtained about with white and red Damask.  
 Then the Marshal viewed their Spears, to  
 see that they were of equal Length, and the  
 Heralds proclaimed on the King's behalf, they  
 should mount on Horseback, and address  
 themselves to the Combat: But when they  
 were set forward, and had their Spears in  
 their Rests, the King cast down his Warder,  
 and the Heralds cried, Stay, Stay. Then the  
 King caused their Spears to be taken from  
 them, and deliberated with his Council what  
 was fit to be done in so weighty a Cause. Af-  
 ter two long Hours it was at last concluded,  
 That *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within  
 fifteen



A.D. 1398 fifteen Days depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten Years were expired, upon Pain of Death; and that *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, should likewise avoid the Realm, and never return into *England*, upon the like Pain. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolk* the very same Day twelve Month in which he had taken Order to put the Duke of *Gloucester* to Death at *Calais*, whereof he was then Governor. When these Judgments were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear that the one should never come in Place where the other was. After this the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence went to *Venice*; where after some Time he died with Sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his Leave of the King, had four Years of his Banishment released, and then went to *Calais*, and from thence to *Paris*; where, of the *French King* he was so kindly received, that by his Favour he had obtained in Marriage the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French King*, if King *Richard* by Messengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his Banishment in manner of a Visitation, if he had gone into *Spain*; for there he had two Sisters married, the one to the King of *Portugal*, the other to the King of *Spain*, to whom his coming would have been most welcome: But he chose rather to make his Stay in *France*, as the Place where he might soonest have Intelligence out of *England*; and indeed before a Year came about, he heard of the Death of his Father the Duke of *Lancaster*; and heard withal that King *Richard* had seized into his Hands all the Lands descended upon him, contrary to his Promise.

But the King interposeth and banisheth the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever: The Duke of *Hereford* for six Years.

The Delinquencies of great Men punished only with Banishment, and the Danger of it.

The Duke of *Hereford* is solicited to return into *England*.

It was a Custom in those Days, to punish the Delinquencies of great Men by Banishment out of the Realm, a Custom not more grievous to the Subject than dangerous to the Prince: For by this Course they had Means to work so closely in their Minds of Revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in Danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived: An Example whereof was never more plainly seen than at this Time, in the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Hereford*: For, they in their Banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the Grievances of King *Richard's* Government, fell at last to consult by what Means he might best be removed, seeing there was no Hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the Time of their Consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their Work for them, Solicitations came from many Parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke, heated before by the Archbishop's Instigation, and now set on Fire by this Solicitation, gives Fortune no Leisure to alter her Mind, by delaying the Time; but without further Deliberation prepares to be going: And taking with him the Archbishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Eprington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramston*, Knights, *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt*, Esquires, and about some threescore other Persons, as many as he could readily

get, in three Ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea; where, hovering about the Coast a while, to mark the Countenance of the Shores, he landed at last, about the Beginning of *July*, at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkshire*: Which no sooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son, Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Westmorland*, and great Numbers of the Gentry and common Sort; of whom, tho' some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any Cause of his coming, but made a solemn Protestation, that he came only to take Possession of the Inheritances descended upon him from his Father, which King *Richard* most unjustly, and contrary to his Promise, had seized into his Hands; for this was a Reason had no Objection: The other he reserved till his Power should not need to regard Objections. And indeed no Snow-ball ever gathered Greatness so fast by rolling, as his Forces encreased by marching forward; for by that Time he came to *Berkley*, he had got a mighty Army: And within three Days after, all the King's Castles in those Parts were surrendered to him. The Duke of *York*, left Governor of the Kingdom, used his best Means to raise Forces to resist him; but found few willing to bear Arms against him: Whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Duke's coming was but only to take Possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkley* to him, to have there some Communication about it. At *Berkley* at that Time was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham* and Sir *Walter Burleigh*, Knights, *Lawrence Drew* and *John Golofer*, Esquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forwards towards *Bristol*, where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Bushy*, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Day after arraigned before the Countable and Marshal, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realm, and presently had their Heads smitten off. Sir *John Russel* also was taken there, but he feigning himself to be out of his Wits, escaped for that Time.

1399. He lands with three Ships at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkshire*.  
1399. Many Lords repair to him, and all the King's Castles are surrendered to him.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him, amongst other of the great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaster's* Son *Henry*, he there, for his Towardness in Service, knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great Fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own Absence out of *England* had not given him Advantage. Six Weeks were now passed after the Duke's Arrival in *England*; in all which Time King *Richard* had no Notice of it, by reason the Winds were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile Manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into *England*; and had done it, but that the Duke of *Aumerle*

K. Richard being in *Ireland*, hath no Notice in six Weeks of the Duke's Arrival in *England*.



A.D. 1399 *Aumerle* his principal Counsellor (whether out of a good Meaning, but grounded upon Errors, or out of an ill Meaning, but shadowed with Colours) by all Means persuaded him to stay so long till Things fitting for his Journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard's* ill Luck to hearken to this ill Counsel; but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheeshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six Days at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the Number of forty thousand Men: But the six Days passed, and no News of the King, which made the Soldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisbury's* Persuasion, they were contented to stay for some Days longer; and when the King came not in that Time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went Home. At length, about eighteen Days after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took Shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility, with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, and landed at *Barklowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Ceshire-men*, and was at first in no great Doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Bristol* were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest Part of the Nobility and Commons took Part with him, and especially that his principal Counsellors had lost their Heads at *Bristol*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every Man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The Soldiers besought him to be of good Chear, swearing they would stand with him to the Death: But this encouraged him not at all; so as the next Night he stole from his Army, and with the Duke of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury*, determining there to stay, till he might see the World at some better pass. Here the Earl of *Worcester*, Steward of the King's House, broke his white Staff, and without Delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who understanding that *K. Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristol*, and came back with his Power to *Berkley*, and from thence the next Day came to *Gloucester*, and then to *Ross*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford* and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: On the Sunday following he went to *Lemster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: From thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next Day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many others, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their Service: Thither also came to him the Lord *Scales* and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Gloucester's* Son and Heir (whom *K. Richard* had left in Custody in *Ireland*) with all Speed to come into *England*,

but the Duke of *Gloucester's* Son through Misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, died of the Plague; the Sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his Mother's Death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King, who upon safe Conduct coming to him, declared, *That if it might please his Grace to undertake that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of Lancaster of all Things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his Knees, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful Service.* Yet upon this Conference with the Earl, some say the King required only that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable Allowance, with Assurance of a private quiet Life; and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earl's Oath, that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke; but after four Miles riding, coming to the Place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to *Bedford*. The King had very few of his Friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Ferebye*, and *James d' Artois* a *Gascon*, who still wore a white Heart, the Cognisance of his Master King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet; and finding they did their due Reverence to him on their Knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good Comfort, for he should be assured not to have any Hurt as touching his Person. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first Gate, he there stayed till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth, and sat down in a Place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his Knee; and coming forward, did so the second Time, and the third, till the King took him by the Hand and lift him up, saying, *Dear Cousin, you are welcome.* The Duke humbly thanking him, said, *My Sovereign Lord and King, the Cause of my coming at this present is (your Honour saved) to have Restitution of my Person, my Lands, and Heritage:* Whereto the King answered, *Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your Will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without Exception.* After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drank they mounted on Horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next Day to *Namptwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, then to *Litchfield*, and there rested Sunday: After that they

A.D. 1399  
The Duke of Lancaster offers Conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of Northumberland undertakes upon his Oath should be performed. Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is intrapped in Ambush, and carried to Flint Castle.

The Duke's Reverence to the King in coming to him.

The King coming overrey, and finding the Army disbanded, falls to Despair, and secretly the next Night gets him to Conway Castle.



A.D. 1399 they rode forward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Darventry*, then at *Northampton*, next Day at *Dunstable*, then at *St. Alban's*, and so came to *London*. In all which Journey they suffered not the King to change his Apparel, but made him ride still in one Suit of Raiment; and that but a simple one, tho' he in his Time was exceeding sumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thousand Marks: And in this Sort he was brought the next Day to *Westminster*, and from thence the next Day had to the *Tower*, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the Name of *K. Richard*; in which, many heinous Points of Misgovernment were laid to his Charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles; the chief were these:

But yet is basely carried away and committed to the *Tower*.

Articles delivered to the Parliament against *K. Richard*.

*That he had wastefully spent the Treasure of the Realm.*

*That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel to be put to Death.*

*That he had borrowed great Sums of Money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one Penny ever paid.*

*That he had said, the Laws of the Realm were in his Head and Breast: By reason of which fantastical Opinion he destroyed Noblemen, and impoverished the Commons.*

*That he changed Knights and Burgeffes of the Parliament at his Pleasure.*

*That most tyrannously he said, That the Lives and Goods of all his Subjects were in his Hands, and at his Disposition.*

*That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of Matters concerning the State of the Kingdom, they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to impeach them of high Treason.*

*That by Force and Threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, to condescend to his Way, for the Destruction of divers of the Lords.*

*That he caused his Father's own Brother, the Duke of Gloucester, without Law to be attached and sent to Calais, and there without Reason secretly murdered.*

*That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundel, at his Arraignment, pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.*

*That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire Men to make War upon his Lords, and suffered them to rob and spoil without Prohibition.*

*That though he had made Proclamation, That the Lords were not attached for any Crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their Charge.*

*That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords Partakers to be again intolerably fined, to their utter undoing.*

*That without the Assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.*

He is by Parliament deposed.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly Honour and Princely Government: And thereupon, the King being advised by his own Servants, rather voluntarily to resign the

Crown, than by Compulsion to be forced to it, A.D. 1399 on the *Monday* before the nine and twentieth Day of *September*, in the Year 1339, he made a solemn Resignation before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that Purpose, and an Instrument of his Resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himself, and then subscribed it; and withal made it his Suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his Successor, and King after him; and for a Sign of his Desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his Finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaster*; that never Man who had used a Kingdom with such Violence, gave it over with such Patience, or rather such Willingness, that he seemed rather to affect it, than that he was any way forced to it. This Resignation of King *Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their Assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the Sentence of his Deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

He voluntarily resigns his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

And now it is easy to be observed, what a wonderful Concurrence of Fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against King *Richard*, happened together; whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such Manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the Time when the Duke began his Attempt, it had not been possible for him to compass his Design as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by Misfortune of Weather been kept six Weeks from hearing of the Duke's Arrival, he had not given him so large a Time for raising of Forces, and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Duke's Arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many Days longer than he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a Stop to the Duke's Proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own Courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the Hazard of a Battel, as his Soldiers themselves would have had him to do, he could not choose but have made a better End of his Business than now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the Blows of Fortune; or to say better, no resisting the Decree of Heaven: But seeing that Decree is an *Abyssus* to us, and may perhaps but be conditional, we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our utmost Endeavours to divert it. Thus it may truly be said, *K. Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason than by the Treason of any other.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his second Year, in a Parliament held at *Gloucester*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants upon every Sack of Wool a Mark for this present Year; and for every Pound's worth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, six Pence of the Buyer. In his third Year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidy was granted to be levied of the great Men



A.D. 1399  
A Subsidy  
granted  
where the  
Commons  
are spared.

Men of the Realm, to the End the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks, every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Mitre as much; every Monk three Shillings four Pence: Also every Justice, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson and Vicar, were charged after a certain Rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this Year, in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this Condition, that from henceforth, which was in *March*, 1380, till the Feast of *St. Michael*, which should be in the Year 1381, there should be no more Parliaments; but yet was not observed. In his fourth Year in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kind of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six Shillings eight Pence, and as much of every Nun; and of every Man or Woman, married or not married, being sixteen Years of Age (Beggars only excepted) four Pence. In his fifth Year a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a *Maletot*, to endure for four Years. In his seventh Year was granted him one Moiety of a Fifteenth of the Laity, and shortly after a Moiety of the Tenth, by the Clergy. In his ninth Year, Half of a Tenth, and Half a Fifteenth, by the Laity. In his eleventh Year, there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth Year, at a Parliament was granted of every Sack of Wool, forty Shillings; whereof ten Shillings to be applied presently to the King's Use; the other thirty to remain in the Hands of Treasurers, towards the Charges of Wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted of six Pence in the Pound; whereof four Pence to the Use last mentioned, the other two Pence to be at the King's Pleasure. In his fifteenth Year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the Charges of *John Duke of Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth Year, a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own Journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth Year, the Clergy granted him a Tenth to be paid that Year. In his one and twentieth Year, upon Pretence of having aided the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Country to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth Year, a Fifteenth and a Half was granted; and for the Customs of Wools, fifty Shillings upon every Sack, of *English-men* born, and three Pounds of Strangers.

#### Of Laws and Ordinances in his Time.

IN his second Year, in a Parliament at *Gloucester*, it was enacted, that Merchants, Strangers, might buy and sell in Gros, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third Year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was ordained, that the Privileges and Immunities of the Abby of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with

this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary A.D. 1399 with Purpose to defraud their Creditors, that their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth Year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Mayor of *London*, upon Suggestion that the Fishmongers used great Deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it enacted, That from henceforth none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any Provision or Victuals, should be admitted Mayor of the City: But in the Parliament next following were restored to their Liberty again, saving that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all Transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Mayor's Court. In his eleventh Year, *K. Richard* created *John Beauchamp of Holt*, Baron of *Kidderminster*, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: For before this Time, Barons were always made by calling them to Parliaments by the King's Writ.

#### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the second Year of this King's Reign there came Messengers from the new elected Pope *Urban*, to require the King's Aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: Which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his Aid for them, but through Persuasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban's* Request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth Year, *John Wickliffe* set forth his Opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such Sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth Year, *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich*, received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all Privileges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much Opposition agreed, that it should go forward: And thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much Money from such as would contribute to the Expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in Person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and divers others. The Money raised by Contribution came to 20,000 Franks, and the Army to 3000 Horse and 15,000 Foot; with which Forces the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*: But at last, encountered by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth Year of this King's Reign, an Act was made, that none should pass the Seas to purchase Promotions or Provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this Year, *Thomas*, the late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of Miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this Time also the *Wickliffists* marvellously encreased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest Opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth Year, Proclamation was made that

Barons first  
made by Let-  
ters Patents.

Divers Lords  
and others  
undertake  
the Cross.

*Thomas*, late  
Earl of *Lan-  
caster*, Cano-  
nized for a  
Saint.

Blank Char-  
ters com-  
manded to be  
sealed by  
Gentlemen,  
that he might  
charge them  
afterward at  
his Pleasure.



A.D. 1399 all beneficed Men abiding in the Court of Rome, should return into England by a certain Day, under Pain of forfeiting their Benefices; and all other not beneficed, under a certain Pain likewise. Also about this Time, a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiastical Person should possess Mannors, Houses, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatsoever, at the Hands of the Feoffee, without the King's Licence, and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth Year, the *Wickliffists* were persecuted, and Excommunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this Schism of the two Popes, the French Clergy wrote in Behalf of Clement their Pope, and sent it into England; the Clergy of England, on the contrary, wrote in Behalf of Pope Urban, and so nothing was agreed.

The Wickliffists persecuted.

#### Works of Piety in his Time.

IN the twentieth Year of this King's Reign, William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, builded Trinity-Hall in Cambridge. In the third Year of his Reign, John Philpot, Mayor of London, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth Yearly, to thirteen poor People, to every of them, seven Pence the Week for ever; and as any of those thirteen Persons dieth, the Mayor appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth Year of his Reign, King Richard caused the great Hall at Westminster to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his Time Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, slain by the Rebels, upon Tower-Hill, built the West Gate of Canterbury, and from thence to the North Gate, commonly called the long Wall. Thomas Fitz-Alan, or Arundel, being Bishop of Ely, built the great Gate-House of Ely-House in Holborn; and being after Bishop of Canterbury, he built a fair Spire Steeple, at the West End of his Church there, called to this Day, Arundel-Steeple, and bestowed a tunable Ring of five Bells upon the same.

Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, by whom founded.

Arundel Steeple in Canterbury, by whom built.

#### Of Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his third Year, so great a Mortality afflicted the North Parts of England, that the Country became almost desolate. In his sixth Year, on the 24th Day of May, there happened so great an Earthquake, or (as some write) a Water-shake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one against the other. In July, in the Year 1389, whilst the King was at Sheene, there swarmed in his Court such Multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another, that in the End they were swept away with Brooms by Heaps, and Bushels were filled with them. In his twelfth Year, in March, first there were terrible Winds; afterwards followed a great Mortality, and after that a great Dearth, that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for thirteen Pence, which was then thought a great Price; for the Years before it was sold for Six-pence, and Wool was sold for two Shilling a Stone. In his fourteenth Year, on Christmas Day, a Dolphin was taken at London-Bridge, being ten Foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth Year, an Exhalation, in Likeness of Fire, ap-

The Price of Wheat and Wool in a Dearth. A Dolphin taken at London-Bridge. A strange Exhalation.

peared in the Night in many Places of England; A.D. 1399 which, when a Man went alone, went as he went, and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrel, sometimes like a Timber-log; but when many went together, it appeared to be afar off. Also in a Parliament Time there was a certain Image of Wax made by Necromancy (as was said) which at an Hour appointed, uttered these Words:

*The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lifted up aloft; the Feet shall be lifted up above the Head;* and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the Marvellous Parliament, not long before the Parliament that wrought Wonders. In his one and thirtieth Year, a River, not far from Bedford, suddenly ceased its Course, so as the Channel remained dry by the Space of three Miles; which was adjudged to signify the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth Year, almost through all England, all Bay-Trees withered, and afterwards grew green again, which was supposed to import some strange Event. About the Year 1380, the making of Guns was found by a German, which may well be reckoned amongst Casualties, seeing it was found by Casualty; for this German having beaten Brimstone and Salt-petre in a Mortar to Powder, and covered it with a Stone, it happened that as he struck Fire, a Spark chanced to fall into the Powder, which caused such a Flame out of the Mortar, that it raised the Stone a great height; which, after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempering the Powder with Coal beaten to Dust, finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the Venetians against the Inhabitants of Genoa.

An Image of Wax, made by Necromancy, spake certain Words.

All Bay-Trees withered, and after grew green again. Guns found about this Time by a German.

#### Of his Wives.

KING Richard in his Time had two Wives, the first was Anne, Daughter to the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperor Wenceslaus, who lived his Wife ten Years, and died without Issue at Sheene in Surrey, in the Year 1392; whose Death King Richard took so heavily, that he caused the Buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced; as tho' to revenge himself upon the Place, could ease his Mind, and mitigate his Sorrow. His second Wife was Isabel, Daughter of Charles the Sixth, King of France; she was married to him at eight Years of Age, and therefore never cohabited. After King Richard's Death she was sent home, and married to Charles, Son and Heir to the Duke of Orleans.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was the goodliest Personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of Stature, of streight and strong Limbs, fair and amiable of Countenance, and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautiful Mother. Concerning his Conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education than in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good Inclinations, which would have grown to be Abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. He was of a credulous Dispo-



A.D. 1399 Disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easy to be abused. His greatest Transgression was, that he went with his Friends *ultra aras*, where he should have gone but *usque ad aras*; his greatest Imbecility, that he could not distinguish between a Flatterer and a Friend. He seemed to have in him both a French Nature and an English; violent at the first Apprehension, calm upon Deliberation. He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, than when he was deposed as unworthy to govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him as a private quiet Life; which, if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

Starved. KING Richard, after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of Leeds in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret; where the common Fame is, That he was served with costly Meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so died of forced Famine. But Thomas Walsingham referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himself, through Grief of his Misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King Richard's Doings, saith, That King Henry sitting one Day at his Table, said, sighing, Have I no faithful Friend that will deliver me of him who will be my Death? This Speech was specially noted by one Sir Piers Exton, who presently, with eight Persons in his Company, went to Pomfret, commanding the Esquire that took the Assay before King Richard, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King Richard sitting down to Dinner, was served without Assay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his Duty; Sir, said he, I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers Exton, who is newly come from King Henry. When King Richard heard that Word, he took the Carving Knife in his Hand, and struck the Esquire on the Head, saying, The Devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee together: And with that Word Sir Piers entered the Chamber with eight armed Men, every of them having a Bill in his Hand. King Richard perceiving this, put the Table from him, and stepping to the foremost Man, wrung the Bill out of his Hands, and slew four of those that thus came to assail him; but in Conclusion was felled with a Stroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir Piers gave him upon the Head, with which Blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a Man upon his bare Word, and without shewing any Warrant, should be admitted to do such a Fact. Sir Piers having thus slain him, wept bitterly: A poor Amends for so heinous a Trepass. King Richard thus dead, his Body was embalmed, and covered with Lead, all save the Face, and then brought to London, where

Murdered.

it lay at St. Paul's three Days together, that all Men A.D. 1399 might behold it, to see he was dead. The Corpse was after had to Langley in Buckinghamshire, and there buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers: But afterward, by King Henry the Fifth, it was removed to Westminster, and there honourably entombed with Queen Anne, his Wife, and that beautiful Picture of a King, sitting crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper End of the Choir in St. Peter's at Westminster, is of him: Although the Scots untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and virtuous Life in Scotland, and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friars at Sterling. He lived three and thirty Years, reigned two and twenty and three Months.

Men of Note in his Time.

MEN of Valour in his Time were so many, that to reckon them all would be a hard Task, and to leave out any would be an Injury; yet to give an Instance in one, we may take John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose Valour was no less seen abroad than at home, in France, in Germany, in Spain; in all which Places he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned Men we may name these: William Thorne, an Augustin Frier of Canterbury, an Historiographer; Adam Merimouth, a Canon of St. Paul's Church in London, who wrote two Historical Treatises, one entituled *Chronicon 40 Annorum*; another *Chronicon 60 Annorum*; William Packington, sometimes Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Historiographer; William Badby, a Carmelite Frier, Bishop of Worcester, and Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster; John Bourg, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; William Sclade, a Monk, of Buckfast Abby in Devonshire; John Thorisbury, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England, and a Cardinal; William Berton, Chancellor of Oxford, an Adversary to Wickliffe; Philip Pepinton, Abbot of Leicester, a Defender of Wickliffe; Walter Brit, a Scholar of Wickliffe's, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments; John Sharp, a great Adversary to Wickliffe, who wrote many Treatises; Peter Patesbul, a great Favourer of Wickliffe; Marcel Ingelno, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of Heydelberg; Richard Withee, a learned Priest, and an earnest Follower of Wickliffe; John Swasbam, Bishop of Bangor, a great Adversary to the Wickliffists; Adam Eston, a great Linguist, and a Cardinal; John Trewise, a Cornish-man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible; Bartholomew, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; John Moon, an English-man, but a Student in Paris, who compiled in the French Tongue, \*The Romant of the Rose; translated into English by Geoffry Chaucer, and divers others.

\*The Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geoffry Chaucer, by whom composed.



## The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

A.D. 1377

In his first Year,  
**S**IR Nicholas Brembar was Mayor.  
 Nicholas Twiford, Andrew Pikeman, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
 Sir John Philpot was Mayor.  
 John Boseham, Thomas Cornwallis, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
 John Hadley was Mayor.  
 John Helisdon, William Barrat, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
 William Walworth was Mayor.  
 Walter Doget, William Knightbode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
 John Northampton was Mayor.  
 John Rote, John Hynde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
 John Northampton continued Mayor.  
 Adam Bamme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,  
 Sir Nicolas Brembar was Mayor.  
 Simon Winchcombe, John More, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,  
 Sir Nicolas Brembar continued Mayor.  
 Nicolas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,  
 Sir Nicolas Brembar continued Mayor.  
 John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,  
 Nicolas Exton was Mayor.  
 William Stondon, William More, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,  
 Nicolas Exton continued Mayor.  
 William Vinor, Hugh Falstafle, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1388

In his twelfth Year,  
 Nicolas Twiford was Mayor.  
 Thomas Austen, Adam Carlebul, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,  
 Sir William Vinor was Mayor.  
 John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,  
 Adam Bamme was Mayor.  
 John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,  
 John Hynde was Mayor.  
 John Shadworth, Henry Vamer, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,  
 William Stondon was Mayor.  
 Gilbert Maghfield, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,  
 John Hardley was Mayor.  
 Drew Barentin, Richard Whittington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,  
 Sir John Froysshe was Mayor.  
 William Bramston, Thomas Knoles, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,  
 Sir William More was Mayor.  
 Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,  
 Adam Bamme was Mayor.  
 Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first Year,  
 Sir Richard Whittington was Mayor.  
 John Woodcocke, William Askam, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second Year,  
 Sir Drew Barentin was Mayor.  
 John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *H E N R Y* IV.

*Of his coming to the Crown.*

A.D. 1399

**A**FTER the Resignation of King *Richard* and the Sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his Seat; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his Forehead and Breast, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster claim the Crown of England, as descended by right Line from King Henry the Third*: And having thus spoken, he sat down again. Upon this the Archbishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their Opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would join with the Lords in choosing *Henry of Lancaster* for their King; who all with one Voice cried, Yea, Yea: Whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his Knee, and taking him by the Hand, led him to the Royal Seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, *Cap. ix. Vir dominabitur in populo*: Wherein he declared what a Happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such a one; and as much the Defects in both, of the late King *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election, and testified to them, That he meant not to take Advantage against any Man's Estate, as coming in by Conquest; but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in Times of lawful Succession. And now a Time was appointed for his Coronation; accordingly, upon the thirteenth Day of *October* following, the very Day wherein the Year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oil which a Religious Man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophecy, That the Kings anointed with this Oil should be the Champions of the Church. This Oil coming to the Hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his Jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: Whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the

King *Henry* claims the Crown, as descended from King *Henry* the Third.

He is Crowned the very Day wherein the Year before he had been banished.

Realm that was anointed with it. The Day *A.D. 1399* before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures; to which, upon shewing their Right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmorland* was made Lord-Marshal; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellor; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer: And Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal. The Lord *Henry*, his eldest Son being then about thirteen Years of Age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: And the Crown was by Parliament entailed to King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten.

Anointed with a special Oil.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh Year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth Year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: Whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundel*'s Son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their Liberty and Estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmorland* the County of *Richmond*, and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the Sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the Time for shewing of Spleens. Sir *John Bagot* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Aumerle* for speaking Words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King; also the Lord *Fitzwalter* accused him for the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*. The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason; and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exeter* for conspiring the Death of *John* of *Gaunt*, the King's Father: But King *Henry* having entred a Throne in a Storm, was willing now to have a Calm; and therefore laying aside the one's Accusations, he accepted of the other's Excuses, and received

Accusations against many, but connived at by the King.



A.D. 1399 received the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Duke of *Exeter* into as much Favour as if they had never been accused.

King Henry acquaints foreign Princes by what Title he came to the Crown.

And to qualify the hard Opinion which foreign Princes might conceive of King *Richard's* Deposing, he sent Ambassadors into divers Countries, to make it known by what Title, and by what Favour of the People he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome* he sent *John Trenevant*, Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Kt. and *John Cheyney*, Esq. Into *France* he sent *Walter Sherlow*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Worcester*. Into *Spain* he sent *John Trevor*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and Sir *William Parre*; and into *Germany* he sent the Bishop of *Bangor* and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily persuaded that all was done well: Only *Charles* King of *France* was so distemper'd with this Indignity offered to his Son-in-law King *Richard*, that by Violence of his Passion he fell into his old Pangs of Frensy; but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *France* shewed themselves forward, but especially the Earl of *St. Paul*, who had married King *Richard's* half-Sister: Yet having prepared an Army in readiness, when afterward they heard of King *Richard's* Death, they dissolved it again, as considering the Time was then past. The *Aquitains* also, and specially the Citizens of *Bordeaux*, as being the Place where King *Richard* was born, were mightily incensed: But Sir *Robert Knowles*, Lieutenant of *Guyenne*, and afterward *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Worcester*, being sent to them by the King, so persuaded them, that with much ado they continued in Obedience.

It was about this Time moved in Parliament what should be done with King *Richard* (for he was not as yet murdered) whereupon *Thomas Merks*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, a learned Man, and wise, and who never had given Allowance to the Deposing of King *Richard*, now that he was in a Place of Freedom of Speech, rose up and said;

The Bishop of *Carlisle's* bold Speech in behalf of *K. Richard*, and against King *Henry*.

"My Lords, The Matter now propounded is of marvellous Weight and Consequence, wherein there are two Points chiefly to be considered; the First, Whether King *Richard* be sufficiently put out of his Throne: The Second, Whether the Duke of *Lancaster* be lawfully taken in. For the first, How can that be sufficiently done, when there is no Power sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot, for of the Parliament the King is the Head; and can the Body put down the Head? You will say, But the Head may bow it self down; and may not the King resign? It is true; but what Force is in that which is done by Force? And who knows not that King *Richard's* Resignation was no other? But suppose he be sufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of *Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say by Conquest, you speak Treason; for what Conquest without Arms? And can a Subject take Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not be Treason? If you say, by Election of the State, you speak not Reason; for what Power hath the State to elect, while any is living

A.D. 1399 "that hath Right to succeed? But such a Successor is not the Earl of *Lancaster*, as descended from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder Son of King *Henry* the Third, tho' put by the Crown for Deformity of his Body; for who knows not the Falseness of this Allegation? Seeing it is a Thing notorious, that this *Edmund* was neither the elder Brother, nor yet Crook-back'd (though called so for some other Reason) but a goodly Personage, and without any Deformity. And your selves cannot forget a Thing so lately done, who it was that in the fourth Year of King *Richard* was declared by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in case King *Richard* should die without Issue; but why then is not that Claim made? Because, *Silent leges inter arma*, What disputing Titles against the Stream of Power? But howsoever it is extreme Injustice that King *Richard* should be condemned without being heard, or once allowed to make his Defence. And now, my Lords, I have spoken thus at this Time, that you may consider of it before it be too late; for as yet, it is in your Power to undo that justly which you have unjustly done.

Much to this Purpose was the Bishop's Speech, but to as little Purpose as if he had gone about to call back Yesterday. The Matter was too far gone, and scarce a Person there present that had not a Hope of either a private or publick Benefit by that which was done: Yet against this Speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; it passed in the House as but one Man's Opinion; and as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much Severity against any Member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much Indulgence towards him, nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government: Yet for a Warning to use their Liberty of Speech with more Moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshal, and committed to Prison in the Abby of *St. Albans*, but afterward without further Censure set at Liberty, till upon a Conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a Party, he was condemned to die, tho' through Extremity of Grief he prevented Execution. But as for King *Richard* and *Edward Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their Behalves to undo them both; and indeed King *Richard* was soon after made away; the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*, avoiding the Danger of Contention, by not entering the Lists of Aspiring. But although the Divine Providence, for Causes hidden from human Knowledge, gave way at this Time to the Advancement of the Younger, the House of *Lancaster*; yet in the third Generation after, the Elder, the House of *Clarence* recovered its Right in King *Edward* the Fourth, that we may know it is but staying the Leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxy.

But whether incited by this Speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the Rancor of Envy in some, and Malice in others, it was not long after before there grew in the Minds of many, both Lords and others, a malignant Inclination towards

But did King *Richard* more hurt than good.



A.D. 1400 towards King Henry, and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-keeper, statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* than of *Solomon*; who remembering some Words of K. Henry, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of *Derby*, That Princes had too little, and Religious Men too much; and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his Words into Act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, than to stand to the Hazard of a curing afterward: And thereupon invited to his House the discontented Lords; as namely, *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, *Thomas Holland* his Brother's Son, Duke of *Surrey*; *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spencer*, Earl of *Gloucester*, *John* Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin* one of K. *Richard's* Chappel; who after Dinner conferring together, and communicating their Spleens against King Henry one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the King's Life, and of the Way how to do it. The Device was this; They would publish a solemn Just to be holden at *Oxford*, at a Day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his Presence; and there, in the Time of acting the Justs, when all Mens Intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murdered. This Device was resolved on; Oaths for Secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing Conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered. The Justs are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiseth to come; Secrecy of all Hands kept most firmly to the very Day: But though all other kept Counsel, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; for it fortun'd, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords to *Oxford*, against the Day appointed, he took it in the Way to go visit his Father the Duke of *York*; and having in his Bosom the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father, as they sat at Dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? To whom his Son answering, it was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. *George* saith his Father, but I will see it; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his Son for being now the second Time a Traitor, before to K. *Richard*, and now to King Henry, he commanded his Horses instantly to be made ready, and with all the Speed he could make, rode to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: But the younger Years of his Son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special Reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his Knees, asked his Pardon. The King demanding for what Offence? He then discovered the whole Plot; which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his Son. This, tho' it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the Truth of the Matter, whereof he was before doubtful; and thereupon lays aside his Journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes Care

that he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the Confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor seeing any Preparation for the King's coming, were certainly persuaded that their Treason was discovered. Whereupon falling into Consideration of the Case they were in, they found there was no Place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their Safety. To which Purpose, the first Thing they did was to apparel *Maudlin* in Princely Robes, a Man as like to King *Richard* in Countenance and Personage as one Man lightly can be to another, and give forth that he was King *Richard* escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their Proceedings: The next Thing was to dispatch Messengers to the King of *France*, and require his Assistance. This done, they set forward in Battel-array towards *Windsor*, against King Henry; but finding him gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberated what Course to take: Some advised to set K. *Richard* at Liberty, before their counterfeit *Richard* should be discovered; others thought best to follow the King to *London*, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this Division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as Men amazed, marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrook*: By which Time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them: But they not thinking so well of their Cause, that they durst put it to the Trial of a Battel; or, perhaps, staying for Aid out of *France*, withdrew themselves back to *Sunnings* near to *Reading*, where the young Queen lay; to whom their coming gave some Flashes of Comfort, but quenched before they were thoroughly kindled: And from thence they march to *Cirencester*, where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took up their Lodging in one Inn, the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloucester* in another. And now a strange Accident, beyond the Reach of all Consultation, gave a Period to their Design; for who would think that a private Company durst oppose those Lords, having their Army so near them? Yet the Bailiff of the Town (upon Intelligence no Doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King) taking with him a Company of Townsmen, in the Night assaulted the Inn where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay; who thus assaulted made Shift to defend themselves till three o' Clock in the Afternoon: But then being in Danger to be taken, a Priest, one of their Company, set divers Houses in the Town on Fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords to save their Houses: But this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their Assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to Death; who dying that Night, their Heads were stricken off and sent up to *London*. With them also were taken Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who were sent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay.

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Which was to invite the King to a Just at *Oxford*, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the King dispersed.

By what Accident.



A.D. 1400 lay, and there were put to Execution. The Duke of *Exeter* in the other Inn, hearing of this Assault, fled out of the Backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the Rescue; but the Soldiers having heard a Clamour, and seeing Fire in the Town, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden Fear dispersed themselves and fled; which the Duke seeing, he also with Sir *John Shelly*, fled into *Essex*, where wandering and lurking in secret Places, he was at last apprehended as he sat at Supper in a Friend's House, and led to *Plashey*, and there shortly after beheaded; the Place, where by his Counsel and Countenance, the Duke of *Gloucester* formerly had been apprehended: That we may observe how the divine Providence in revenging of Injuries takes Notice, and makes Use of the very Circumstance of Place where the Injuries are done. The Earl of *Gloucester* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded at

*Maudlin*, the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterwards hanged and quartered, with Mr. *Fereby*, another of King *Richard's* Chaplains. Divers other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great Number of mean Persons, were in other Places put to Death; that so much noble Blood, at one Time, and for one Cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The

Another Treason is practised against the King.

1402.

*Owen Glendour* stirreth up the *Welsh* to rebel.

But now that the hot *English* Blood was well allayed, the *Welsh* Blood springs up as hot; for now *Owen Glendour* an Esquire of *Wales* brought up at the Inns of Court in *London*, partly out of a Desire to revenge a Wrong done him (as he conceived) in a Suit for Lands in Controversy between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him; but chiefly out of an Humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the *Welsh-men* to a general Defection, telling them, that the *English* being at Variance amongst themselves, now was the Time to shake off their Yoke, and to resume their own antient Laws and Customs. To whose Persuasions the *Welsh-men* hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, sets first upon his old Adversary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him Prisoner; yet with Promise of Release, if he would marry his Daughter; which Offer, tho' the Lord *Grey* at first not only refused, but scorned, yet out of Necessity, at last he was contented to accept; when, notwithstanding his deceitful Father-in-law trifled out the Time of his Enlargement till he died. But the *Welsh-men* growing confident upon this Success, break into the Bor-

ders of *Herefordshire*, making Spoil and Prey A.D. 1402 of the Country as freely as if they had Leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawn himself to the Castle at *Wigmore*, and having assembled the Forces of the Country, and joining Battel with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought, if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his Victory as to get it, he might at this Time have put the *English* Yoke into a great Hazard to be shaken off: But he having killed one thousand of the *English*, thought he had done enough for that Time, and so giving over the Pursuit, retired. The Inhumanity of the *Welsh* Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead Carcasses of the *English*, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy Parts and Noses; whereof the one they thrust into their Mouths, the other they pressed between their Buttocks. Many Noble Men, especially his Kinsmen the *Piercies*, solicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deaf of that Ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

These Affronts were at this Time suffered in the *Welsh*, because the King was now employed in a more dangerous Service with the *Scots*; for they taking Advantage of the Distraction of the Kingdom (as it was always their Custom to do) had made an Inroad into the Country of *Northumberland*, and suddenly one Night set upon the Castle of *Werk*, took and spoiled it, and then returned. In Revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys*. Then the *Scots* set forth a Fleet, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Logan*; but before he came to any Action, he was encountered, and the greatest Part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such Affronts as often happen between troublesome Neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in Being between the Nations: But at last it brake

out into an open War upon this Occasion. *Robert* The Peace King of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* between En- with a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Dunbarre*, gland and Scotland, how it broke out into open War. and had received Money of him in Part of her Portion; and afterward, would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the Money; but married his Son to a Daughter of *Archibald* Earl of *Douglafs*. Upon which Indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre* flies into *England* to King *Henry*, and with his Aid, makes divers Incursions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert* King of *Scots* sent to K. *Henry*, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. K. *Henry* answered, That he had given him a safe Conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, K. *Robert* might do in that what he thought best. Upon this Answer, the King of *Scots* presently proclaimed War against him; but King *Henry*, as ready in that Matter as he, stayed not for King *Robert's* invading of *England*; but himself with a puissant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Castles and Cities, and not sparing Churches and Religious Houses. About the



A.D. 1402 the End of September, he besieged the Castle of *Edenburgh*, where Prince *David*, and the Earl of *Douglas* were: At which Time, *Robert Duke of Albany*, who in the King of *Scots* Sickneſs managed the Buſineſs, ſent an Herald to King *Henry*, proteſting upon his Honour, That if he would ſtay but fix Days he would give him Battel: King *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and ſtayed; but ſix Times ſix Days paſſed, but neither the Duke of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, Victuals grew ſcant, and which was worſe, a Mortality began in the *Engliſh* Camp, for which Cauſes King *Henry* removed his Siege and returned into *England*. As ſoon as he was gone, Sir *Patrick Hepbourn* a *Scottiſh* Man, having a good Opinion of his Valour, thought to do great Matters; and with a competent Army of the Men of *Lough-dean*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great Spoil, and loading his Soldiers with Prey and Priſoners; but in the Retreat marching looſly and licentious, was ſet upon by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Vice-Warden, where *Hepbourn* himſelf and all the Flower of *Lough-dean* were ſlain, Sir *John* and *William Cockbourn*, Sir *William Buſſe*, *John* and *Thomas Habington*, Eſquires, and a Multitude of Common Soldiers taken Priſoners; on the *Engliſh* Part few ſlain, and none of any Rank or Quality: In Revenge whereof, *Archibald Douglas* with an Army of twenty thouſand entred *Northumberland*; but in a Place called *Hamildon*, were encountered by the *Engliſh*, under the Leading of *Henry Lord Piercy*, ſurnamed *Hotſpur*, and *George Earl of March*, who put them to Flight, and after the Slaughter of ten thouſand of them, took five hundred Priſoners; whereof the chief were *Mordack Earl of Fife* (Son of the General, who in the Fight loſt one of his Eyes) *Thomas Earl of Murray*, *Robert Earl of Angus*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Monteith*; and amongſt the Slain, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *John Leviſton*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and three and twenty other Knights.

The French aid Owen Glendour, but without Succels.

In this mean Time, *Glendour of Wales* had ſolicited the King of *France* for Aid, who ſent him twelve hundred Men of Quality, but the Winds were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their Ships, and the reſt returned home: The *Engliſh* deriding this ill Succels of the *French*, ſo exaſperated the *French* King, that preſently after he ſent twelve thouſand, who landed ſafely, and joined with the *Welſh*; but as ſoon as they heard of the *Engliſh* Army's Approach, whether miſtruſting their own Strength, or ſuſpecting the *Welſhmen's* Faithfulneſs, they ran to their Ships, and diſgracefully went home.

King Henry marries the Lady Jane de Navarre, the Relict of John Montford, ſurnamed the Conqueror.

King *Henry's* Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Britain* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, Ducheſs of *Britain*, the Relict of *John de Montford*, ſurnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King by Procurations had contracted Matrimony, in the Beginning of *February* returned with her in Safety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the ſeventh of *February* the Marriage was ſolemnized.

About this Time ſome Affronts were offered by the *French*. *Valerian Earl of St. Paul*, with 1700 Men landed in the *Iſle of Wight*, where he burnt two Villages and ſome few Cottages; but hearing the People of the *Iſland* to have aſſembled, he made haſte to his Ships, and returned

home. Alſo *John Earl of Clermont* (the Heir of A.D. 1402 *Bourbon*) won from the *Engliſh* the Caſtles of *St. Peter*, *St. Mary*, and the *New Caſtle*: The Lord *De la Brett* won the Caſtle of *Calafin*; Places of great Conſequence to the *Engliſh*.

And now to make King *Henry* ſenſible that a Crown can hardly ever ſit eaſy upon the Head, if it be not ſet on right at firſt, a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him. The *Piercies*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began about this Time to fall off from K. *Henry*; their Reaſon was, Firſt, becauſe the King at their Requeſt reſuſed to redeem their Kinſman *Mortimer* from *Glendour's* Slavery; and then becauſe he denied them the Benefit of ſuch Priſoners as they had taken of the *Scots*: Whereupon they went of themſelves, and procured *Mortimer's* Delivery, and then entred into a League offensive and defensive with *Glendour*; and by their Proxies, in the Houſe of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their Hands and Seals, to divide the Kingdom into three Parts; whereby all *England* from *Severn* and *Trent*, South and Eaſtward, was assigned for the Portion of the Earl of *March*; all *Wales* and the Lands beyond the *Severn* Weſtward, were assigned to *Owen Glendour*: And all the Remainder of Land from *Trent* Northward, to be the Portion of the Lord *Piercy*. In this, as *Glendour* perſuaded them, they thought they ſhould accompliſh a Prophecy; as tho' King *Henry* were the Mouldwarp curſed of God's own Mouth, and they were the Lion, the Dragon and the Wolf which ſhould divide the Land among them: In this mean Time King *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conſpiracy, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of *March* had voluntarily cauſed himſelf to be taken Priſoner, to the End, the Rebels having him in their Cuſtody, might pretend ſome Colour for their Conſpiracy; and therefore he had ſmall Reaſon to take Care for his Deliverance. Hereupon the *Piercies* aſſiſted with a Company of *Scots*, and drawing to their Party the Earl of *Stafford* and *Richard Scroop* Archbiſhop of *York*, and many others, purpoſed to join with the Captain of the *Welſh*; but firſt they framed certain Articles againſt the King, and ſent them to him in Writing, That he had falſified his Oath given at his Landing, ſwearing, That he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown: That moſt traiterouſly he had taken Arms againſt his Sovereign Lord, imprifoned him, and then moſt barbarouſly cauſed him to be murdered: That ever ſince the Death of King *Richard* he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his Kinſman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of Right it belonged: That upon no Occaſion he had impoſed divers Taxes upon the People: That by his Letters he procured *Burgeſſes* and Knights of the Parliament to be choſen; for which Cauſes, and many other, they deſied him, and vowed his Deſtruction, and the Reſtoring of the Earl of *March* to his Right. King *Henry* could not but know, that all theſe Articles againſt him were true; yet ſeeing the Knowing it hindered him not from ſeeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could leiſ hinder him from ſeeking

Another Conſpiracy hatching againſt King Henry, and why.

Articles framed by the Lords againſt King Henry, and ſent unto him.



A.D. 1402 ing to keep it now that he had it; and if he were able, being a private Man, to get it from a King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private Men; and as for any Objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answer them all; for, if his Title were good against King *Richard* by his Resignation, it was good against *Mortimer* by his swearing Allegiance; and upon these Grounds, with a Mind as confident as if all Circumstances were of his Side, he raised an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no Means join with the *Welsh*; and about *Shrewsbury*, on *Saturday*, *St. Mary Magdalen's Eve*, he encountered them; in which Fight tho' the *Scots* and *Henry Hotspur* shewed much Valour, yet the Victory rested on the King's Side; *Hotspur* himself was slain, the Earl of *Worcester* was taken Prisoner, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Trussel*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and the rest fled. On the King's Part (besides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that Morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slain, Sir *Hugh Shirley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockayn*, Sir *Nicholas Causell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Maffie* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gausell*; all which had been but that Morning dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who died afterwards of his Wounds; of Common Soldiers about 1600; but of the Conspirators above 6000, whereof 36 the King slew with own Hands, but was once unhorsed by *Douglas*, who in his Presence slew Sir *Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that Day in all things attired like to the King; for which Exploit, *Douglas* (being after by the Fall off his Horse taken Prisoner) was by the King's Command carefully attended, and without Ransom set at Liberty. In this Battel, the young Prince *Henry*, tho' wounded in his Face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his Courage, but continued Fighting still. After this Victory the King caused publick Thanks to be given to God, and then caused the Earl of *Worcester* to be beheaded, and many other of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their Heads placed on *London-Bridge*: And then the King sent his Son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Country; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company, and lurking in the Woods, was there famished: Many of his Associates were taken and put to Death. Whilst the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own Accord, came and submitted himself to the King, protesting his Innocency, as not being once acquainted with any Intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose Excuse the King received for the present with gentle Language, the rather for that he had the Possession of *Berwick Castle*, and other Places of Strength in his Power: But yet he wiped not off the Score of his Misdemeanors out of his Mind.

And now with the fourth Year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King *Henry* the Fourth: Those that follow are but such Accidents as are frequent in all Times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the Leading of the Lord *Du Castile*, spoiled the Town of

*Plimouth*: In Revenge whereof, the Western-A.D. 1404 men, under Command of *William Wilford*, set forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oil and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again, the *French* landed a thousand Men in the *Isle of Wight*, where they got together a great Booty of Cattle, but the Islanders coming upon them took away their Booty, and made many of them leave their Carkasses for a Booty to the Island: Yet the *French* would not leave so; but a while after, as having gotten new Spirits, they cast Anchor before the *Isle of Wight*, and require no less than to have the Island into their Possession; but a resolute Answer of the Islanders frightened them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the *French* King, in a vaunting Stile, sent a Challenge to King *Henry* to meet him in the Field, each of them to have a Hundred in his Company: To which the King answered, *That for his own Valour it had sufficiently been tried; and for this Challenge of the Duke's, neither the Person nor the Cause were worthy of his Undertaking*. Upon this Refusal of the King's, divers Taunts and Jeers were bandied between them, till at last the Duke in great Passion falls upon *Vergie*, a Town in *Guyenne*, but after three Months assaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir *Robert Antfield* and 300 *English-men*, he was glad to give over with Loss, and return into *France*. Presently upon this the Admiral of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Castile*, and thirty Sale of Ships, attempted to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Castile*, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his Men were slain, besides two hundred taken Prisoners; of whom the Lord *Baquavile*, Marshal of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred Crossbows, and a thousand *Flemmings*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *St. Paul*, laid Siege to the Castle of *Marque*, three Leagues from *Calais*; but first by Sir *Philip Hall* Captain of *Calais*, and after by Sir *Richard Aylon* Lieutenant of the *English Pale*, they were forced to retire and fly: The Earl of *St. Paul* escaped to *St. Omer*, but left many of his Men of Quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this *Thomas Duke of Clarence*, the King's second Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluice*, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the Relief of *Calais*, besieged at that Time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*: And these were the Troubles of this King abroad. About this Time a Parliament was assembled at *Coventry*, which by some was called the *Unlearned Parliament*, because the Sheriffs were appointed, that none should be chosen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgeffes for the Cities and Towns, that had any Skill of the Laws of the Land.

But now at home the Relicks of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop* Archbishop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marshal, the Lords *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conspired

1403.  
King *Henry* with an Army encounters the Lords, where *Henry Hotspur* is slain; the Earl of *Worcester* taken Prisoner, with divers others.

King *Henry* slays 36 of his Adversaries with his own Hands.

The Earl of *Worcester* beheaded.

*Owen Glendour* lurking in the Woods, is famished.

The Duke of *Orleans* sends a Challenge to King *Henry*, and how he answers it.

1405.

Another Conspiracy against King *Henry*.



A.D. 1405 red at a Time appointed, to meet upon *York-Would-downs*, and there bid Defiance to King Henry. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick Places, which drew Multitudes to be Partakers of the Enterprize. But now *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Westmorland*, with the Lord *John*, the King's third Son, the Lord *Henry-Fitz Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Umphrevile* make Head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forest of *Galltree*, they sat down right against the Arch-Bishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmorland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more than theirs, he used this Policy: He sent to the Archbishop, demanding the Reason why he would raise Forces against the King? Who answering, That his Arms were not against the King, but for his own Defence, whom the King upon the Instigation of Sy-cophants had threatned: Withal he sent him a Scroll of their Grievance, which *Westmorland* read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon desired a Conference with him. The Archbishop more credulous than wise, persuaded the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the Place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmorland* seeming to commiserate the Soldiers, having been in Armour all Day, and weary, wished the Archbishop to acquaint his Party, as he would his, with this their mutual Agreement; and so shaking Hands, in most Courtly Friendship drank unto him. Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to disband, and repair Home; which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of Horse, which in a colourable Manner had made a Shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned, and being come in Sight of the Earl of *Westmorland*, arrested both the Archbishop and the Earl-Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *York*, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next Day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, with two Knights were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolph*, fled first to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David Lord Flemming*; whereupon the King gave Summons to the Castle of *Berwick*; which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yielded without Composition; and here *William Greystock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkensop*, Knights, and five others, were presently put to Execution, and many others committed to several Prisons. About this Time *James*, Son and Heir of *Robert King of Scotland*, a Child of nine Years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30th of *March*, 1408, and the King sent them to the *Tower of London*.

But by a Policy of the Earl of *Westmorland* defeated.

The Archbishop of *York*, and *Mowbray*, Earl-Marshal, beheaded.

1408.

*Northumberland* and *Bardolph*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a Power against King Henry, returned back into *Scotland*; and after a Year with a great Power of Scots entered *England*, and came into *York-shire*, making great Spoil and Waste as they passed: But Sir *Thomas Rokesby*, Sheriff of *York*, levying the

Forces of the County, upon *Bramham-moor* gave them Battel; in which *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolph* taken, but wounded to Death, and the rest put to Flight. About this Time also Sir *Robert Umphrevile*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten Men of War entered *Scotland*, burnt their Galiot, and many other Ships over-against *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other staple Commodities, which at his Return he sent into the Markets round about; and thereby brought down the Prices of all Things; and purchased to himself the Name of *Mend-market*.

A.D. 1408 The Earl of *Northumberland* slain.

Sir Robert Umphrevile called *Mend-market*, and why.

1410.

The Prince had been a Student in Queen's Colledge in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, and lastly made a Cardinal, by the Title of *St. Eusebius*. From *Oxford* the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worcester*, was made his Governor: But coming afterward to be at his own disposing, whether being by Nature valorous, and yet not well stayed by Time and Experience; or whether incited by ill Companions, and emboldened by the Opinion of his own greatness, he ran into many Courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he once came to be King. It is said he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Rents, and in the Person of a Thief, set upon them and robbed them. Another Time, when one of his Companions was arraigned for Felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the King's Bench Bar, and offered to take the Prisoner away by Force; but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped to him, and struck him over the Face; whereat the Judge nothing abashed, rose up, and told him, That he did not this Affront to him, but to the King his Father, in whose Place he sat; and therefore to make him know his Fault, he commanded him to be committed to the *Fleet*. You would have wondered to see how calm the Prince was in his own Cause, who in the Cause of his Companion had been so violent! for he quietly obeyed the Judge's Sentence, and suffered himself to be lead to Prison. This Passage was a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such Courage, and a Son of such Submission: But yet for these and such other Pranks he removed him from being President of the Council, and placed in it his third Son *John*. This made the Prince so sensible of his Father's Displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good Opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a Way as strange as that by which he lost it; for attiring himself in a Garment of blue Sattin, wrought all with Eylet-holes of Black Silk, at every Hole the Needle hanging by which it was sewed, and about his Arm a Thing in Fashion of a Hound's Collar, studded with SS of Gold, he came to the Court at *Westminster*; to whom the King (though not well in Health) caused himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in Presence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the Cause of his unwonted Habit and coming; who answered, That being not only his Subject, but his

Prince Henry's disorderly Courses.

He strikes the Lord Chief Justice, who commits him to the Fleet.

In what Manner the Prince presents himself to his Father.



A.D. 1410 his Son, and a Son always so tenderly regarded by him, he were worthy of a thousand Deaths if he should intend, or but imagine the least Offence to his Sacred Majesty; and therefore had fitted himself to be made a Sacrifice; and therewithal reached his Dagger, holding it by the Point to his Father: For, said he, I desire not to live longer than I may be thought to be what I am, and shall ever be your faithful and obedient Vassal. With this, or the like Answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his Son's Neck, and with many Tears embracing him, confessed that his Ears had been too open to receive Reports against him; and promising faithfully, That from thenceforth no Reports should cause any Disaffection toward him. The King about this Time made his Son John, Duke of Bedford, and his Son Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; he made also Sir Thomas Beaufort Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundel he created Duke of York.

The King makes his Son John Duke of Bedford, and his Son Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; also Sir Thomas Beaufort he made Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundel Duke of York.

1412.

K. Henry takes upon him the Crusado.

The rest of K. Henry's Days, from this Time forward, being scarce a Year, was free from all Trouble both Abroad and at Home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in Mind for having shed so much English and noble Blood; for Expiation whereof, or else to the End he might join Valour and Devotion in one Action together, which hitherto he but used singly, he took upon him the Crusado; and at a Council in White-friers, Order was taken, and great Preparation was made for his Journey to Jerusalem: But it was otherwise decreed in Heaven, and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his Life in Jerusalem, as shall be shewed hereafter.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN the very Beginning of his Reign, it might pass instead of a Taxation, that he found in K. Richard's Coffers, in Money and Jewels, to the Value of seven hundred thousand Pounds. In his fourth Year, an extraordinary Subsidy was granted him; twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and of every one that had twenty Shillings a Year in Land, twelve Pence, and upward, according to that Rate; and of every one that had twenty Pounds in Goods, twelve Pence and upward, according to that Rate; but with Caution and Protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a Precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth Year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh Year, the Clergy granted a Tenth and a half, and the Commons two Fifteenths. In a Parliament holden the ninth Year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every Year wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; to which Demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh Year a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole Year, in which a Subsidy was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Friars who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

#### Of Laws and Ordinances made in his Time.

Controversies in Religion first punished by Burning.

IN this King's Days, Burning and Execution by Fire for Controversies in Religion was first put in Practice.

Also in the first Year of his Reign, an Act was made, that no Person of what Degree soever, should after that Day alledge for his Excuse, any Constraint or Coarcting of his Prince for doing of any unlawful Act; and that such Excuse, after that Day, should stand him in no Stead.

Also an Act was made, That no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their Household and Menial Servants. In his twelfth Year, the King caused a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of less Value than the old Noble by four Pence.

Also that all Ripiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts, should sell their Fish in Cornhill and Cheapside themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

Also this King instituted the Duchy Court, which he did in Honour of the House of Lancaster, to the End the Lands belonging to the Duchy, might in all following Times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his seventh Year, the Mayor of London, for Preservation of Fish, obtained, that all Weirs which stood between London and seven Miles beyond Kingston, as also such as stood between London and Gravesend, should be pulled up and taken away.

The Duchy Court instituted by K. Henry.

#### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

BY Reason of Discord between John of Gaunt and Wickham Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop either in Durance could not, or in Fear durst not come to the Parliament-House at a Time when the King required a Supply of Money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, That without their Brother, the Bishop of Winchester's Presence, they neither can, nor will consult of any thing; he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. In the Parliament last mentioned, the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the Upper House, desiring that the King might have the temporal Possessions of the Bishops and Clergy; the Value whereof they pretended would be sufficient Maintenances for an hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and an hundred Hospitals for maimed Soldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison; and that the Statute made in the second Year of the King against Lollards might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in Person commanded them from thenceforth not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such Business, for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good State as he found it. In the twelfth Year of his Reign certain learned Men in Oxford in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of Wickliffe, but the Bishops and Doctors of the University inhibited and condemned them. In his Time was great Schism in the Church, by Reason of two Anti-popes; but afterwards in an Assembly of Cardinals and Bishops, a third Man was elected, named Alexander the fifth, who had been trained up at Oxford.

The temporal Possessions of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schism in the Church, by two Anti-popes.



Works of Piety done in his Time.

**A.D. 1412** **K**ING Henry founded a College at *Battlefield* in *Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Percy*. In his third Year the Conduit upon *Cornhil* was begun to be built. Also in his Time Sir *Robert Knowles* made the Stone-Bridge of *Rocheſter* in *Kent*; and founded in the Town of *Pomfret* a College and an Hoſpital: He alſo re-edified the Body of the *White-Friers Church* in *Fleetſtreet*, where he was afterward buried; which Church was firſt founded by the Anceſtors of the Lord *Grey of Codnor*. In the eighth Year of his Reign, *Richard Whittington*, Mayor of *London*, erected an Houſe or Church in *London*, to be a Houſe of Prayer, and named it after his own Name, *Whittington College*, with Lodgings and Weekly Allowance for divers poor People. He alſo builded the Gate of *London*, called *Newgate*, in the Year 1420. He builded alſo more than Half of *St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital* in *Weſt-Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Grey-Friers* in *London*, now called *Chriſt's Hoſpital*. He alſo builded a great Part of the Eaſt-end of *Guild-hall*, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the Cuſtody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this Time in Works of Piety, was *William Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. His firſt Work was the building of a Chappel at *Tichfield*, where his Father, Mother, and Siſter of *Perrot* were buried: Next he founded at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, near the Town of *Wickham*, the Place of his Birth, as a Supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with Allowance for five Priests for ever. He beſtowed twenty thouſand Marks in repairing the Houſes belonging to the Biſhoprick: He diſcharged out of Priſon in all Places of his Dioceſs, all ſuch poor Priſoners as lay in Execution for Debt under twenty Pounds: He amended all the High-ways from *Wincheſter* to *London*, on both Sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of *March* 1379, he began to lay the Foundation of that magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, called *New-College*, and in Perſon laid the firſt Stone thereof; in which Place before, there ſtood *St. Neor's Hall*, built by *K. Alfred* at *St. Neor's* Entreaty; and for the Affinity of the Name, came to be called *New-College*. In the Year 1387, on the 26th of *March*, he likewise in Perſon laid the firſt Stone of the like Foundation in *Wincheſter*, and dedicated the ſame as that other in *Oxford* to the Memory of the Virgin *Mary*. The Grocers in *London* purchaſed their Hall in *Cunnyhope-Lane* for 320 Marks, and then laid the Foundation thereof on the tenth of *May*. King Henry founded the College of *Foderingbey* in *Northamptonſhire*; to which King Henry the Fifth gave Land of the Priories of *Monks Aliens*, by him ſuppreſſed.

*The Conduit in Cornhil begun to be built.*

*Whittington College, by whom founded. Newgate, by whom builded.*

*William Wickham, Biſhop of Wincheſter, his Works of Piety.*

*He builded New-College in Oxford.*

*Alſo the like College in Wincheſter.*

*John Gower, the famous Poet, his Work of Piety. The Stocks in the Poultry builded. Guild-hall in London began to be builded.*

made a goodly Houſe, as now it is. Alſo in *A.D. 1412* this King's Time *John Colepepper*, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, founded a Free-School, with competent Yearly Maintenance in *Weſt-Peckam* in *Kent*.

Casualties happening in his Time.

**I**N his third Year, in the Month of *March*, appeared a Blazing-ſtar; firſt betwixt the Eaſt and the North, and then ſending forth fiery Beams towards the North; fore-ſhewing perhaps the Effuſion of Blood that followed after in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the ſame Year, at *Danbury* in *Effex*, the Devil appeared in Likeneſs of a Grey Frier; who entering the Church, put the People in great Fear, and the ſame Hour with a Tempeſt of Whirlwind and Thunder the Top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel ſcattered abroad. In his ſeventh Year, ſuch Abundance of Water brake ſuddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattle without Number. Alſo in this Year the Town of *Royſton* in *Hertfordſhire* was burnt. In his ninth Year was ſo ſharp a Winter, and ſuch abundance of Snow, continued *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almoſt all ſmall Birds died through Hunger.

*The Devil appears in Likeneſs of a Grey Frier.*

*A Snow that continued four Months.*

Of his Wives and Children.

**H**E had two Wives, the firſt was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Humphrey de Bobun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Effex*, and *Northampton*; ſhe died before he came to the Crown, in the Year 1394. His ſecond Wife was *Joan*, Daughter to *Charles* the firſt King of *Navarre*, ſhe being the Widow of *John de Montford*, ſurnamed *Streany*, or the Conqueror, Duke of *Brittain*; who died without any Iſſue by King Henry, at *Havering* in *Effex*, the Year 1437, in the fifteenth Year of *K. Henry* the Sixth, and lieth buried by her Husband at *Canterbury*. He had four Sons and two Daughters; of his Sons, *Henry* his eldeſt was Prince of *Wales*, and, after his Father, King of *England*. His ſecond Son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was ſlain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and died without Iſſue. His third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married firſt with *Anne*, Daughter of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſecondly with *Jacoba*, Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburgh*, Earl of *St. Paul*, but died alſo without Iſſue. His fourth Son was *Humphrey*, by his Brother *K. Henry* the Fifth created Duke of *Glouceſter*, and was generally called the good Duke: He had two Wives, but died without Iſſue, in the Year 1446, and was buried at *St. Albans*; though the vulgar Opinion be, that he lies buried in *St. Paul's Church*. Of *K. Henry* the Fourth's Daughters, *Blanch*, the Elder, was married to *Lewis Barbatus*, *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Prince Elector; *Philippa*, his younger Daughter, was married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

**C**ONCERNING his Body, he was of middle ſtature, ſlender Limbs, but well proportioned. CONCERNING his Mind, of a ſerious and ſolid

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A.D. 1412 Disposition, and one that stood more upon his own Legs than any of his Predecessors had done; in Cases of Difficulty not refusing, but not needing the Advice of others, which might confirm, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor sad, but both; best pleased when he was opposed, because this was like to do him Good by sharpening his Invention; most angry when he was flattered, because this was sure to do him hurt, by dulling his Judgment. No Man ever more loved, nor less doated upon a Wife than he: A good Husband, but not uxorious; that if there be Reins to that Passion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, not so much out of Ambition, as out of Compassion, because he could not so well help the Oppressions of his Country being a Subject, as being a King; for otherwise we may truly say, he was a Loser by the Crown, being not so great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a Gainer by him, which hath ever since been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his Life, or longing for Death; for why else would he take upon him the *Crusado*, having been told by a skilful Soothsayer, That he should die in *Jerusalem*? But it seems he did not believe him.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

IN the forty-sixth Year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a Spirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Crusado*, and great Provision was made for his Journey to *Jerusalem*; but, alas, his Journey to *Jerusalem* required no such Provision; for being at his Prayers at St. *Edward's* Shrine, he was suddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Westminster's* House, where recovering his Senses, and finding himself in a strange Place, he asked what Place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbot's House, in a Chamber called *Jerusalem*: Well then, said he, Lord have Mercy upon me, for this is the *Jerusalem* where a Soothsayer told me I should die. And here he died indeed, on the 20th Day of *March*, in the Year 1413, when he had lived six and forty Years, reigned thirteen and a half. It is worth remembring, that all the Time of his Sicknes, his Will was to have his Crown set upon his Bolster by him; and one of his Fits being so strong upon him, that all Men thought him directly dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown; when suddenly the King recovering his Senses, missed his Crown, and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it; whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, said, Sir, to all our Judgments, and to all our Grievs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown, as being my Right; but seeing, to all our Comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your self. Well, saith the King, sighing, what Right I had to it, God knows. But, saith the Prince, if you die King, my Sword shall maintain it to be my Right against all Opposers. Well, saith the King, I refer all to God; but I charge thee on my Blessing, That thou administer the Laws

He dies of an Apoplexy.

His Admonitions to the Prince.

indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do A.D. 1412 Justice, or be sparing of Mercy: And then turning about, said, *God bless thee, and have Mercy on me*: And with those Words gave up the Ghost. His Body with all Funeral Pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

#### Of Men of Note in his Time.

OF Men of Valour in his Time, of whom there was Store, I shall need to say no more than what hath already been said in the Body of the Story; only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knowles*, who was born of mean Parentage, made himself famous over all Christendom, and dying at a Mannor of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the *White-Friers* in *London*, which himself had re-edified. But for Men of Learning, I must set in the first Place, *William Wickham*, a Man of no Learning, yet well worthy to hold the Place. In relating of whose Life, I must have Leave to expatiate a little. His Father's Name was *John Long*, or, as some say, *Perot*; but, as *Campion* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the Place of his Dwelling, though he was Parish-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*, where he taught Children to write: In which Quality his Son *William* proved so excellent, that *Nicholas Woddal*, Constable of *Winchester* Castle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, first at *Winchester*, afterward at *Oxford*; till himself being made Surveyor-General of the King's Works, he sent for this *William* to serve him as his Clerk; who in short Time grew so expert in that Employment, that *Adam Tarleton*, Bishop of *Winchester*, commended him to the King, who employed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at *Dover* and *Queenborough* Castles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windsoor Castle*, and his Houses of *Henly* and *East-Hampstead*. And here first Envy rose up against him, for having caused to be engraven on a Stone of a Wall at *Windsoor Castle*, these Words; *This made William Wickham*. Some that envied his Rising, complained to the King of his Insolency, as arrogating to himself that excellent Piece of Building to be done at his Charge: But *Wickham* called before the King about it, made Answer, That his Meaning was not, neither by any indifferent Construction could it import, that *Wickham* made that Building, but that the same Building made *Wickham*, as being a Means of the King's great Favour toward him. This Answer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his Favour; and being now entred into the Ministry, was first made Parson of St. *Martin's* in the Fields, then Minister of St. *Martin's le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provost of *Wells*, and Rector of *Many-hens* in *Devonshire*; so as at one time he had in his Hand so many Ecclesiastical Livings, that the Value of them in the King's Books amounted to eight hundred seventy six Pounds, thirteen Shillings; besides which, he was honoured with many temporal Places of great Profit and Respect, as to be his Principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the King's Revenues in France,

*William Wickham*, his Parentage and Rising.



A.D. 1412 France, and some other Offices. After which the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, Means was made to the King to bestow that Place upon him. And here the second time did Envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a Man of little or no Learning, and no Way fit for such a Dignity: Whereupon the King made Stay of granting it: But when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, That what he wanted in personal Learning, he would supply with being a Founder of Learning; this so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the Place upon him. After this he was made Lord-Treasurer of *England*; and here the third time did Envy rise up against him: For the King requiring of his Subjects a Supply of Money, it was answered, That he needed no other Supply than to call his Treasurer to Account. This Blow struck deep upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give Accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand Pounds: And whilst he was busy in preparing his Accompt, all his Temporalities, upon Importunity of *John of Gaunt*, were seized into the King's Hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*; and himself, upon Pain of the King's Displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty Miles of the Court. In this Case he dismisseth his Train, and sendeth Copies abroad of his Accompt, if it might be received, but was hindered by the working of *John of Gaunt* against him, upon this Ground, as was thought. Queen *Philippa*, Wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her Death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John of Gaunt* was not the lawful Issue of King *Edward*, but a supposititious Son: For when she was brought to Bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a Son, she exchanged the Daughter with a Dutch Woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same Time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, That if the said *John of Gaunt* should at any Time, either directly or indirectly, attempt the Crown, or that rightfully, through want of Issue, it should devolve unto him, that then he should discover this Matter, and make it known unto the King and Council. Afterward, the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John of Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this Relation, and this Adjuration of his supposed Mother, advising him not to seek higher than a private State, for else he was bound by an Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of *John of Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and join at least with the Bishop of *Carlisle* in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole Relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John of Gaunt* was a most patient Man, to suffer the Affront of such an Indignity with less than the Death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal Grudge to the Bishop, who had no Way to with-

*John of Gaunt* said to be a supposititious Son.

stand such an Enemy, but by making *Alice* A.D. 1412 *Pierce* his Friend, by whose Means, after two Years, he was restored to all his Livings; and afterward, King *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished, by the Means of a greater Friend than *Alice Pierce* (his full Purse) he obtained in the second Year of King *Richard*, a general Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; and from that Time forward enjoyed a quiet Life, and died in the fourth Year of this King *Henry* the Fourth, being then of the Age of above eighty Years, and lieth buried in the Church of *St. Swithin's* in *Winchester*, in a Monument of his own making in his Life-time; leaving for his Heir *Thomas Perrot*, the Son of his Sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

Another great Example of the Volubility of Fortune in Professors of Learning, was *Roger Roger Walden*, who died in the ninth Year of this King. He was at first a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the first Step of his Rising, was to be a Chaplain in the College there of *St. Mary's*; from thence, by Degrees, he got to be Dean of *York*; and after this, a high Step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that upon the Banishment of *Thomas Arundel*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but being now at the Top, he came down again: For in this King's Time, *Thomas Arundel* being restored to the Archbishoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that Place, but was called to Account for the Treasureship; and though he shewed his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalities were seized, and his Person imprisoned, till by the Mediation of the now Archbishop *Arundel*, he was made Treasurer of *Calais*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The next Place after these, is justly due to *Geoffrey Chaucer* and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this Time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the Times after. *Chaucer* died in the fourth Year of this King, and lieth buried at *Westminster*; *Gower*, in this King's ninth Year, and was buried at *St. Mary Overy's* Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembered, who lived and died in this King's Time: *Hugh Legate*, born in *Hertfordshire*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*; *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hertfordshire*, a Dominick Frier, and the French King's Confessor, though an *English-man*; *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolk*, where he was born, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*; *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramsay*, who wrote an *Hebrew Dictionary*; *John Cotton*, Archbishop of *Armagh*; *Richard Scroop*, Brother to *William Scroop*, Lord-Treasurer of *England*, made Archbishop of *York*, and writing an Invective against King *Henry*, lost his Head; *William Thorpe*, an earnest Follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood Castle*, where he died; *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkshire*, and *Robert Mascall*, a Carmelite Frier of *Ludlow*, both of them Confessors to King *Henry* the Fifth; *Boston*, a Monk of the Abby of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. *John Purvey*,

A.D. 1412



A.D. 1412 *Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant; *Thomas Rudburn*, Bishop of *St. David's*, who wrote a Chronicle; *Nicholas Riston*, who considering the Strife between the then Anti-Popes, wrote a Book,

*De tollendo Schismate*; *Robert Wansham*, a Monk A.D. 1412 in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a Book in Verse, *Of the Original and Signification of Words*; *Robert Wimbleton*, an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde Rationem Villicationis tue*.

### Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Time.

A.D. 1399

In his first Year,  
SIR *Thomas Knowles* was Mayor.  
*William Walderne*, *William Hend*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
Sir *John Francis* was Mayor.  
*John Wakel*, *William Ebot*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
Sir *John Shadworth* was Mayor.  
*William Venor*, *John Fremingham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
*John Walcote* was Mayor.  
*Richard Marlow*, *Robert Chicheley*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
Sir *William Askam* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Falconer*, *Thomas Poole*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
*John Hind* was Mayor.  
*William Louth*, *Stephen Spilman*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,  
Sir *John Woodcocke* was Mayor.  
*Henry Barton*, *William Cromer*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,

Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.  
*Nicolas Wotton*, *Geoffrey Brooke*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,  
Sir *William Stondon* was Mayor.  
*Henry Pontfract*, *Henry Halton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,  
Sir *Drew Barentine* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Ducke*, *William Norton*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,  
*Richard Marlow* was Mayor.  
*John Law*, *William Chicheley*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,  
Sir *Thomas Knowles* was Mayor.  
*John Penne*, *Thomas Pike*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth Year,  
Sir *Robert Chicheley* was Mayor.  
*John Rainwell*, *William Coston*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,  
Sir *William Waldren* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Lovenham*, *William Sevenoke*, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1406

THE



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *H E N R Y* V.

A.D. 1412

K. Henry bath  
Homage  
sworn to him  
before he was  
Crowned.

Being once  
Crowned, he  
discharged all  
his disorderly  
Companions.

A Subsidy  
granted him  
without ask-  
ing.

The Bishops  
shew him his  
Right to the  
Crown of  
France.

**H**ENRY of Monmouth (so called from the Place in *Wales* where he was born) eldest Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessors: And afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the Year 1412, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such Case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul*, That as soon as *Samuel* had anointed him King, he had a new Heart given him, and he became another Man than he was before; so was it with this King *Henry*: For presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him, strictly charging them not to presume to come within ten Miles of his Court, until such Time as they had given good Proof of their Amendment in Manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of Maintenance to be any Cause of their taking ill Courses, he gave to every one of them a competent Means whereby to subsist: And knowing, as he did, the Fashion of the *Scots* and *Welsh*, that in Time of Change they would commonly take Advantage to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit Places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing, or repelling any such Incurfions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking; and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old String of taking away the Temporalities of the Clergy: And the Bishops fearing how it might take in the King's Ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another String, which they knew would be more pleasing to him, which was, to shew him the great Right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long Narration deduced the King's Right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the Fourth, married to King *Edward* the Second, from whom it descended by direct Line to his Majesty, and no Hinderance of enjoying it, but Pretension of the *Salique* Laws; which, said he, was neither according to the Law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation: And though his Predecessors, by reason of their Incumbrances, forbore to prosecute

their Claim, yet he being free from all such Incumbrances, had no less Power than Right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right String of the King's Inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true Glory, so in nothing more than in Warlike Actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of *France*. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-luces*; and quarters the three *Flower-de-luces*, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to steal Advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Ambassadors to *Charles* the Sixth, then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable Manner the Surrender of the Crown of *France*; which if he would yield unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King *Henry* would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or lose his Life. The Ambassadors sent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord High-Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horse; who coming to the Court of *France*, were at first received and feasted with all the Honour and Shew of Kindness that might be; but as soon as their Message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their Entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little Complement as they were before received with Honour; only told, that the King would speedily make Answer to the King their Master, by his own Ambassadors; and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendosme*, *William Barotier* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Peter Fresnel*, Bishop of *Lysieux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as soon almost as the *English* were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the Praise of Peace, concluding with the Tender of the Lady *Katharine*, and 50,000 Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great Importance. To which King *Henry*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, made Answer, that these Offers were Trifles, and that without yielding to his Demands, he would never desist from that he intended. And with this Answer the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed. It is said, that about this Time the Dauphin (who in the King of *France*'s Sickness managed the State) sent to K. *Henry* a Ton of Tennis Balls, in Derision of his Youth, as fitter to play with them, than to manage Arms; which

A.D. 1413

He quarters  
in his Arms  
the three  
*Flower-de-luces*.

He sends  
Ambassadors  
into *France*, to  
claim the Sur-  
render of the  
Crown.

The King of  
*France* re-  
turns Answer  
by his Ambas-  
sadors.

The Dauphin  
of *France*  
sends K. *Hen-ry*  
a Ton of  
Tennis Balls  
in Derision,  
and K. *Hen-ry*'s Answer.



A.D. 1413 King Henry took in such Scorn, that he promised with an Oath, it should not be long e'er he would toss such Iron Balls amongst them; that the best Arms in France should not be able to hold a Racket to turn them. And now all things are prepared and in a Readiness for the King's Journey into France, his Men shipped, and himself ready to go on Ship-board; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his Person, plotted by Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroop of Masham Lord-Treasurer, and Thomas Grey Earl of Northumberland, and plotted and procured by the French Agents. These being apprehended, and upon Examination confessing the Treason, and the Money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that End received, were all of them immediately put to Death.

Richard Earl of Cambridge, second Son of Edmund of Langley, did Richard, afterward Duke of York, claim and recover the Crown from the Lancastrian Family. This Execution done, and the Wind blowing fair, K. Henry weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200 Sail (Grafton saith but 140 Ships) but Enguerant saith 1600, attended with six thousand Spears, and 14,000 Foot, besides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at Calais, where he made Proclamation, that no Man, upon Pain of Death, should rob any Church, or offer Violence to any that were found unarmed: And from thence passing on, he besieged Harfleur; which when no Succour came within certain Days agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of Exeter Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant Sir John Falstaffe, with a Garrison of 1500 Men. It is said, that when King Henry entered Harfleur, he passed along the Streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. Martin; where with great Devotion he gave most humble Thanks to God for this first achieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of Somme, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. Maxence, where 30,000 French appearing, he pitched his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his Men, he gave the Order of Knighthood to John Lord Ferrers of Groby, Reynold Graystock, Piercy Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Pickering, William Huddleston, Henry Mortimer, John Hoshalton, Philip Hall; but not perceiving the French to have any Mind to fight, he marched by the Town of Amiens to Beauvais, and there stayed two Days, expecting Battel; and from thence marched to Corbie, where the Peasants of the Country, with certain Men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right Wing of the English, which was led by Hugh Stafford Lord Bourchier, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by John Bromeley of Bromeley, a Commander in the Lord Stafford's Regiment, who with his own Hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same; with Sight whereof the English were so encouraged, that they presently routed the French, and put them to Flight; which valiant Exploit the Lord Stafford recompensed,

1415.  
K. Henry  
passeth with  
an Army into  
France.

His Devoti-  
on.

by giving to Bromeley an Annuity of fifty A.D. 1415 Pounds a Year, out of his Lands of Staffordshire.

After this the King marched towards Calais, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing, that when one was complained of for having taken a Silver Pixe out of a Church; he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Soldier also to be hanged: Which Point of Discipline both kept the rest from offending in that Kind, and drew the People of the Country under-hand to relieve his Men with all things necessary. The French King, hearing that King Henry had passed the River Somme, by Advice of his Council (who yet were divided in Opinion) sent Montjoy, the French King at Arms, to defy King Henry, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King Henry, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of Stafford, the Bishop of Norwich, the Lord Molines and Burnel, were lately dead; yet willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his Message, and first having cleared a Passage over the Bridge, where of Necessity he was to pass, on the 22d of October, he passed over with his Army. At which Time the Duke of York, that led the Rere-ward, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereof he sent Word to the King, who thereupon made a stand, and appointing his Officers what Course to hold, and encouraging his Soldiers, they all attended when the Battel should begin. The French Army was divided into three Battels; in the first were placed eight thousand Men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Cross-bows, the Wings consisting of two thousand two hundred Men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Constable of France himself, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Ewe, Richmond and Vendosme, the Lord Dampier the Lord Admiral of France, the Admiral Buciqualt, and others. The Middle Battel, wherein were more Men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of Barre and Alanson, and by the Earls of Vaudemont, Salengues, Blamont, Grantpre, and Rousey. In the Rere-ward were all the Remainder of the French Forces, guided by the Earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Falconbridge, and the Lord Lorney, Captain of Ardy. The French-men thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times as many as the English (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing but of the Booty they should get. In the mean Time King Henry, having made Choice of a Piece of Ground half fenced on his Back with the Village, wherein they had rested the Night before, on both Sides having strong Hedges and Ditches, begun there to order his Battel; but first he appointed an Ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a Watch-word given, should discharge their whole Flight upon the whole Flank of the Enemies Horse. The Vanguard, consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of York, who, out of an Heroick Courage, made Suit for that Place; with whom were joined the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The main Battel was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: With him were the Duke of Gloucester his Brother,

His strict  
Discipline.

The French  
Army how  
marshalled.

Six times as  
many as the  
English.

K. Henry's  
Army how  
marshalled.



A.D. 1415 ther, the Earl-Marshal, Oxford and Suffolk. The Rere-ward was led by Thomas Duke of Exeter, the King's Uncle, consisting of all Sorts of Weapons; the Horse-men, as Wings, guarded the Companies on both Sides. The King, to prevent the Fury of the French Cavalry, by the Direction of the Duke of York, appointed divers Stakes studded with Iron at both Ends, of six Foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pioneers to attend to remove them as they should be directed. These Things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the Onset was presently given by the French Horse-men: Whereupon Sir William Orpington, according to Direction, caused the Bow-men behind the Hedges to let fly their Arrows; which so galled the French Horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their Unruliness, so opened their Ranks, that the right Wing of the English Horse had Way to come in upon the French Foot; and withal, the French Horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and disranked by their own Company. Upon which, the King with his main Battel came on with such Resolution, that himself in Person charged the Duke of Alanson, by whom he was well near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Duke's Men, he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his Horse; whom the King's Guard, notwithstanding the King cried out to the contrary, slew outright: And with his Fall the main Battel of the French first gave Ground, then turned their Backs, and lastly cast away their Weapons and fled. But then certain of the French Horse-men that first ran away, led on by Robert Bondile, and the Captain of Agincourt, meaning to wipe away the Blot of running away from Soldiers, by fighting with Boys, set upon the Pages and Laundresses that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable Shrike, that K. Henry verily thought some fresh Forces had been come: Whereupon he caused all the Arrows that were sticking in the Field to be gathered, and the Stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used: Amongst which the Duke of York's Body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: The Sight whereof, together with Danger of a second Charge, made K. Henry give Order that the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principal Men, whom he caused to be bound Back to Back, and so left. For which Fact, tho' done in cold Blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with Cruelty, seeing the Number of the Prisoners was more than of his own Soldiers; and nothing could give Assurance of Safety but their Slaughter. But all was not yet done; for the Earls of Marle and Falconbridge, with six hundred Men at Arms, who had stood still all Day, began now to stir, and gave a brave Charge upon K. Henry's Army: But being but few, and their Horses galled with the Stakes, they had only the Honour to die bravely; and indeed they slew more of the English than the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the Scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the Place was called? And being told Agincourt; Well then, said he, this shall be

from henceforth called the Battel of Agincourt: A.D. 1416 And presently he caused the whole Army, in their Array as they were, to give God Thanks, causing the Clergy there present to sing the Psalm of David, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the Verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the Horse-men bow their Bodies: And then singing *Te Deum*, and other holy Hymns, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where the Soldiers had Liberty given them to take the Spoil.

A great Victory, no doubt, but yet a Victory by which the English gained not one Foot of Ground in France more than they had before; and which *Monstrelet* attributed not so much to the Valour of the English, as to the Indiscretion of the French, who had so streightned the Vanguard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their Swords; so true is that Saying, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat*. The next Day after the Battel, French Heralds came to ask Leave to bury their Dead, and had it; and the English Heralds appointed to make Search, made Return, that there were slain of the French above ten thousand, whereof one hundred twenty-six were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy-four, whereof five hundred were Knighted the Night before the Battel, and of common Soldiers about one thousand six hundred. Amongst the Slain of the Nobility, were Charles le Bretts, High-Constable; Jaques of Chatillon, Admiral of France, the great Admiral of France, the Master of the Cross-bows, the Duke of Alanson, Brabant, and Barre; the Earls of Nevers, Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grantpre, Rouffey, Falconbridge, Foys, and L'estruck. There were taken Prisoners Charles Duke of Orleans, John Duke of Bourbon, the Lords Danvert, Fosseux, Humiers, Roy, Cawny, Fancourd, Noel, Bouciqualt; to the Number in all of fifteen hundred. On the English Part were slain Edward Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk, and not full six hundred in all; but, saith Caxton, not above six and twenty in all; and Paulus Emilius saith, besides the two Lords only two Knights, and but ten private Soldiers in all: A Miracle rather than a Victory. But not only King Henry was the Death of the French Lords before-named, in the Field with his Sword; but of another great Prince at home, with his Victory; for Lewis the Dauphin, eldest Son of Charles the Sixth, King of France, presently upon it, without any other Cause apparent, fell sick and died. Yet King Henry, to make his Enemies the better contented with their Overthrow, and to take away the Envy of his Victory, at his Return into England with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of November following, presently gave strait Order, That no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more than of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe Return; but without Words of either disgracing the French, or extolling the English. At his Entrance into London, the City presented him with a thousand Pounds, and two Basons of Gold, worth five hundred Pounds more. The Bodies of

This Battel was fought at Agincourt. His Devotion after the Victory.

An Error of the French in ordering the Battel, Cause of their Overthrow.

The Number of French slain in the Battel:

And who of the Nobility.

The small Number of English that were slain.

The Dauphin with Grief dieth.

A Policy.

The Duke of York slain.

The Prisoners taken were all slain; how justified.



A.D. 1416 the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were brought into England, and the Dukes buried at *Fedringbey* in Northamptonshire, the Earls at *New-Elm* in Oxfordshire.

The Emperor Sigismund comes into England.

About this Time the Emperor Sigismund, Cousin-German to K. Henry, having been first in France, came, accompanied with the Archbishop of Rheims, Ambassador from the French King, into England; for whom there were thirty great Ships sent from the King to waft him over: But approaching to Land at *Dover*, the Duke of Gloucester with a Company of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn, stepp'd up to the Knees in Water, saying to him, *That if he came as the King's Friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any Jurisdiction, they would resist him.* Whereupon the Emperor renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is thereupon admitted to Land, and received with as much Honour as could be done him; and afterward, together with *Albert Duke of Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sat in their Cells at the Solemnity of the Feast. A principal Cause of the Emperor's coming, was to mediate a Peace between England and France; wherein he had brought K. Henry to a good Degree of Inclination, till News came of the besieging of *Harfleur* by the French, and of the Earl of *Armagnac's* setting upon the Duke of *Exeter*, being Governor there: And then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he disliked they should treat of Peace with their Swords in their Hands, as all wise Men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the Time of the Treaty to do Acts of Hostility, was an Affront to all Honesty, and not to be tolerated with any Patience.

And now the Earl of *Armagnac* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of France brought up the whole Navy of the French, with Intent, whilst the Earl should assault it by Land, to have entered the Town by the Water's Side: But of this Purpose the Valour and Diligence of the Duke of *Exeter* prevented them. As soon as K. Henry had Intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being dissuaded by the Emperor, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the Rescue of *Harfleur*; who, upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the Mouth of the River *Seyne*: Whereupon *Norbon* the French Admiral set forward, and got to the Mouth of the Haven: And here began a Fight, which was resolutely maintained

Five hundred French Ships sunk by the English. *Harfleur* rescued by the Duke of Bedford.

on both Sides, until the English having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the French, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoua*, won the Harbour; and at last, though with some Opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harfleur*, and made the Earl of *Armagnac* glad to raise his Siege. Upon the News hereof, the Emperor desisted from mediating any further for Peace with France; and entering into a League Defensive and Offensive with King Henry, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the

19th of October he departed towards Germany, A.D. 1417 whom K. Henry accompanied to *Calais*, whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean Time the French had hired divers Carricks, and other great Ships of the *Genoueses* and *Italians*; which joining with the French Fleet, lay at the Mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the Command of *Jaques Bastard of Bourbon*, to hinder all Succours from coming to *Harfleur*; but *John Earl of Huntingdon* (Son to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Chichester*) being sent to scour the Coasts, encountred with him, and after a long Fight took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the Money for the half Year's Pay of the Fleet; and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the Mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the twenty-third of July, in the fourth Year of his Reign, the King himself, with the King Henry Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Somerset*; the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Maltrevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers of Groby*, *Ferrers of Chertley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey of Codnor*, *Sir Gilbert Umphrevile*, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of twenty-five thousand five hundred twenty-eight fighting Men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pioneers, took Shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of August landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of August had it yielded to him; at which Time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Aberwilliers*, which the King gave to him and his Heirs, being the first Land given by the King in France.

At the Winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights, and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where, to prevent the Citizens from sallying out, he cast up a Mount; and then making many Assaults, but finding them to do little Good, he caused his Pioneers to undermine the Walls; which being done upon the fourth of September, he offered the Besieged their Lives, if they would submit; which they refusing, he thereupon made a Shew of a general Assault, whilst many of his Men entered the City under the Foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first; and then coming upon the Backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them; and then the whole Army entred without Resistance. The next Day the King caused all the principal Men of the Town to come before him at their Senate-house, where some of them, for their stubborn refusing the Grace he had offered them, were adjudged to Death, and the rest fined. The Spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the Soldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no Mercy, if he did not surrender, he gave twelve Hostages, That if he were not relieved before the twentieth of September, he would then give it up; which not coming, he performed; and so the King had Possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And



A.D. 1417  
Difference  
between the  
Duke of  
Burgundy  
and the  
Dauphin,  
makes easy  
Way for  
King Henry's  
Proceedings.

1418.

King Henry's  
liberal Deal-  
ing with the  
Citizens of  
Caen.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seventeen Years of Age, and bare of Money, had got into his Possession all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which so incensed her against him, that to do him a Spight, she placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chief Authority about the King, who by reason of his Infirmary was unable himself to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his Hand, meant first to repress the growing Boldness of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewise envying the Duke's Advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling Greatness, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adversary: And thus while private Respects were preferred before publick, whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first Intentions one against another, not looking after King *Henry*; but in the second Place, after their own Turns served, an easy Way was left for King *Henry*'s Proceedings, and he went on at his Pleasure with small Opposition: He sent the Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewise the Duke of *Gloucester* the City of *Lyseux*; whilst himself remaining still at *Caen*, put out of the City the Natives that were impotent, or young Infants, to the Number of 1500, and in their Places put *English* People; and finding a great Mass of Money and Plate deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same, upon Proof, to be respectively delivered to the right Owners, upon Condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and just Dealing won him more Hearts than the Force of his Arms had won him Knees; especially with the *Normans*, who are easier to be drawn with Gentleness and Love, than forced by Violence and Compulsion. From hence the King marched the First of *October* to *Corfysse* Castle, which within three Days yielded: The fourth of *October* he came to *Argenton*, which, not relieved by a Day agreed upon, was likewise surrendered: The Town of *Alançon* endured eight Days Siege; but in the End did as other their Neighbour-Towns had done. From *Alançon* the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent to *Fayles*, to view the Strength thereof, whom the King presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of *January*, then to yield up the Town. No Relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and soon after upon the like Terms the Castle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in Execution a Proclamation he had formerly made, That if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a Day assigned, he would then grant their Lands to his Soldiers: And thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence*, during his Life, the Viscounties of *Auge*, *Orver*, and *Ponthieu*, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilst his Navy still kept the Seas, and daily took many *French* Ships; but on the sixteenth of *July*, such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*; and yet, with all their Diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Balingers, and two great Carricks laden with Merchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In

the mean Time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* besieged the strong Castle of *Damfront*: The Duke of *Clarence* took *Courton* and *Bourney*; and many other being taken, as *Chambois*, *Bechelouyn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevenner*, *Arvyillers*, *Bagles*: In all of them he placed Captains and Garrisons, and particularly in *Fresny*, Sir *Robert Brent* lately made Viscount: The Duke of *Gloucester* also, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Codnor*, took in all the Isle of *Constantine*, except *Cherburgh*, and thence returned to the King, but was sent back to take in that City also; which after some Time, when no Relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendered; although by this Time the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, by Mediation of the Pope, were reconciled, and began to join their Forces to make Resistance. And now the Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, with a Supply of fifteen thousand Men out of *England*, came to the King, who presently took in the City of *Eureux*, and the Earl of *Ryme*, the strong Castle of *Mille le Vesco*.

The next Thing attempted was the Siege of *Roan*, a City strongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient Passage but by the City of *Lowvies*: To this City therefore he first lays Siege; which, when Relief came not within a Time agreed on, was surrendered; and yet there was another Impediment to be removed, a Stone-bridge, which hindered the Approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded: For this King *Henry* devised Floats of Wicker covered with Beasts Hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his Quarter passed the River, and then laid Siege to the Town on that Side; and for the other Side, he had other Devices made with Hogheads and Pipes, fastned to Fir-poles and Barges, with which he passed his Men over at Pleasure; and in the mean Time he caused divers of his Soldiers that could swim, to make shew of Passing the River three Miles off another Way; with which the *French-men* being deluded, drew all their Forces thither, and by this Means the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient Guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the Soldiers were taken to the King's Grace: The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exeter* was sent, and with him *Windsor* the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not only gave proud Answers, but also made a Sally forth, though with the Loss of thirty of their Men. Upon this Obstinacy of theirs the King presently orders his Siege, his own Quarter was the *Chartreux*; the Duke of *Clarence* at *St. Gervase*, the Duke of *Exeter* at Port *St. Dennis*, and every great Commander had his Quarter assigned; so as the City was begirt round, and a great Chain of Iron set upon Piles, and a strong wooden Bridge for Passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this Time the Earl of *Kilmmain* with sixteen hundred *Irish*, came to the King and had their Quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great Valour. The King's Cousin-german, the King of *Portugal*, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the Mouth of the River *Seine*, which stopped all Passage of Succour to *Roan*. Many Policies and

King Henry  
besiegeth  
*Roan*: His  
Policies in  
the Siege.



A.D. 1418 Practices were used against the City, but none prevailed till Famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 21,000 Persons at the Beginning of the Siege, and the Siege continuing long, it grew to that Extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but Vinegar and Water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like: Great Numbers of the poorer Sort were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to pass the *English* Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmas-Day*, in Honour of Christ's Birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out; but not others that were put out the second Time, but suffered them to perish.

But nothing prevailed till at last Famine,

In this Distress a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their Misery, stood upon such high Terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight Days was granted them; the eight Days ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one Day longer, and neither in that Day could any thing be agreed on: Then they crave four Days more, in which the Multitude and common People so pressed the Magistrates and Governors of the City, that on the fourth Day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was surrendered, and the Inhabitants themselves and all their Goods were yielded to the King's Mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take Possession, who accordingly entred with his Soldiers; the next Day after, being *Friday*, the twentieth of *January*, the King himself made his Entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady's Church; where, after publick Thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeses and Inhabitants, making Proclamation, That all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the Benefit of his Protection, and retain their Possessions: Whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendered. In this Time of the King's lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Honfleur*, *Munster de Villiers*, *Eu*, and *Neufchatet*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Nautes*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

*Roan* is yielded up to K. Henry.

1419.

1420.

A Meeting for Reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of England and France.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great Successes of K. *Henry*, could think of no better Way for his own Safety, than to make a Reconciliation between the two Kings; to which End, Ambassadors are sent to procure their Meeting: At which Time K. *Henry*, for their Service already performed, and in Hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captain *le Beauf*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray*, Earl of *Tankerville*, and the Lord *Bourchier*, Earl of *Eu*. Upon the last of *May*, K. *Henry*, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Gloucester* and *Exeter*, his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March* and *Salisbury*, and a Thousand Men at Arms, entred the Place appointed for the Meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the *Frensy*) with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earl of *St. Paul*, and a Company of Ladies, amongst whom, as a Bait to entangle the King's Affection, was the King's Daughter, the beautiful

Lady *Katharine*; with whose Sight, tho' the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no Shew thereof, till other Things should be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made Means to the Duke of *Burgoyne* to hinder all Agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon, at their Parting, the King told the Duke, That he would have both the Lady and all his other Demands, or else drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the sixth of *July*, Articles of their Reconcilement are signed and sealed. In the mean Time the Earl of *Longueville* surprized the Town of *Ponthoyse*, but had scarce been able to make good the Surprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his Succour. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two Days; but perceiving no Shew of Sally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoyse*, whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of *Vaynon Villiers*; and on the last of *August*, the Castles of *Gyfors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumal*; so that now all *Normandy* (Mount *St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the Possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him ever since the Year 1207.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a Reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, yet inwardly bearing a Spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his Destruction: Which to effect, he procured a Meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monstreuil*; where the Duke, though humbling himself in Reverence to the Dauphin on his Knee, was most barbarously murdered; which Act was so much the less to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like Kind, upon the like Interview, he had caused *Lewis*, the Duke of *Orleans* to be murdered. But though this barbarous Act might justly incense *Philip*, Earl of *Charolois*, the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Heir, to seek Revenge; yet, as a wise and politick Prince, he forbore for the present to make any Shew of Choler or Distemperature; and considering with himself, that Difference between the Dauphin and him would but give K. *Henry* the greater Advantage, he endeavoured to propose an Overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that End Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France* and the young Duke of *Burgoyne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great Credit to their Propositions, unless the Lady *Katharine* would join in them, whose Innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilst these Things are in Agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*, and the Earls of *Marshall* and *Huntingdon* entred into *Mayne*, who approaching *Mans*, was encountered by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew five Thousand, and took two Hundred Prisoners; for which News being brought to *Roan*, whither K. *Henry* was come to solemnize the Feast of Christ's Birth, Thanksgiving to God was publickly made, and in the Instant thereof arriv'd other Ambassadors from the King

The Duke of Burgoyne treacherously murdered by the Dauphin.



A.D. 1420 King and Queen of France, and a Letter from the Lady Katharine to K. Henry, was secretly by the Bishop of Arras delivered. The Conclusion of all was, that the King of England should speed himself to Troyes, there to be espoused to the Lady Katharine, and to have Assurance of the Crown of France, after the Decease of the present K. Charles. Whereupon with a Guard of fifteen thousand choice Soldiers, accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Longueville, Tankerville and Eu, the K. of England came to Troyes in Campaigne, upon the 18th Day of May, where he was met by the Duke of Burgoigne, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Duchesse of Burgoigne and the Lady Katharine, gave him Princely Entertainment; and after some Intercourse of Complement between the Princes and the Ladies, K. Henry tendered to the Lady Katharine a Ring of great Value, which she (not without some Blushing) received; and afterwards upon the twentieth Day of May, she was affianced to him in St. Peter's Church, and on the third of June following, the Marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King Henry was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of France: The Articles whereof with all convenient Expedition were proclaimed both in England and in France, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of Account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of Burgoigne.

King Henry affianced to the Lady Katharine, the King of France's Daughter; and withal proclaimed Regent of France, and Heir apparent of the Crown.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succession in the Crown, which the Genius of France will not long endure; a while it must; and therefore the main Endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of June, K. Henry with the French King, James King of Scots, who was newly arrived, the Duke of Burgoigne, the Prince of Orange, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of French, English, Scottish, Irish, and Dutch, to the Number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh Day laid Siege to the Town of Sens, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four Days Siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of Bedford in their Company, who was newly come out of England with large Supplies of Men and Money to Monstreuil which was taken by Escalado, only the Castle held out still: During the Siege whereof, K. Henry created an Officer of Arms to be King of Heralds over the English-men, and entitled him Garter; whom he sent with Offers of Mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for Punishment of which his Presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in View of Monsieur Guitrey, the said Captain and twelve of his Friends were executed. Whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight Days together would not grant so much as a Parley; so that after six Weeks Siege they were enforced (their Lives saved) simply to yield.

Garter King of Arms when first created.

From thence the King marched to Melun up-A.D. 1420 on Seyn, and besieged it the thirteenth of July; the Captain whereof was Barbason, a Gascoigne, no less politick than valiant, who countermined some, and stopp'd other Mines made by the English, and fought Hand to Hand in the Barriers with King Henry: Yet at last through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a Hand in the Murther of the Duke of Burgoigne, he was sent Prisoner to Paris; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of Burgoigne and his Duchesse, with a Royal Train came thither, where the French King was lodged in the House of St. Paul, and the King of England in the Castle of Louvre. And here the three States of France anew, under their Hands and Seals in most authentick Manner, ratified the former Articles of King Henry's Succession to the Crown of France; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of England, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at Westminster.

And now King Henry began to exercise his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coin, which was called a Salute, to be made, whereon the Arms of France and England were quarterly stamped: He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of Exeter with five hundred Men to the Guard of Paris: He awarded out Process against the Dauphin to appear at the Marble-Table at Paris; which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of Burgoigne; and by the Sentence of the Parliament he was banished the Realm.

King Henry makes a new Coin in France, called a Salute.

After this, the King making Thomas Duke of Clarence his Lieutenant-General of France and Normandy, on the 6th of January, with his beloved Queen Katharine, left Paris and went to Amiens, and from thence to Calais; and thence landing at Dover, came to Canterbury, and afterward through London to Westminster, where the Queen upon St. Matthias's Day, the 24th of February, was Crowned; the King of Scots sitting at Dinner in his State, but on the left Hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the King's Uncle the Bishop of Winchester being on the right Hand. All were served with covered Messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in Observation of the Lent Season.

1421.

A Coronation-Feast all of Fish.

After this the King took his Progress through the Land, hearing the Complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking Order for administering of Justice to High and Low; and then met the Queen at Leicester, where they kept their Easter.

In the mean Time the Duke of Clarence making a Road into Anjou, came to the City of Ampers, where he knighted Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowland Vydor, Sir Thomas Beaufort his natural Son; and returning home laden with Prey, was advertised that the Duke of Alançon intended to intercept his Passage: Whereupon he sent the Scout-Master Andrew Fogosa, a Lombard, to discover the Face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought Report, That their Number was but small, and those but ill ordered; that if he presently charged,



A.D. 1421 charged, there could be no Resistance. The Duke's Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefest Strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy; but the Traitor leading to a Streight, where by his Appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no Remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but overlaid with Multitude, and wearied with Fight, was himself with the Earl of Tankerville, the Lord Rosse, the Earl of Angus, Sir John Lumley, Sir John Verent, and about two thousand English slain: The Earls of Somerset, Suffolk, and Pearch, Sir John Berkley, Sir Ralph Nevil, Sir William Bowes, and sixty Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The Body of the Duke of Clarence was by Sir John Beaufort, his base Son (the Duke dying without other Issue) conveyed into England, and buried at Canterbury beside his Father; and this Disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at Beverly when he heard of his Brother's Death, and presently thereupon dispatched away Edmund Earl of Mortaigne into Normandy, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament to Westminster, requiring Aid by Money, to revenge his Brother's Death; which was readily granted: And the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of Bedford with an Army to Calais, consisting of four thousand Men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the Middle of May he followeth himself, and safely arriving at Calais, hastened to relieve Chartres, which the Dauphin with seven thousand Men had besieged, but hearing of the King's coming was retired to Tours: The King of Scots, with the Duke of Gloucester, about the 8th of July besieged Dreux; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the twentieth of that Month, then to surrender it; no Relief coming, it was surrendered. The King pursued the Dauphin from Place to Place, but could not overtake him, but in the Way surprizing the Town of Baugency, where all that craved it, he took to Mercy, as likewise he did at Rougement: From thence he went to Orleans, and from thence to Vignes St. Yon, and from thence to Paris; where having fitted himself with Supplies, he went and sat down before Menin in Brye, which after some Opposition, he also took; and thereby had Possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of France, in Brye, and in Champagne.

1422. Queen Katharine is brought to Bed of a Son at Windsor; and King Henry's Prophetic Speech of him.

Upon St. Nicholas's Day, in the Year 1422, Queen Katharine was brought to Bed of a Son at Windsor, who was by the Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and the Countess of Holland, Christened by the Name of Henry; whereof when the King had Notice, out of a Prophetick Rapture he said, *Good Lord! I Henry of Monmouth shall small Time Reign, and much get; and Henry born at Windsor shall long Time Reign, and lose all; but God's Will be done.*

About this Time the Dauphin laid Siege to Cosney, which the King was intente to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of Burgoyne's; and therefore tendered it more than if it had

been his own; and making over-hasty Jour- A.D. 1422 nies, he over-heat himself with Travel; and coming to Senlys, found himself so ill at Ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of Bedford to prosecute his Design; which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his Approach retired into Berry; whereof in Mockage he was after called the King of Berry. But the King's Fever and Flux encreasing, he was removed to Boys de Vincennes; where growing worse and worse, within a few Days he died. But somewhat before his Departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of Bedford Lieutenant-General of Normandy, and Regent of the Kingdom of France; and his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, he had made Protector of England, and of his Son's Person; exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of Burgoyne; to be at Unity amongst themselves; to be loyal to their young Prince; to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen; to hold and preserve what he by his Valour and God's Assistance had won; and never to conclude Contract of Amity with the Dauphin or Duke of Alanson, until they had submitted themselves to the King's Grace. And so giving God Thanks for all his Favours and Blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a Psalm of David he departed this Life, who might have justly prayed God with David, *Take me not away in the midst of my Days*, for he died about the Age of five or six and thirty Years, which in David's Account is the midst of the Number of the Days of Man's Life; but tho' he died in the midst of his Days, yet he died in the Fullness of his Glory; and of whom it may be said, — *Jamque arce potitus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis*; when he had reigned nine Years and five Months.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his first Year, an incredible Sum of Money was given him by the Clergy to divert him from a Motion propounded to take away their Temporalities; and in the same Year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth Year was granted him towards his Wars in France, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great Charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of Beaufort his Uncle, for a great Sum of Money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of London, for ten thousand Marks. In his ninth Year, at a parliament at Westminster, for Revenge of the Duke of Clarence's Death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which, because the Haste of the Business could not stay the usual Course of Collection, the Bishop of Winchester brought in presently twenty thousand Pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same Year also the Duke of Bedford in the King's Absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his Wars, one Fifteenth to be paid in such Money as was at that Time current. These were all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Achievements, by which it appears what great Matters

King Henry with over-hasty Jour- nies in France, falls sick and dies.

His Exhortations to his Lords at his Death.

King Henry pawneth his Crown to raise Money.



A.D. 1422 Matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

*Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his Time.*

HE ordained the King of Heralds over the *English*, which is called *Garret*.

No Gold to be offered in Payment unless it were Weight; and thereupon Weight ordained.

In his ninth Year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, it was ordained that no Man should offer Gold in Payment unless it were Weight; and thereupon were appointed Balances and Weights. An Act made in the thirteenth Year of K. *Richard* the Second, which disabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the Beginning of this King's Reign put in Execution; and further, this King excluded also the *French* from all Preferment Ecclesiastical; and those Priors Aliens Conventual who had Institution and Induction, were bound to put in Security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed the Counsel and Secrets of the Realm.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

Sir John Oldcastle censured for maintaining Wickliff's Doctrine.

IN the Beginning of his Reign, the *Wickliffists* increased greatly, of whom Sir *John Oldcastle* was Chief; who by Marriage of a Kinswoman of the Lord *Cobham's* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title. This Knight being very valorous, and in great Favour with the King, was in a Synod at *London* accused for maintaining of *Wickliff's* Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the Censure of the Church: But Sir *John Oldcastle* told the King, that he owed his Subjection only to his Majesty: And as for others, he would stand for the Truth against them to the uttermost of his Life. Upon this he was served by Process to appear in the Archbishop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at *Rocheſter*, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be translated into the

A Judgment of God upon the Archbishop of Canterbury for denying the Scriptures to be translated into English.

*English* Tongue. But mark the Judgment that fell upon his own Tongue, whose Roots and Blade shortly after (as it is recorded) grew so big in his Mouth and Throat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down Meat, but in Horror lay languishing, till at last, starved by Famine, he so died. In the mean Time Sir *John Oldcastle* wrote his Belief, and presented it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him in his Presence and Privy Chamber to be summoned; who appearing before the Archbishop, after divers Examinations, was condemned of Heresy, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into *Wales*. The King by his Proclamation promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in; but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the King's Offer was not much regarded, but he continued four Years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of *Wales*, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord *Powis*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of

*Bedford*, Regent of the Realm; where in the A.D. 1422 End he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the *Tower* to *St. Giles's* Fields, and there Sir *John Oldcastle* condemned of Heresy, is hanged in *St. Giles's* Field in a Chain by the Middle. hanged in a Chain by the Middle, and after consumed by Fire, the Gallows and all. At the Time of his first Conviction, four Years before, it was rumoured, that twenty thousand Men in Arms were assembled in *St. Giles's* Field: Whereupon the King, at Midnight, himself in Person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon Examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir *John Oldcastle*, but without any Intent against the King: Yet was Sir *Roger Aston*, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Prisons in and about *London* were filled with them.

In his third Year, the Order of Church-Service throughout *England*, was changed from the Use of *St. Paul's*, to the Use of *Salisbury*, to the great Disliking of many in those Days.

In his fourth Year, a Council was holden at *Constance*, whither he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *Worcester*. In which Council it was decreed, That *England* should have the Title of the *English* Nation, and should be accounted one of the Five principal Nations in Rank before *Spain*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliff's* Positions condemned; Also *John Huss*, and *Hierom* of *Prague* (notwithstanding the Emperor's safe Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the Space of nine and twenty Years, was reformed. *Benedict XIII.* had been elected by the *Spaniards*, *Gregory XII.* by the *French*; *John XXIV.* by the *Italians*: And now in this Council, begun in *February* 1414, and continued above three Years; wherein were assembled, besides the Emperor, the Pope, and the Palgrave of *Rhine*, four Patriarchs, twenty-seven Cardinals, seven and forty Archbishops, one hundred and threescore Bishops; Princes and Barons, with their Attendants, above thirty thousand. The foresaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned; and in the Place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Colonna*, by the Name of *Martin* the Fifth.

Sir John Oldcastle condemned of Heresy, is hanged in St. Giles's Field in a Chain by the Middle.

In a Council holden at Constance, England ranked before Spain.

John Huss burned.

Three Anti-Popes put down, and a Fourth established.

In this Year also fell out an Accident, which shews the strict Observance of Ecclesiastical Censures in those Days. The Wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Trussell* of *Warming-ton* in *Cheshire*, striving for Place at a Sermon in *St. Dunstan's* Church in the East, their Husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their Wives Behalf, and great Part-taking there was on both Sides, some slain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Compter, the Church suspended; and upon Examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parson of *St. Dunstan's* went before, after whom followed all the Lord's Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himself bare-headed, with a Wax Taper in his Hand; then followed the Lady bare-footed;

Penance enjoined for striving in the Church.



A.D. 1422 and then last, came the Arch-deacon *Reynold Renwood*; in which Order they went from St. Paul's, where the Sentence was given, to St. Dunstan's Church: Where, at the Re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Vessels with Water; and, according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the Value of ten Pounds, and the Lord a Pixe of Silver of five Pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of Money, if the Discipline of the Church had in those Days allowed it; but it seems the Commutation of Penance was not as yet come in Use.

In his ninth Year, in a Parliament at *Leicester*, a hundred and ten Priors alien were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in *France*, and their Possessions were given to the King; but by him, and King *Henry the Sixth*, were afterward given to other Monasteries and Colleges of learned Men.

*Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his Time.*

THIS King re-edified his Royal Mannor, which was then called *Shene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of *Carthusians*, which he named *Bethlehem*, the other of religious Men and Women of the Order of St. *Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He also founded the Brotherhood of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*. In the second Year of his Reign, *Moor-gate*, near to *Coleman-street*, was first made; by *Thomas Fawkenner*, Mayor of *London*, who caused also the Ditches of the City to be cleansed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moor* without the Wall to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Walbrook*, into the which Brook he caused the Water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron in divers Places. In his sixth Year, *William of Sevenoke*, Mayor of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoke* a Free-School and thirteen Alms-houses. This Man was found at *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable People was christned and brought up, bound Apprentice in *London*, and came at last to be Mayor of the City. Also *Robert Chickley*, Mayor of *London*, gave liberally to the Alms-houses founded by his Brother *Henry Chickley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chickley*, the Archbishop, founded two Colleges in *Oxford*, one called *Bernard College*, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named *St. John's College*; the other called *All Souls*, which continueth at this Day as he left it. Also *John Kempe*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, converted the Parish-Church of *Wye* in *Kent*, where he was born, into a College of Secular Priests.

*Casualties happening in his Time.*

IN the fifth Year of his Reign, a great Part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the House of the Friars Preachers, and two Friars of that Order. In his third Year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken.

*Of his Wife and Issue.*

HE married *Katharine*, the Daughter of A.D. 1422 King *Charles the Sixth* of *France*, who was his Queen about two Years and three Months; married at *Trois* in *Champagne* the third Day of *June* 1420, and afterward, *February* the 14th, Crowned at *Westminster*. She surviving K. *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Tudor*, an Esquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be descended from *Cadwalader*, the antient King of *Wales*, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose Meanness of Estate was recompensed by the Delicacy of his Personage, so absolute in all the Lineaments of his Body, that the only Contemplation of it might well make her forget all other Circumstances. By him she had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the Habit of Religion at *Westminster*, the other two were by King *Henry the Sixth*, their half Brother, advanced in Honour: *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the sole Heir of *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset*, was Father by her, unto *Henry the Seventh*, King of *England*, the only Heir of the House of *Lancaster*. *Jasper*, her second Son, was first created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but died without lawful Issue. This Queen, either for Devotion, or her own Safety, took into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, who dying the second of *January* 1436, she was buried in our Lady's Chappel within St. *Peter's* Church at *Westminster*; whose Corpse taken up in the Reign of King *Henry the Seventh*, her Grand-child (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry*, her Husband's Tomb, hath ever since so remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the Cover being loose) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom.

*Of his Personage and Condition.*

HE was tall of Stature, lean of Body, and his Bones but small, but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautiful of Face, swift in running, so as he, with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wild Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and musical Instruments, insomuch that in his Chappel amongst his private Prayers, he used certain Psalms of *David*, translated into *English* Metre by *John Lydgate*, Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of *Aeneas*; *Quo justior alter, nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he seldom fought Battel where he got not the Victory; and never got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thanksgiving. He was a better Man when King than a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no Marvel if he were something exorbitant. He was of a merciful Disposition, but not to the Prejudice of Wisdom; as thinking wise Cruelty to be

*Moor-gate*, when first built.

The strange Fortune of *William Sevenoke*.

*St. John's College*, and *All Souls College* in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Seven Dolphins in the River of *Thames*.



A.D. 1422 be better than foolish Pity, he was no less politick than valiant; for he never fought Battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by Stratagem as by Force. He was so temperate in his Diet, and so free from Vain-glory, that we may truly say he had something in him of *Cæsar*, which *Alexander the Great* had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of *Alexander the Great*, which *Cæsar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great Affecter of Glory, but not of the Glory of the Blast of Mens Mouths, but of the Glory that fills the Sails of Time. He died of full Years, though not full of Years: If he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his Love were great to military Men, it was not small to Clergy-men; insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

Of his Death and Burial.

SOME say he was poisoned, which *Polydore Virgil* saith, was much suspected. The Scots write that he died of the Disease called *Saint Piacre*, which is a Palsy and a Cramp: *Enguerant* saith, that he died of *St. Anthony's Fire*. But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the Time of his Death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleurisy, which at that Time was a Sickness strange, and but little known. Being dead, his Body was embalmed and closed in Lead, and laid in a Chariot-royal richly apparelled in Cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calais*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward the Confessor*, upon whose Tomb Queen *Katharine* caused a royal Picture to be laid, covered all

over with Silver Plate gilt, but the Head there- A.D. 1422 of altogether of massy Silver: All which, at that Abby's Suppression, were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner Uses. He died the last Day of *August*, in the Year 1422, when he had reigned nine Years and five Months, lived eight and thirty Years, though some say two Years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his Time.

MEN of Valour in his Time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true Saying, *Regis ad exemplum*; and Men of Learning likewise in such Numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First, *Alan de Lin*, a *Carmelite Frier* in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; then *Thomas Otterbone*, a *Franciscan Frier*, who wrote a History of *England*; then *John Seguerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests as Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Rose*, a *Carmelite Frier* in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wickliffists*. *Richard Cayster*, born in *Norfolk*, a Man of great Holiness of Life, favouring, though secretly, the Doctrine of *Wickliff*: *William Wallis*, a *Black-Frier* in *Lynn*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovid's Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor*, a Priest and Master of Arts in *Oxford*, a steadfast Follower of *Wickliff's* Doctrine, and burnt for the same, at *Smithfield* in *London*, the last Year of this King's Reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*; who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt Manners of the Clergy, and the Profession of the Friars Mendicants.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

A.D. 1413

In his first Year,  
SIR William Cromar was Mayor.  
John Sutton, John Michell, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
Sir Thomas Falconer was Mayor.  
John Michell, Thomas Alen, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
Sir Nicolas Wotton was Mayor.  
William Cambridge, Allen Everard, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
Sir Henry Barton was Mayor.  
Robert Whittington, John Coventrie, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
Sir Richard Marlow was Mayor.  
Henry Read, John Gedney, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,

William Sevenoke was Mayor.  
John Brian, Raphe Barton, John Paruesse, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,

Sir Richard Whittington was Mayor.  
Robert Whittington, John Butler, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,

William Cambridge was Mayor.  
John Butler, John Welles, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,

Sir Robert Chicheley was Mayor.  
Richard Goffeline, William Weston, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1418



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *H E N R Y* VI.

A.D. 1422

**T**HERE hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together it might be said rightly, *Pulcherrima Proles, Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*; for King Edward the Third had many Sons, not inferior in Valour to the many Sons of King Priamus, not excepting his valiant Son Hector, having so equal a Match for him as Edward the Black Prince, who wanted but an Homer to have been an Achilles. Then John of Gaunt had divers Sons, Men as valorous as any that Age afforded. Then Henry the Fourth had four Sons, of so heroical Disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only K. Henry the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the heroical Nature was come to the Height, it degenerated again in K. Henry the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mother's Side; who, though in her self she was a Princess of a noble Spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazy Father, what Marvel if she proved the Mother of a crazy Issue? And yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no Doubt of excellent Parts in their Kind, though not of Parts kindly for a Prince, in a private Man praiseworthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder Metal than the soft Temper of K. Henry the Sixth was made of: And in him we may see the Fulfilling of the Text; *Vae Genti cujus Rex est puer, Vae to that Nation whose King is a Child*; for he was not above eight Months old when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a Child in Years, for which there may be Helps by good Protectors, as of a Child in Abilities of Ruling, whereof, though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient Supply; of which in this King we have a pregnant Example; for as long as he continued a Child in Years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the Providence of his careful Uncles; but as soon as he left being a Child in Years, and yet continued a Child in Ability of Ruling, then presently began all Things *In pejus ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*; all Things went to wreck both in France and England. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great Fall as it were of Nilus, in King Henry the Sixth.

K. Henry but eight Months old when his Father died.

Henry, called of *Windfor*, because born there, the only Child of K. Henry the Fifth, as yet scarce nine Months old, succeeded his Father,

and was proclaimed King of England on the A.D. 1422 last of August in the Year 1422; by reason of whose Infancy King Henry, his Father, had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their Consent confirmed the Regency of France to John Duke of Bedford, the Government of England to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the Guard of his Person to Thomas Duke of Exeter, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord-Chancellor: Wherein it was wisely provided, that one Man should not rule all, lest it should prove a Spur to Aspiring, and withal stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest Form of Authority: And indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their Places, that it well appeared the Trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong Impression of Love and Loyalty towards his Son.

The Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, was to keep that by the Sword which King Henry the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Assistants, especially the two Terrors of France, Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and John Lord Talbot: And amongst the French themselves the Duke of Burgoyne, a Friend no less powerful than firm unto him.

The Dauphin also (now Crowned King at Poitiers, and called Charles the Seventh of France, his Father being newly dead, within a little more than a Month after K. Henry) had likewise great Assistants, the Duke of Alençon and many other Peers of France, and of the Scots many, and some perhaps of the English that took Part with him; by Means whereof the Game of Fortune was a long Time played between them with great Variety. The first Act of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, was an Oration which he made to the French in Paris, which wrought this good Effect, that King Henry is proclaimed King of England and of France, and such French Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first Act of Hostility was performed by the new King of France, who sends the Lord Granville to Pont Meaulan, who surprized it, putting all the English Soldiers to the Sword; but the Regent sending thither Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, so strongly beleaguered it, that the Lord Granville not only surrendered it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of England. From thence the Earl marched to Seine, which he took by Assault; and

K. Henry is proclaimed in Paris, King of England and France.



A.D. 1423 and put all the Soldiers (except the Captain, Sir William Maryn) to the Sword.

The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne. The Parisians aspiring, are repressed by the Regent.

At this Time the Regent, the Duke of Burgoyne, John Duke of Britain, and his Brother in Law the Duke of Richmond (who revolted afterward to the new K. of France, and was by him made Constable in France) met at Amiens; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it to be offensive and defensive respectively: And to make the Friendship the more firm, the Regent married Anne the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne at Troyes. In this mean Time the Parisians taking Advantage of the Regent's Absence, conspired to have let in the new King into Paris; but the Day before the Night appointed for his Admission, the Regent with his Power entred, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick Execution. That done, he furnished all the Forts and Places of Strength with English-men, and sent Sir John Falstaffe, who took in Pacye, and Coursay, two strong Castles; whilst himself with his Forces took in Traynels, and Braye upon Seine.

The Montague, Earl of Salisbury, defeats a great Army of the French.

The Constable of France the mean while, with the new King's Forces, laid Siege to Cravant in Burgoyne; but the Regent sent thither the Earl of Salisbury, who set upon the French; and after a long Fight putting them to Flight, slew about eighteen hundred Knights and Gentlemen of Note, and three thousand Common Soldiers, Scots and French, took Prisoners the Constable himself, the Earl of Ventadour, Sir Alexander Alerdyn, Sir Lewis Ferignye, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English Part were slain Sir John Grey, Sir William Hall, Sir Gilbert Halfall, Richard ap Maddock, and one and twenty hundred Soldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to Monteguillon, and sat down before it, which after five Months Siege he took, whilst the Duke of Suffolk took in the two strong Castles of Cowcy and le Roche.

1424. James the first, King of Scots, after 18 Years Imprisonment is released, and the Manner of doing his Homage.

Whilst these Things are done in France, in England the Protector ransomed and enlarged the young King of Scots, James the First (who by the Space of eighteen Years had been kept a Prisoner) which he did out of Opinion, that he might withdraw the Scots out of France, taking Homage and Fealty of him for the Crown of Scotland in these Words: *I James Stuart, King of Scots, shall be true and faithful to you Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Superior Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my Fidelity for the said Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and shall do you Service for the same; So God me help, and these holy Evangelists.* And therewithal, with Consent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife Jane, Daughter to the deceased Duke of Somerset, and Cousin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark; yet all this Courtesy could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful and unthankful.

And now the Protector sent over to the Regent ten thousand well furnished Soldiers, with which fresh Succour he won many Towns and Places of Strength; which the French seeing, and finding themselves too weak by plain Force to withstand the English, they fought by Subtily to compass their Ends: And first, they work upon the Inconstancy of the Duke of

Britain, and his Brother Arthur, by K. Henry A.D. 1424 the fifth, created Earl of Yrvy, whom by Gifts and Promises they suborned, perfidiously to deliver over into their Possession the Castles of Crotoyne and Yerney; but the English, before the French Garrisons were settled, fell upon Crotoyne, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent besieged Yerney; and by secret Mining, and violent Batteries, so shook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain Time. Whereupon the Duke of Alanson, with sixteen thousand French, came to the Rescue; but perceiving the English prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to Vernevil, and swore to the Townsmen that he had put the Regent to Flight, and rescued Yerney; which they believing, rendered up Vernevil to him; but the Regent followed him thither, when, by the Encouragement of some fresh Companies of Scots come to his Succour, he came to a Battel in the Field, where the English, with the Loss of two thousand one hundred Common Soldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord Dudley and the Lord Charleton, got the Honour of the Day, and slew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viscounts, twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French, besides two thousand seven hundred Scots lately arrived, and took Prisoners the Duke of Alanson himself, the Lord of Hernis, and divers other French; and Sir John Turnbull, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides Common Soldiers. This Battel was fought the eight and twentieth Day of August, in the Year 1424, and thereupon Vernevil was presently re-delivered.

The Regent gives the French a great Overthrow at Vernevil.

The Earl of Salisbury doth great Acts in France.

After this the Earl of Salisbury, with ten thousand Men, taketh in the strong Town of Mans, the Town of St. Susan, the Fort of St. Bernard, and others; from thence he went to Anjou, where he performed such heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible in all France; as for Instance, the new High-Constable, perfidious Richmond, with forty thousand Men, laid Siege to the good Town of St. James in Benyon, the Garrison whereof consisted but of six hundred English; who being driven to some Extremity, sallied forth, crying, *St. George! A Salisbury!* Which Name of Salisbury so frightened the French, thinking he had been come to rescue them, that casting away their Weapons, they ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves Prisoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and some Treasure behind them. After which other Castles, as that of Beaumont, of Vicount, Teuney, Gilly, Osce, Ruffj, Vassy, and many other were taken in by Sir John Montgomery, and Sir John Falstaffe; so as once again the French are glad to betake themselves to their old Course of Fraud; they compounded with a Gascoigne Captain for Delivery of Alanson to them; whereof the Regent having Notice, he sent the Lord Willoughby and Sir John Falstaffe to prevent it; who encountering with Charles de Villiers, that with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, was come to the Place appointed for Entry, took and slew them all, except some few Horse which saved themselves by flying. After which the Earl of Salisbury took in and demolished above

His very Name defeated an Army of forty thousand.

The French use Fraud, but to their own Hurt.



A.D. 1424 forty Castles and strong Piles, for which there was publick Thanksgiving to God in London.

K. Henry at four Years old dubbed Knight by the Regent.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of York, Father to K. Edward the Fourth.

The Bishop of Winchester made a Cardinal.

An. Reg. 4. 1425.

The Duke of Gloucester marries another Man's Wife, and the Trouble that grew about it.

Whilst these things were done in France, an unkind Variance fell out between the Protector and his Brother the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor; for appeasing whereof, the Regent having substituted the Earl of Warwick Lieutenant-General in his Absence, came into England; where in a Parliament he compounded all Differences between them. In Honour whereof K. Henry kept a solemn Feast, at which Time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four Years old; and then the King presently invested with that Dignity many of his Servants; and Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of March, at this Time dying, his Inheritance descended to Richard Plantagenet, Son and Heir to Richard Earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, who was now created Duke of York, and was afterward Father to King Edward the Fourth: And at this Time also, John Mowbray, Son and Heir to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, banished before by K. Richard the Second, was restored by the Title of Duke of Norfolk. And now all Things peaceably settled in England, the Regent with the Bishop of Winchester returned into France; where, at the Intercession of the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Alençon was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crowns: And the Bishop of Winchester returned to Calais, where he was invested with the Dignity and Hat of Cardinal, which his Brother the Regent put upon his Head.

In the fourth Year of this King's Reign, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, called of the common People, *The Parliament of Bats*; because, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bats to follow their Lords and Masters to the Parliament.

About this Time the Duke of Gloucester, Protector, took some Blemish in his Honour, by marrying another Man's Wife, *Jaqueline* Countess of *Heynault*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was married before to John Duke of *Brabant*, yet living, and had lived with him ten Months as his lawful Wife; but at that Time upon some Discontent gone from him, intending to be divorced. At which Injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, being his Cousin, took so great Offence, that first by Friendly Letters he admonished the Duke of *Gloucester* of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to Terms of Challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed; but in the mean Time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who conveyed her to *Gant*; from whence, by Friendship of a *Burgoyne* Knight, in Man's Apparel she escaped into *Holland*, and there made a defensive War against her Husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoyne*. To her Aid the Duke of *Gloucester* sent the Lord *Fitzwater*, with a Power of a thousand Men; but she being discomfited by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope also pronouncing the first Marriage legal, the Duke of *Gloucester* deserted her, and then took for a second Wife *Eleanor* Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old Mistress: And the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the Death of John Duke of *Brabant*, married a mean Gentleman; whom

the Duke of *Burgoyne* imprisoned, and brought herself to live in much Trouble.

And now in France, the Constable with forty thousand Men, besieged the Town of *St. James de Benuron*: And having made a Breach fit for way with Assault, whilst his Captains stood straining of Courtesy, which of them should first enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with all his Forces sallied forth, crying aloud, *A Salisbury! A Salisbury!* whose Name struck such a Terror into the Besiegers, that they stood like Men amazed, of whom six Hundred were slain, two Hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Prisoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Constable was glad to quit the Place, and give over the Siege.

At the same Time also the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Scales*, with seven thousand, besieged *Ponterson* many Weeks together; but Provision waxing scant, the Lord *Scales* with three thousand Men went a Foraging into the Enemy's Country: And in his Return with Plenty of Provision, was encountered with six thousand *French*, of whom he slew many Hundreds, took above a thousand Prisoners, and then returned safe into the Camp.

About this Time also Sir *John Falstaffe* besieged the strong Town of *Granville*, which after twelve Days, offered to render it self by a Day, if it were not relieved. The Offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the Day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the Place; and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to render the Castle according to Agreement: Whereupon the Pledges were brought before the Sight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to Death.

And now a Conspiracy of the Clergy and Magistrates in *Mans* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France* with five hundred Men about Mid-night came to the Town-Walls, where the Guard of *English*, by those that seemed their Friends, were suddenly massacred, and setting upon the Gates, made Way for the Enemy to enter: Whereupon the Alarm given, the Earl of *Suffolk*, with the surviving *English*, withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply assailed by the *French*, who yet had more mind to ransack Houses, and to make good Cheer; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having Intelligence by Captain *Goffe*, whom he had sent to discover the State of the *French*, he secretly gave Notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon sallied forth of the Castle at a Time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops: And on both Sides crying *St. George! A Talbot!* they fell upon the careless *French*, who lost four hundred of their best Men; the rest were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Friars, condemned and put to Execution.

Whilst these Things went on prosperously in France, a great Disaster fell out in England; for the Right Noble *Thomas Beauford* (Son of *John* of *Gaunt* and *Katharine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes King *Henry* his Heir; and at *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, ended his Life: Whose Place was presently supplied by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl's Place in France by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon, with five thousand Men came to *Orleans*,

Forty thousand *French* frightened a Salisbury!

The Lord *Scales* defeats an Army of *French*.

Pledges put to Death for not having Promise kept.

An Army of *French* defeated with crying, *A Talbot!*

*Tho. Beauford* Duke of *Exeter* dies.



A.D. 1428 Orleans, and besieged the City, and won from the French the great Fort. But here happened another great Disaster, for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Besiegers observed the Passages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of Salisbury, intending to inform himself of the State of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir Thomas Gargrave, a great Shot from the Town striking the Bars of the Window, the Splinters thereof were driven into his Head and Face; of which Wounds within eight Days he died. This was now a second Weakening to the English Party; but in this Place the Earl of Suffolk succeeded, to whom the Regent sendeth Sir John Falstaffe with fresh Supplies; whom the Lord De la Bret endeavours to intercept; but Sir John resolving to abide the Charge, placeth his Carriages behind, the Horse next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching Stakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first Volley, retired behind the Stakes: On which the French, forgetting their former Defeats by that Course, ran and gored their Horses, by which their Van-guard being disordered, their Battel made a Stand; which Sir John perceiving, cried out, *St. George! they fly!* At which Words they fled indeed, and lost two thousand five hundred of their Men, with the Lord De la Bret, and William Stuart; eleven hundred were taken Prisoners; with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before Orleans. And this Battel, because most Part of the Carriage was Herring and Lenten Stuff, was by the French-men called the Battel of Herrings. But the Besieged having Notice of this Defeat, they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of Burgoyne, who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would consent; but the Regent consented not, and therefore in the mean Time, the Besieged made Means to the Duke of Alanson, who furnished the Town with fresh Forces and Provisions; which put such Spirits into the Citizens, that they made a Sally out, slew six hundred English, and adventured upon the Basile, where the Lord Talbot commanded, who repelled them with great Slaughtering of their Men; but yet the next Day the Earl of Suffolk gave over his Siege, and dispersed his Army into their Garrisons.

And now the Wheel of Fortune began to turn to the French against the English, which once set a going was not easy to be stayed. And first the Duke of Alanson took by Assault the Town of Jargeux, and in it the Earl of Suffolk, and one of his Brothers, and slew Sir Alexander Pole, another of his Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold Blood, by reason of a Contention amongst the French to whom the Prisoners should belong. Presently upon this, another great Blow was given the English; for the Lord Talbot, Scales and Hungerford, going to fortify the Town of St. Meum, were encountred by the said Duke of Alanson, and Arthur of Britain, with three and twenty thousand Men, with whom the English Lords interchanged some Blows: But oppressed with Multitude, were all three taken Prisoners, all fore wounded, twelve hundred of their Company slain, and the rest

hardly escaping to Meum, where they fortified themselves the best they could against future Assaults.

These were great Blows given to the English Fortune in France; Salisbury slain, and now Talbot taken Prisoner; which tho' they made her a little to totter, yet there must be great Blows given before she will fall. And indeed, these Disasters were seconded by the perfidious Surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the French King; who now encouraged by these Successes, marcheth into Champaigne, where by Composition he took Troyes the chief City of that Province: Chalons rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yield it up; by whose Example the Citizens of Rheims do the like, where the French King is a-new Proclaimed, and with accustomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: Whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the English. Upon this the Duke of Bedford (to make the French know, that all the English Strength consisted not only in Salisbury and Talbot) with ten thousand English, besides Normans, marched out of Paris, and sent Letters of Defiance to the French King, affirming, That deceitfully and by unjust Means he had stolen many Cities and Places of Importance belonging to the Crown of England; which he was come to justify by Battel, if he would appoint a Time and Place. To which the King of France making a slight Answer, the Regent marcheth apace toward him, and as fast the King of France marched away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to Senlis: There both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only some light Skirmishes passed between them. And a Night or two after, the French King fled with his Army to Bray, which the Duke thinking to be but a Plot to draw him further off from Paris, of whose Fidelity he had no great Assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which Time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to assist Pope Martin in Bohemia, the Regent borrowed them of him for a present Expedition, and with them marched into Champaigne, where he found the French King encamped upon the Mount Piball, whose Number being twice as many as the Regent's, yet by no Provocations could be drawn to Battel, but secretly fled to Crespy; whereupon the Regent also returned to Paris.

Whilst these Things were done in France, in England, upon St. Leonard's Day the 6th of November, 1429, King Henry not yet eight Years old, was with great Solemnity Crowned at Westminster, at whose Coronation were made six and thirty Knights of the Bath, and after the Solemnity, a Feast; and if any Man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in Fabian all the Dishes of Meat that were served at that Feast.

About this Time, in France a strange Impostor ariseth: A Maid called La Pucelle, taking upon her to be sent from God for the Good of France, and to expel the English; and some Good indeed she did; for by her subtil working, the King was received into Champaigne, and many Towns were rendred to him, whilst the Lord Longueville

The noble Earl of Salisbury unfortunately slain.

Sir John Falstaffe defeats the French by politick Ordering his Army.

The English Side begins to go down.

The Duke of Suffolk taken Prisoner.

The Lords Talbot and Scales taken Prisoners.

The French King recovers many Towns.

The French King Crown'd at Rheims.

The Regent pursueth the French King.

The French King declineth Battel.

An. Reg. 8. 1429.

K. Henry Crown'd at Westminster.

La Pucelle begins to shew herself.



A.D. 1429 *Longueville* took by Surprize the Castle of *Aumerle*, and slew all the *English* that were in it. But all these were but petty Acquests to the King of *France*: There is a Knot of Friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which must be broken, or he will never be able to compass his Designs; he therefore labours by all Means possible to disunite them; wherein he so little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the Practices; who thereupon, with many Thanks exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he should never have Cause to repent him: And because *Normandy* was a principal Part of the *English* Strength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many Reasons persuades them, as their Ancestors had always been, to be faithful to the Crown of *England*.

In this Time of the Regent's Absence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his Forces thither, using all Means possible, by Escalado, Battery, and burning the Gates, to enter the City; but was so withstood by the Vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to sound a Retreat, leaving his slain and maimed Soldiers behind him, all but *La Pucelle*; who being hurt in the Leg, and almost stifled with Mire in the Ditch, was by a Servant of the Duke of *Alanson* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the Way received the Submission of the Inhabitants of *Lagny*. Some other Services were performed on both Sides, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, for the *English*; by the Bastard of *Orleans*, and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the *French*; but of no great Importance: Till at last, *La Pucelle* (who a little before had caused an *English* Captain's Head to be cut off, because he would not humble himself to her upon his Knee) was by Sir *John of Lutzenburgh* taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bishop of the Diocess, who judicially proceeding against her as a Sorceress, and Deceiver of the King and his Subjects, she was (after many Delays of Promise to discover secret Practice, and lastly of her feigning to be with Child) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

*La Pucelle* taken and burnt at *Roan* for a Sorceress.

An. Reg. 10.  
1431.

K. Henry is Crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his Designs, he made Account the like Effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: Whereupon he is sent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Cardinal of *St. Eusebius*, not yet above nine Years old, with all usual Ceremonies, Crowned King of *France*, receiving the Oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were present, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of all the Places adjacent: Upon this Pope *Eugenius* laboured a Reconciliation between the two Kings, but could effect nothing but only a Truce for six Years: Which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landed at *Dover* the 11th of *February*. But the six Years Truce was scarce openly proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles and Places of Strength, justifying their Actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without Blows, was no Infringement of the Truce;

A Truce abused.

and afterwards perfidiously conveyed two hundred Men into the Castle of *Roan*, with Intent to have surprized it; but being discovered, they were all taken, and either ransomed or put to Execution. Upon this, the Regent (whose Wife, the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of *St. Paul's* Daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his Ransom, cometh, bringing with him seven hundred tried Soldiers; and with them the Regent takes the Field, where the *French* Army lay; but the *French* slunk away in the Dark, as not daring to abide the Hazard of a Battel.

About this Time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the Battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen Years Imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand Pounds for his Ransom, the same Day he was enlarged, died at *London*.

And now a very great Effect was produced out of a very small Cause: There had been Sparks of Unkindness between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which break out into a Flame upon this Occasion: A Time and Place was appointed, where they should meet to compound some Differences that were between them: The Place agreed upon, was *St. Omers*, a Town in *Artois*: When the Time came they stood upon this nice Point, which of them should first come to the Place; as thinking that he which did so, should hereby acknowledge himself to be the meaner Person. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no Reason to do it, seeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore superior to any Subject in the Kingdom; and the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no Reason to do it, seeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himself the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice Point they broke off, and never met; and the Unkindness grew afterward to so great Hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* chose rather to be Friends with him that had murdered his Father, than ever to have any more Commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great Branch of Assistance lopp'd off from the *English*, which had been a great Means before to make it flourish: And it was not so much, that the Assistance was taken from the *English*, as that it was added to the *French*: For after this, the Duke of *Burgoigne* brought more Assistance to the new King of *France*, than ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may see, when the divine Providence hath a Work to effect, what slight Occasions it oftentimes takes to effect the Work.

Great Blows had been given before in *France* to the *English* Fortune by the Enemies; but now a Blow was given to it by Destiny, which made the Enemies Blows more incurable; for now the Wife, Valiant, Faithful Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou* and *Alanson*, Earl of *Maine*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlisle*, and Viscount *Beaumont*, upon the 13th of *September*, 1435, ended his Life at *Paris*, which was in a Manner the ending the Life of the *English* Fortune in *France*: All former Blows had been upon inferior Members,

A.D. 1431

The Regent and Duke of *Burgoigne* fall at Variance, and for what.

The Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, dies in *Paris*.

1435.



A.D. 1435 Members, but this was a Blow upon the Head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the *English* Fortune in *France* ever after lifted up its Head but very weakly. He was buried in our Lady's Church at *Roan*, as the Nobility of *Normandy* desired, who would have their own Territory honoured with his Sepulchre: Yet see the Levity of these Men, who a few Years after in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demolished, as being dishonourable, such an Arch-enemy to *France* should be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* answered, *God forbid I should give Way to so dishonourable an Act, to disquiet his dead Bones, who living would have disquieted us all; and it savours of too much Baseness to insult upon a dead Lion.*

The noble Disposition of K. *Lewis* of *France*.

The Duke of *York* is made Regent of *France*, which the Duke of *Somerset* envying, hinders his Proceedings all he can.

1436. *Paris* expels all the *English*, and by their Example many other Towns likewise.

But yet in these Disasters there might have been some Reparation by a good Successor, had not Envy and Ambition bred Disturbance: The Duke of *Somerset* desired the Succession, but the Duke of *York* obtained it; which bred such an Envy in the Duke of *Somerset* towards him, that he laboured nothing so much as to cross his Designs, and was a Means to hinder the Duke of *York*'s going to his Charge so long, that the *Parisians* had Time to think of freeing themselves from the *English* Servitude: And thereupon the City, after it had remained seventeen Years in the Possession of the *English*, yields to the Constable, and upon Composition expels all the *English*; and which was worse, many other Towns followed this Example of *Paris*; for what Towns would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the Epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they stick not to call, *Le Monde de Paris*; as though there were upon Earth no other World but *Paris*. Even the *Normans*, who had always been most firm to the *English*, yet had run the same Course, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in Awe, with the Slaughter of five thousand of them that way enclined. And now after these great Losses, we must be content to play smaller Games, cast at Castles and Forts, and some small Towns, like the Struggling of dying Men, doing Acts of Life, till there be no more Life remaining. And this was now our Case in *France*. The new Regent with eight thousand Soldiers arrived at *Harfleur*, and from thence marched to *Roan*; where he won the Reputation of Justice and Uprightness, notwithstanding all the Calumniation of the Duke of *Somerset*: When the revolted Duke of *Burgoyne* pretending Title to the Town of *Calais*, approacheth it with an Army of Forty thousand Men, takes the poor Bastile of *Oye*, and slaughters and hangs many of the Defendants. The *Picards* besieged the Castle of *St. Mark*, took it, and demolished it; from thence they begirt *Calais* with a Siege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoyne* sent the Lord *Croy* to besiege the Castle of *Guines*, but were repelled there

The Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector sends Defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

also. In the mean Time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a Defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne* from the Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector, That he would give him Battel if he would abide it: To whom the Duke of *Burgoyne* answered, He should be sure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and

whilst they are debating what is best to be done, A.D. 1436 the *Calaisians* make a Salley, take the Bastile which they had builded by Force, and slew Eightscore of the *Burgoyne*s; which so terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and make both him and the Lord *Croy* to quit their Quarters; and in such Haste to be gone, that they left a great Part of their best Ordnance, and all their Provision for the Relief and Help of the Besieged: And it seems they had Reason so to do; for the next Day, being the seven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Gloucester* landed at *Calais* with five and twenty thousand good fighting Men; who finding the Enemy recoiled, foraged all the Country thereabout, and for the Space of six Weeks harrowed all the Parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Heynault*: And then returning by *St. Omers*, *Arde*, and *Guines*, arrived at *Calais*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* lands at *Calais* with twenty five thousand fighting Men.

And now we must look a little at Home; for the Duke of *York* returning into *England*, finds the Castle of *Roxborough* besieged by the King of *Scots*, with thirty thousand Men; but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Approach, and the Duke's Return, incontinently fled. And now again to *France*, where the Town of *Harfleur* was sold to the *French*; but the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Talbot*, besetting it both by Sea and Land, though the Earl of *Eu*, and the Bastard of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, with four thousand Men came to relieve it, yet upon Composition it was surrendered.

And here we may have Leave to speak of a private Matter; for about this Time the Duchess of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodville*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small Means; which though it offended her Friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to K. *Edward* the Fourth. Also about this Time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen Years Prisoner in *England*, and afterward released, with a Wife of a noble House, a great Dower, and many honourable Presents, yet proved ungrateful, was murdered in his Bed-chamber by Night, whose Murtherers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*, when the Duke of *Burgoyne* could neither by Force nor Policy take *Calais*, he attempted a ridiculous Practice, to cut a Ditch that should drown both the Town and Country; but after much Labour and Expence, his Design like a Vapour vanished into Air. The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tankerville*, and after four Months Siege had it rendered to him. In Revenge whereof, the *French* King in his own Person lays Siege to *Monstreau*; which whilst the Duke of *York* was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his Office, done on Purpose by his Enemies, to lay a Plot upon him: A lamentable Thing in a State, when private Envy shall be suffered to undermine the publick Safety; and by this Means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more Opportunity to sell the Town, for which, if he were Gainer in Money, he was yet a Loser in Reputation, and hated both of *French* and *English*, in much Discontent died.

The Duchess of *Bedford* marries Sir *Richard Woodville*.

*James* King of *Scots* murdered.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* attempts *Calais*, but without Success.

*Arthur*, Constable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanson*, besieged the Town of *Auranches*, which, if he were Gainer in Money, he was yet a Loser in Reputation, and hated both of *French* and *English*, in much Discontent died.

Sir *Thomas Gerard* betrays the Town of *Monstreau* to the *French*.



A.D. 1437 but were with Dishonour repelled by the Lord Talbot: After this, *Le Hyre* sent Letters to them, that he had a Promise from divers Burghers of *Roan* to let them in at any Time appointed; against which Time they came to *Ryze*, within four Leagues of *Roan*; but the Lord Talbot having Notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before Day to *Ryze*, where he surpriseth the *French*, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Alan Geron*, with many others, and with a rich Booty returneth to *Roan*. The sixth Day of *November*, in the sixteenth Year of the King's Reign, the Earl of *Warwick* having oftentimes been abroad, and still beaten back by Tempests, landed at *Harfleur* with a thousand fresh Soldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the mean Time the Duke of *Burgoigne* seeing no new Regent yet come, besieged the Town of *Crotoy*: To the Relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord Talbot with five thousand Men, whose Approach the Duke not enduring, retired to *Abbeville*, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the *Bastile* by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Soldiers either taken or slain: And there the valiant Talbot sent Word to the Duke, That if he would save his Country from Devastation, he should come to a Battel; but the Duke not liking the Match, conveys himself to *Amiens*. Twenty Days together did the Lord Talbot with Fire and Sword, pass through *Picardy* and *Artois* without Opposition, and then returned. Sir *Thomas Kyrriel* seized upon the Duke's Carriages and Ordinance; and having left in *Crotoy* Victuals enough for six hundred Men for a whole Year, he brought the rest to the Earl of *Warwick*. And now *Henry* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with two hundred Archers and three hundred Spears, took the Castle of *St. Anyon*, wherein were three hundred *Scots* and *French*: The *Scots* he slew all, and hanged the *French*, because they had sworn Fealty to *England*, and broke it; he took likewise the Castle of *Algarchie*; and by Means of an Ambush, taketh the Lord *Camorais*, coming to the Rescue thereof. On the other Side, the Towns of *Neuxin*, *Bry*, and *Susan*, were sold and delivered to the *French*, by the treacherous Burghers. In *June* the Earl of *Huntingdon*, with two thousand Archers and four thousand Spears, was sent into *Gascoigne*, whether the Earl of *Danois* was lately come to buy Towns and Castles; but the Earl of *Huntingdon* upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such Bargains: And so far had Bribery spread it self at this Time, that even in *Normandy* the *English* Captains had but small Confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their own Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodville*, Sir *William Chamberlain*, and *William Peto*, were sent thither to stop the Current of that Corruption.

At this Time the Council of *France* procured a Reconcilement between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long Jealousies and Dissention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great Frost and Snow, the A.D. 1438 *English*, under the Conduct of Sir *John Clifford*, having covered their Armour with white Shirts, and their Heads with white *Alman* Skulls, came to *Ponthois* by Night, and undiscovered pass'd the Ditches, scaled the Walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good Luck was accompanied with a bad of more Importance: For presently upon it the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and conveyed into *England*, was buried in the Castle of *Warwick*. To reduce *Ponthois*, the *French* King in Person layeth Siege unto it, when *Richard* Duke of *York* being the second Time made Regent, having with him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Eu*, levies a Power to raise the Siege; and arriving there, sends Word to the King, that the next Morning he would give him Battel: But the King liked not his Bidding, but leaving his Ordinance, at Midnight stole away to *Poissy*. Thither also the Regent follows him, but with no Provocations could draw him to fight.

About this Time a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Calais*, by the Mediation of the Duchess of *Burgoigne*, a *Portugal* Lady; Commissioners meet on both Sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleans*, who had been Prisoner to the *English* five and twenty Years, is by the Duchess's Mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s Money. The Lord *Willoughby* besieged *Diepe*, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand Men cometh to raise; and there young Talbot is taken Prisoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and Sir *John Repley*, but are shortly after redeemed by Exchange. And now another Weakening happened to the *English* Party; the Earl of *St. Paul* forsakes them, and is reconciled to the K. of *France*. The *English* lay Siege to *Tartus*, for the raising whereof, the *French* King marched thither with 60,000 Men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to *Saverine*, which he taketh, and in it, Sir *John Ramston*; after which he took in *Arques*; but then the *English* cutting off all Convoys of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose Departure, the *English* recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant Prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Soldiers. In this mean while the Lord Talbot taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleans* from the Siege of *Gagliarde*; but the *French* in the Castle of *Cornbil* detained many *English* Prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist* used this Stratagem; He apparelled Half a Dozen lusty young Fellows like Peasants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his Company lies in Ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted; and coming to the Captain's Chamber, seise upon him, and withal give the Sign to the Ambush; who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Soldiers to the Sword, set the Prisoners at Liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the Booty and Captain of the Castle returned to *Roan*.

Whilst these Alterations passed in *France*, a more unnatural passed in *England*; the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the

The Lord  
Talbot doth  
great Acts.  
1438.

Sir John Clifford gets Ponthois by a Wile.

The Earl of Warwick dies.  
1439.

Richard Duke of York made the second Time Regent of France.

1440.

The Duke of Orleans after 25 Years imprisonment is ransomed.

A Stratagem of Sir Francis the Aragonist.



A.D. 1440 the Uncle; the Duke of Gloucester brings Articles against the Cardinal, charging him with affecting Preheminence, to the Derogation of the King's Prerogative, and Contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, durst not meddle in them, for Fear of offending the Cardinal. On the other Side, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuse the Duke of Gloucester himself, accuseth his other self, the Lady Eleanor Cobham, the Duke's Wife, of Treason, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and Advancement of her Husband to the Crown: For which, tho' acquitted of the Treason, she is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her Hand, Hoodless (save a Kerchief) through London, divers Days together, and after to remain in perpetual Imprisonment in the Isle of Man. The Crime objected against her was, procuring Thomas Southwel, John Hunne, Priests, Roger Bolingbroke, a supposed Necromancer, and Margery Jordan, called the Witch of Eye in Suffolk, to devise a Picture of Wax in Proportion of the King, in such sort by Sorcery, that as the Picture consumed, so the King's Body should consume: For which they were all condemned. The Witch was burnt in Smithfield, Bolingbroke was hanged, constantly affirming upon his Death, That neither the Dukes, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than only to know by his Art, how long the King should live. John Hunne had his Pardon, and Southwel died the Night before he should have been executed.

About this Time the Countess of Cominges being dead, the King of France and the Earl of Armagnac are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes Possession, but fearing the King of France's Greatness, makes Offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of England, with a large Portion in Money; and besides, to deliver full Possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors detained in Aquitaine, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of England conquered. The Ambassadors for his Business were by King Henry graciously heard, and honourably returned: After whom were sent Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Ros, and others, to conclude all Things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King Henry. But the King of France not liking the Proceedings of the Match, sendeth the Dauphin with a puissant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of Armagnac, Lovern, Rovergne, Moulleffenois, with the Cities of Severde and Cadeac, chasing the Bastard of Armagnac out of the Country; by Means whereof, the Marriage was then deferred, and left in Suspense.

In this Distraction of Christendom, many Princes, the Kings of Spain, Denmark, and Hungary, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of England and France. Ambassadors on both Sides are sent, many Meetings were had, many Motions made; but in Conclusion, only a Truce for eighteen Months is agreed upon. In the mean Time the Earl of Suffolk,

one of the Commissioners for the Peace, takes A.D. 1441 upon him beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his Fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of England, and a Kinswoman of the King of France, Niece to the French Queen, Daughter to Raynor Duke of Anjou, styling himself King of Sicily and Naples: In which Business he was so intente, that it brought an Aspersion upon him of being bribed: But howsoever, an Interview between the two Kings is appointed, without any Warrant of King Henry's Part, to be between Chartres and Roan. The Commissioners return, the Earl of Suffolk sets forth the Beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great Benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this Match. The King was easily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the King's Council, especially the Duke of Gloucester, opposed it; partly for the Meanness of the Match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any Portion at all; and partly for the Wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of Armagnac's Daughter, to whom the King had been in solemn Manner publicly affianced. But Reasons could not prevail against Favour: The Earl of Suffolk's Affirmation must not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new Creation of Lords first made, Dukes and John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, made Duke of Somerset; John Lord Talbot, made Earl of Shrewsbury; John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, made Duke of Exeter; Humfrey Earl of Stafford, made Duke of Buckingham; Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, made Duke of Warwick; Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, made Marquis of Dorset; and William de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, made Marquis of Suffolk. This new Marquis honourably accompanied, is sent into France to fetch the Lady Margaret, the proposed Bride: Who shortly after is married at Southwick in Hampshire, and Crowned Queen of England at Westminster, on the 30th Day of May, 1444, in the three and twentieth Year of King Henry's Reign. And now instead of Benefits by this Marriage, there presently followed great Inconveniencies; for first, in Exchange of her Person, the Duchy of Anjou, the City of Mans, with the whole County of Maine (the best Props of the Duchy of Normandy) are agreed to be surrendered into the Hands of the French: And then the Duke of Armagnac, to revenge the Injury offered to his Daughter, is a Means to expel the English out of all Aquitaine.

At this Time the Duke of Somerset's Spleen against the Duke of York not only is revived, but is grown stronger; for the Duke of York, who was now, after the Death of the Earl of Warwick, made the second Time Regent of France, is so undermined by him, through Assistance of the new Marquis of Suffolk, who bore now all the Sway with the King and Queen, that not only he supplanted him in his Place, but planted himself in it, to the great Heart-burning of the Duke of York and his Friends; but he wisely dissembled his Anger, and for the present passed it over. And now is no Man in Grace but the new Marquis of Suffolk; all Favours from the King and Queen must

*Difference between the Duke of Gloucester and the Cardinal.*  
The Earl of Suffolk propounds another Match for the King.

1441.  
The Duke of Gloucester's Wife accused of Sorcery; and her Penance.

King Henry affianceth the Earl of Armagnac's Daughter, but is by the King of France cross'd.

1444.  
K. Henry proceeds in the Match which the Earl of Suffolk propounded.

The Duke of York displaced of his Regency, and the Duke of Somerset placed in it.



A.D. 1444 must pass by him, and the Extent of his Power over-reacheth all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John Duke of Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry the Seventh*. And now the King's Weakness in Judgment grows every Day more apparent than other, whilst governed by no Counsel but of his Queen, and she by no Counsel but her own Will, and the new Marquess of *Suffolk*. King *Henry* is himself the least Part of the King, and serves but to countenance the Devices of others, whereof he little understands the Drift; and which proving ill, the Blame must needs be his; if well, the Benefit and Honour others. For by Instigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of *Gloucester*, for his Care of the Common-wealth called the *Good Duke*, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits Informers, set on by the Marquess of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, to come against him; who lay to his Charge, That he had caused divers Persons to be executed contrary to Law; wherein though he justified himself, yet no Justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary Part-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned, and to this End a Parliament, by the Procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*; to which the Duke of *Gloucester* resorting, is on the second Day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont*, Lord High-Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested and put in Ward, all his Followers sequestered from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next Day after his Imprisonment, he is found in his Bed murdered; yet shewed the same Day as though he had died of an Imposthume, though all that saw his Body saw plainly he died of a violent and unnatural Cause: Some say, strangled; some, that a hot Spit was put up at his Fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps the same Day was conveyed to *St. Albans*, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, Sir

King *Henry* begins to shew his Weakness in Judgment.

1447.

The Duke of *Gloucester* secretly murdered.

Five Gentlemen hanged, but were cut down quick, and lived.

The Duke of *Gloucester's* Pregnancy in discovering an Impostor.

*Roger Chamberlain*, Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artis*, Esquires, and *John Needham*, Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tyburn*, let down quick, stripp'd naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to make a Shew as though he had no Hand in the Business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the Place of Execution, and so their Lives were saved. It is no unmemorable Thing which Sir *Thomas Moor* writes of the Pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloucester*. It happened the King, coming one Time in Progress to *St. Alban's*, a Beggar born Blind, as he said, at the Shrine of *St. Alban* obtained his Sight; which Miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of *Gloucester* being there with the King, desired to see him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he was born Blind? who told him, Yes, truly; And can you now see? saith the Earl: Yes, I thank God and *St. Alban*, saith the Beggar: Then

tell me, saith the Earl, what Colour is my A.D. 1447 Gown? The Beggar readily told him the Colour: And what Colour, saith the Earl, is such a Man's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knave; if you had been born Blind, and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this Difference of Colours? and thereupon, instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the Death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special Hand in it, was either not so intelligent, or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *York's* Claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth Son of *Edward the Third*, whereas this Duke *Humfrey* was descended from the Fourth. And here were the first Seeds sown between the Two Houses of *Lancaster*, whose Badge was the Red Rose, and *York*, whose Badge was the White Rose. And now upon the Death of this Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *York* began, amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his Right and Title to the Crown; but so politickly carried his Intent, that all Things were provided to further his Project, before his Purpose was any whit discovered.

The Duke of *York* begins to whisper his Right to the Crown.

And in this Time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester* dies; who lying on his Death-bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his Privy-Counsellor and his Chaplain writeth, used such like Words; *Why should I die, saith he, having so much Riches? If the whole Realm would save my Life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by Money to buy it: Fie, will not Death be hired? Will Money do nothing?* and other Words to such Purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, *William Wanslete*, called so of the Place in *Lincolnshire* where he was born. And now to the End the Marquess of *Suffolk* might not come behind them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this Time made Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Bishop of *Winchester's* prophane Speech at his Death.

The Marquess of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*.

In *France* about this Time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better than an Overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Surry* an *Aragonais*, a Man thought worthy to be admitted into the honourable Order of the Garter, taking Advantage of the Security of the *French* Garrisons, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fougiers*, belonging to the Duke of *Britain*; the Duke advertiseth the *French* King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerset* then Regent in *France*: Answer was made, It was the Fault of the *Aragonais*, who did it without Warrant from either the King or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of some Course for Satisfaction; but in the Time of the Treaty News is brought to the Regent, that the *French* (by a Stratagem of a Carter, that with a Load of Hay coming over the Drawbridge, caused the Axle-tree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porter's Brains were beaten out) had surprized the

Fraud answered by Fraud.



A.D. 1447 the Town of *Ardes*, and the Lord *Falconbridge*, Captain thereof, was taken Prisoner: Restitution being required by the *English*, Answer is made them in their own Language, It was done without Warrant from either the *French* King, or any of his Council; so it was but one for another; and from thenceforward the Truce is broken off on both Sides, and all Things grow worse and worse. The *French* King by Composition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernoile*, whilst the Regent stands demurring what was best to be done: If he command, not obeyed; if he counsel, not followed; as it happens to Men once blemished in Reputation, to have an ill Construction made of all their Actions; by which Means the *French* go on without Resistance, get *Constance*, *Guisard*, *Gatiard*, *St. Loe*, *Feschamp*, and many other Places in *Normandy*. Upon Notice whereof, *Mauleffon* in *Guyen* surrenders to the Earl of *Fois*, and by their Example the City of *Roan* it self takes Composition to surrender; where the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, Heir to the Earl of *Ormond*, were kept Pledges till it was performed. It is true, Succours were provided to be sent out of *England*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *York*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more Importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither; where not only he suppressed the Rebels, but so won the Hearts of that People, that it was no small Furtherance to his Proceeding afterward. A fresh Supply indeed of fifteen hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, is sent over; but what could a Handful of Men do against such Multitudes as opposed them? For he marching with the rest of the Army towards *Beaujeu*, was encountered by the Earl of *Clermont*, with seven thousand *French* and *Scots*, whom yet at first he made to recoil, till the Constable of *France*, with four hundred Men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to their Rescue; and then fresh Men coming upon them that were already tired, the *English* lost three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this Loss of Men, follows presently a Loss of Towns; *Harsleur* is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Curson*, yet surrendered at last upon Composition. Then the *French* King, with an Army Royal, besiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, defended in his Absence by his Lieutenant, Sir *David Hall*; but the Duke of *Somerset* being Regent, in Commiseration of his Duchies being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout Opposition of Sir *David Hall*, surrenders it upon Composition to the *French*; whereof Sir *David* giving Notice to the Duke of *York*, it bred such a deadly Quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after thoroughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the *English*, after it had been in their Possession a hundred Years; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the Obedience of *Charles* the *French* King.

The French King recovers many Towns through the demurring of the Duke of Somerset.

Sir Thomas Kyriel defeated, with the Loss of near 400 Men.

All Normandy recovered from the English.

by civil Dissentions, than was shed before in all A.D. 1449 the Wars of *France*. This Loss of *Normandy* and other Parts in *Normandy*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerset*, at that Time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* must bear a great Part of the Blame, partly for having been the Cause of the Surrender of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and the chief Procurer of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, and partly for having wilfully wasted the King's Treasure, and been a Means to remove the ablest Men from the Council-Board; of all which Aspersions the Queen takes Notice, and knowing how far they trenched upon the Duke's Destruction and her own, she so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the *Black-Friers*, is adjourned to *Leicester*, and from thence to *Westminster*: But tho' all Means were used to stop these Accusations against the Duke, yet the lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of Grievances against him: That he had traiterously incited the Bastard of *Orleans*, the Lord *Presigny*, and others, to levy War against the King, to the End that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his Son *John*, who had married *Margaret*, Daughter and sole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, whose Title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case *K. Henry* should die without Issue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the *French* King had gotten Possession of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and had taken Prisoners the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and others: But to these Accusations he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in Thought. Then were further Allegations made against him; That being with others sent Ambassador into *France*, he had transcended his Commission; and without Privy of his Fellow-Commissioners, had presumed to promise the Surrender of *Anjou*, and the Delivery of the County of *Mans* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great Dishonour of the King, and Detriment of the Crown: That he had traiterously acquainted the *French* King with all the Affairs of State, and Passages of Secrecy, by which the Enemy was thoroughly instructed in all the Designs of the King and Council: That he had received Rewards from the *French* King, to divert and disappoint all Succours sent to the King's Friends in *France*. Upon these and divers other Accusations brought against him, to blear the Peoples Eyes, he is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at Liberty; which so incensed the common People, that they made an Insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate Fellow, styling himself *Blue-beard*, they committed many Outrages: But by the Diligence of the Gentlemen of the Country, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great Care is taken in choosing Burgesses, presuming thereby to stop any further Proceeding against the Duke of *Suffolk*; but his personal Appearance at the Parliament gave such a general Distaste to the House, though he came in the Company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with petitioning the King for Punishment to be inflicted upon such as

Accusations laid to the Duke of Suffolk.

Upon which committed to the Tower, is presently upon the Dissolution of the Parliament released, An Insurrection made by Blue-beard, soon pacified.



A.D. 1449 had plotted or consented to the Resignation of *Anjou* and *Maine*, whereof by Name they instanced in the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the Upper House: Whereupon, to give some Satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his Place; the Duke's Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five Years, but with an Intent, after the Multitude had put out of Mind their Hatred against him, to have revoked him:

1450.

But God did otherwise dispose of him; for when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, with Intent to have passed over into *France*, he was met by an *English* Man of War, taken and carried to *Dover* Sands, and there had his Head chopp'd off on the Side of the Long-boat, which, together with the Body, was left there on the Sands, as a Pledge of some Satisfaction for the Death of Duke *Humphrey*.

Whilst these Things are done in *England*, the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* began to make his Way to the Crown, as descended from *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the present King *Henry* the Sixth. And for a Beginning it is privately whispered, That King *Henry* was of a weak Capacity, and easily abused; the Queen of a malignant Spirit, and bloodily ambitious; the Privy-Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private Profit than the publick Good; that through their Delinquencies, all *France* was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped Possession of King *Henry*. With these Suggestions the *Kentish* Men seemed to be taken; which being observed by an Instrument of the Duke of *York*, called *Mortimer*, he takes his Time, and tells the Multitude, That if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a Course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever from those insupportable Burthens of Taxations, so often, upon every slight Occasion, obtruded upon them. These Promises of Reformation and Freedom from Impositions, so wrought with the People, that they drew to a Head, and made *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their Leader; who stiling himself Captain *Mend-all*, marched with no great Number, but those well ordered, to *Blackheath*, where between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the Space of a Month exercising his Men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased. Then he presents to the Parliament the Complaints of the Commons, That the Queen's Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the Supportation of his present Estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmost Undoing, and to the general Impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their Commodities daily taken from them for the Purveyance of the King's Household, for which they are not paid, nor any Assurance for Payment thereof given, but only Court-Promises: That upon the Apprehension of any Man for Treason or Felony, the King's menial Servants, before Conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the Impatched; whereupon indirect and unlawful

*Jack Cade* makes an Insurrection, and brings an Army to *Blackheath*.

He presents the Complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

Proceedings are used by Subornation of Witnesses, Embracery of Jurors, and great Mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the Innocent after attained, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their Undoing: That the Commons have no legal Proceedings in their Law-suits; so as the rightful Owners of Inheritance dare not, if opposed by any Courtier, maintain their Titles, or attempt the Recovery of their Interest, how just soever: That the King's Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees; and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, for Allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their suing out their *Quietus* at their own Charge, without Allowance from the King: That the Bailiffs of Sheriffs, under Colour of the Green Wax out of the *Exchequer*, do levy greater Sums than are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the Freedom of electing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament, but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgesses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many Places to make five Days Journey to the Place where they are kept. These and some other were the Complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after Protestation made to live and die in the Quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into Favour the truly Noble Prince the Duke of *York*, and with him the Right Honourable the Duke of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the antient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue Practices of *Suffolk* and his Complices commanded from his Presence; and that all their Opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general Amotion of corrupt Officers, an Abolition of the Green Wax, and other Instruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a Qualification of Proceedings in the *King's-Bench*; an Inhibition of unequal Purveyance of Provision for the King's Household, and a present Execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Isell*, and *East*, whom he pretended by wrongful Information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the King's Privy Council; who having examined the Particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy-Council to prosecute them by Force rather than Entreaty; which Advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: And hereupon the King draws his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to assail the Rebels; but the Lords could get no Followers to fight against them who sought only for Reformation of Abuses, and for Punishment of such Traitors as the Lord *Say*, the King's Chamberlain was. Whereupon the Lord *Say* is presently committed to the *Tower*, the King and Queen retire

The Complaints are exploded by the King's Privy-Council.

The King raiseth an Army to suppress the Rebels.



A.D. 1450 retire to London from thence within two Days. The King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in Person towards Captain Mend-all, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into Sevenoke-Wood; upon Notice whereof the King retireth again to London; but the Queen longing for Dispatch, sends the two Staffords, Sir Humfrey and William, with many Hot-spurs in the Court, to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled, for they found Captain Mend-all in good Order ready to receive them, and in the first Encounter slew Sir Humfrey, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to Flight. The King's Forces being at Blackheath, could neither by Threats nor Entreaties be gotten to go to the Rescue; but rather wished the Queen and her Favourites in the Stafford's Case; or that the Duke of York were in England, to aid his Cousin Mortimer (now first acknowledged to be of his Kindred) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose Number from Suffex and Surrey daily encreased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from foraging or taking away any thing by Force; and so returneth again to Blackheath, where the King's Army lay the Night before, but was now fallen down to Greenwich. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their Demands; to whom Jack Cade gave very good Language, but directly affirming no Cessation from Arms, unless the King in Person would hear the Grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely Word for the Reformation of their Wrongs. This Resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Soldiers Faith, made him march presently away to Killingworth-Castle in Warwickshire, where he fortified himself as expecting a Siege, having left the Lord Scales only to guard the Tower. Jack Cade taking Advantage of the King's Departure, cometh to Southwark, where he quarters his Men, straitly charging them to commit no Outrage, nor do Wrong to any; which was duly observed. The next Morning he marched to London-Bridge, where he caused his Men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no Resistance being made against him; and so in good Order marched up by London-Stone, upon which he struck his Sword, saying, Now is Mortimer Lord of London. The Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Chalton, standing upon the Threshold of his Door, bad him take heed he attempted nothing against the Quiet of the City: To whom he made Answer, Let the World take Notice of our honest Intention by our Actions. And indeed this orderly Carriage of himself and his Company, won him a good Opinion amongst the common Sort of People: And now assuming to himself the Place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe Conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst others he wrote this Letter to Thomas Cock, Draper of London.

By this our Writing ensealed, we grant, That Thomas Cock of London, Draper, shall safely come into our Presence, and avoid from us again at his Pleasure, with all other Persons coming in his Company.

Subscribed thus:

His Majesty's loyal Subject, John Mortimer, Captain Mend-all.

Upon Cock's Admission, he had private Conference with Three other that came with him; to whom at their Departure he gave these Instructions in Writing: You shall charge all Lombards and Merchant-strangers, Genoefes, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this Day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harnefs compleat of the best Fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battle-axes, twelve Gloves, six Horses with Saddle and Bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand Marks in ready Money: And if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the Heads of as many as we can get. But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: Who thereupon the next Morning, being the third of July, returns to London, and presently sends to the Lord Scales, to bring his Prisoner the Lord Say to the Guildhall, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his Brethren; before whom he caused the Lord Say to be arraigned, who craving to be tried by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in Cheapside, and there had his Head chopp'd off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to Mile-End, whither he went to have Conference with the Rebels of Essex; and by the Way meeting with Sir James Cromer, High-Sheriff of Kent, who had lately married the Lord Say's Daughter, he caused his Head also to be stricken off, and carried before him in Derision. The next Morning he came again to London; where, after publick Execution done upon some of his Fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named Paris, that had done Things contrary to his Proclamation, upon a Displeasure taken against Alderman Malpas, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman Horn in five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every Day more insolent than other, they sent to the Lord Scales for Assistance, who sendeth Matthew Gout an old Soldier to them, with some Forces and Furniture out of the Tower; who presently makes a Stand at the Bridge, where Cade, notwithstanding, forceth his Passage, and then began to set Fire on Houses, where many aged and impotent People perished. Captain Bough, Alderman Sutton, and Robert Hayson, valiantly fighting, were slain; yet upon a fresh Supply, the Londoners recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in Southwark; at which Time, both Sides being weary, agreed of a Truce till the next Day. After the Retreat, Cade finding he had lost many of his best Men, was driven, for Supply, to set at Liberty all the Prisoners in Southwark, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his Company entering into Consideration of their Danger, and of the desperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their Countenances, their Willingness to leave this Course: Whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury having Notice, he with the Bishop of Winchester came from the Tower by Water to Southwark, and there shewed the King's General Pardon under the Great Seal of England, which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking Leave of their Captain, they withdrew themselves that Night

He commandeth Horses and Furniture to be sent him.

He cuts off the Lord Say's Head in Cheapside.

Also Sir James Cromer's Head.

Upon the King's general Pardon, Jack Cade's Followers leave him.

to



A.D. 1450 to their several Habitations: *Jack Cade*, with some few Followers, bent his Journey to *Queenborough-Castle*, where, being denied Entrance, he disguised himself, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with Promise of a thousand Marks to any that should bring him dead or alive, he was afterward by one *Alexander Eden*, Gentleman, attacked; and making Resistance, in a Garden at *Hotbfield* in *Sussex*, was there slain. His Body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his Head set upon *London-Bridge*, his Quarters dispersed in divers Places in *Kent*. Upon the News whereof, the King sends Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire after the Abettors of this Rebellion; whither he followeth himself in Person; and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight only were executed. Though *London* was the chief Stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countries were not free, especially *Wiltshire*; for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth Day of *June*, drew *William Askot*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was saying Mass in *Edington Church*, to the Top of the Hill, and there, in his Priestly Robes, most inhumanely murdered him.

Upon this Insurrection in England, the King of France seizeth upon all the English Territories, and leaves the English nothing but *Calais*.

This Insurrection was not unknown to the King of France, who taking Advantage thereof, seizeth upon all Places which the English had in France, leaving them nothing but only *Calais*, and the Castles of *Hames* and *Guifnes*; and this was the Issue of the Duke of *Somerfet*'s Regency in France: Whereupon coming into England, at a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the sixth of *November*, in the nine and twentieth Year of the King's Reign, he was put under Arrest. Upon Notice whereof the Commons at *London* despoiled his House at *Black-Friers*, and ceased not till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for disobeying whereof, there was one Man beheaded at the Standard in *Cheap*.

1451. At this Time the Duke of *York*, under Pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private Conference with *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Richard Earl of Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and other his assured Friends; where it was resolved to keep the chief Purpose (the Claim to the Crown) secret, and only to make Shew, that his Endeavours were but to remove ill Counsellors from the King, of whom they instanced in the Duke of *Somerfet* as Chief; and hereof the Duke sent

The Duke of *York* complains against the Duke of *Somerfet*.  
He raiseth an Army;  
And the King another.

divers Letters to the King, complaining of the Wrongs the Duke of *Somerfet* had done him, but withal making Protestation of his own Loyalty. To which the King maketh Answer, That he would take his Complaints into Consideration, but somewhat blames him for the Death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his Means suspected to be slaughtered, and for dangerous Speeches uttered by his Servants, tending to Rebellion; concluding, That notwithstanding any thing said or done to the Contrary, he took and esteemed him a faithful Subject, and a loving Kinsman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith satisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth Men, making his Colour for the Good of the Commonwealth, and the removing of bad Counsellors. The King advertised

hereof, presently raiseth an Army, and with the

Duke of *Somerfet* (now enlarged) marcheth A.D. 1451 towards *Wales*; while the Duke of *York*, having Notice which Way the King came, by another Way marcheth towards *London*; who being told the *Londoners* would not admit him Entrance, he passed the River *Thames* at *Knightsbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burntheath*. The King in his Pursuit came to *Blackheath*, and there pitched his Tents; from whence he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, to know the Cause of this Commotion; and to make Offer of Reconciliation, if the Duke's Demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made Answer, That nothing was intended against the King's Person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was sought, was to remove ill Counsellors from about the King, but especially *Edmund Duke of Somerfet*; whom if the King would be pleased to commit to Ward, till his legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only dismiss his Army, but come into his Presence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerfet* is committed to Prison: The Duke of *York* dismisseth his Army, and cometh in Person to the King, in whose Presence, contrary to his Expectation, he found the Duke of *Somerfet*; which so moved him, that he could not hold, but presently charged him with Treason; which the Duke of *Somerfet* not only denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *York* to have conspired the King's Death, and the Usurpation of the Crown. Whereupon the King removeth to *London*, the Duke of *York*, as a Prisoner, riding before him, and the Duke of *Somerfet* at Liberty; which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at *Westminster*, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Council are debating of the Matter, there comes a Flash of Lightning out of France, which diverted them. For the Earl of *Candal*, and the Lord *L'Espar*, came Ambassadors from *Bourdeaux*, offering their Obedience to the Crown of England, if they might but be assured to be defended by it; but withal, at the same Time there came a Report, That *Edward Earl of March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great Power was marching towards *London*. Here was Matter for a double Consultation; and for this latter, it was resolved on, That the Duke of *York* should in the Presence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in *St. Paul's* take his Oath of Submission and Allegiance to King *Henry*; which he accordingly did, and then had Liberty to depart to his Castle at *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with about three thousand Men, was sent into *Gascoigne*, who arriving in the Isle of *Mardre*, passed forth with his Power, and took *Fronfac* and other Places; but having received in the Night Instructions from *Bourdeaux* of certain Conspirators, he makes all the Speed he can thither; and was entred the Town before the French had Notice of his coming; so that many of them were slain by the Lord *L'Espar* in their Beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Son, Sir *John Talbot*, with the Bastard of *Somerfet*, and two and twenty hundred Men, by whose Means *Bourdeaux*

1452.

The Duke requireth to have the Duke of *Somerfet* to be tried by Parliament.

The Duke of *York* and the Duke of *Somerfet* accuse each other of Treason.

1453.

The Duke of *York* takes his Oath of Allegiance to K. *Henry*.

deaux



A.D. 1453

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, after many Victories, is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his Tomb.

A Difference on Bartholomew Day between the Mayor of London and the Prior of St. John's.

*deaux* is well manned with *English*, in which Time the Earl was not idle, but went from Place to Place, to receive the offered Submission of all Places where he came; and having taken *Chatillon*, he strongly fortified it; whereupon the French King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Chatillon*, to the Rescue whereof the Earl maketh all possible Speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earl of *Candal* and the Lord *L'Espar* to follow with the Foot. In his Way he surpriseth a Tower the French had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred French-men that had been foraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Camp. Upon whose Approach the French left the Siege, and retired to a Place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the Entry of the Camp; where, being shot through the Thigh with an Harquebuss, and his Horse slain under him, his Son, desirous to relieve his Father, lost his own Life, and therein was accompanied with his Bastard-Brother Sir Henry Talbot, Sir Edward Hall, and thirty other Gentlemen of Name. The Lord *Molins* with Threescore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to *Bordeaux*, but in the Way a Thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last Day of July, in the Year 1453, at *Chatillon*, the most valourous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that Name, after four and twenty Years Service beyond the Seas, ended his Life, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this Inscription upon his Tomb: *Here lieth the Right Noble Knight John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford, Waterford, Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrich and Orchenfield, Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdon of Acton, Lord Cromwel of Winkfield, Lord Livetoft of Warfoppe, Lord Furnival of Sheffield, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. George, St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, Great Marshal to K. Henry VI. of his Realm of France.* The Earl of *Candal*, the Lords *Montferrat*, *Rosaine*, and *Dangledas* entred the Castle of *Chatillon*, and made it good against the French the Space of ten Days; but then having no Hope of Succour, they delivered it, upon Composition to have Liberty to depart to *Bordeaux*: And now the *Gascoignes* were as ready to open their Gates to the French, as they were before to the English; by Means whereof, in short Time, the French recovered again all *Gascoigne* except *Bordeaux*; and that also at length, upon Condition, that both Garrisons and Inhabitants, with all their Substance, might safely depart from *England* or *Calais*, and that the Lords *L'Espar* and *Durant*, with Thirty others, upon Pain of Death, should never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

At this Time, upon St. Bartholomew's Day, an antient Custom being, that the Mayor of London and the Sheriffs should be present in giving Prizes to the best Wrestlers, it happened, that at the Wrestling-place near *Moor-fields*, the Prior of St. John's was there to see the Sports, when a Servant of his not brooking the Disgrace to be foiled before his Master, against the Custom of the Place would have wrestled again, which the Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetch'd Bow-men from *Clerkenwel*, to resist the

Mayor, and some Slaughter was committed; A.D. 1453 the Mayor's Cap was shot through with an Arrow; he nevertheless would have had the Sport go on, but no Wrestlers came; yet the Mayor, Sir John Norman, told his Brethren, he would stay a while to make Trial of the Citizens Respect towards him; which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens, with Banners displayed, came in great Numbers to him, and fetched him home in great Triumph. Upon the Neck of this began the Quarrel in *Holbourn* between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery and some Citizens; in appeasing whereof the Queen's Attorney and three more were slain.

And now the Duke of York by all Means laboureth to stir up the Hatred of the Commons against the Duke of Somerset, repeating often what Dishonour *England* sustained by Somerset's giving up the strong Towns of *Normandy*; and how he abused the King and Queen's Favour to his own Gain and the Commons Grievance: Then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility, that could not well brook his too much commanding over the King and Queen's Affection. Amongst others he fasteneth upon the two Nevils, both Richards, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*; with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble Knot of Friendship is knit betwixt them; by whose Assistance (the King lying dangerously sick at *Clarendon*) the Duke of Somerset is arrested in the Queen's great Chamber, and sent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treason, and many heinous Crimes objected against him. Whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to London on Purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and that dissolved, the Duke of Somerset is presently set at Liberty again; and not only so, but is made Captain of *Calais* and *Guines*, the only Remainder the English had in *France*. Upon this the Duke of York and his Party, with a great Power, march towards London; against whom the King, attended with the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Buckingham and his Son, both named Humfrey, Henry Earl of Northumberland, James Earl of Wiltshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and two thousand Men, marched forwards. At St. Albans both Armies meet: 1455.

The Duke in the Morning sends a Letter to the King, protesting his Fidelity and Sincerity, only he desires the Duke of Somerset may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers; and this he would have, or die in the Pursuit. The King for Answer commands him to disband and submit to his Mercy, and not expect that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their Loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his Friends, who hereupon fall every one to his Quarter: The Earl of Warwick fell upon the Lord Clifford's Quarter, where the Duke of Somerset halting to the Rescue was slain, and with him the Earl of Northumberland, Humfrey Earl of Stafford, the Lord Clifford, and about five Thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himself shot in the Neck with an Arrow; the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Scales in the Faces; the Earl of Dorset so hurt, that he was fain to be carried home

1454.

The Duke of Somerset is sent to the Tower.

But soon set at Liberty, and made Captain of Calais.

1455. The Duke of York's Army and the King's have a Battle, where the Duke of Somerset and other Lords are slain.



A.D. 1455 in a Cart: The King's Army had been encreased after his coming forth, to eight thousand, but now they are all dispersed or slain; and the King, unguarded, is left in a poor Thatch'd House, whither, to be freed from the Danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himself. The Duke of York having Notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who all three upon their Knees present themselves before him, making humble Petition to him for Pardon of what was past; and now seeing the common Enemy was slain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King, throughly affrighted, said, *Let there be no more Killing then, and I will do what you will have me.* This first Battel of *St. Alban's* was fought upon the three and thirtieth Year of K. *Henry's* Reign. The Bodies of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of York in the King's Name commands a Surcease from further Hostility; and in all reverend Manner conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feast of *Pentecost* together. At which Time a Parliament is summoned to begin at *Westminster* the ninth Day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, That the Duke of *Gloucester* should be declared publickly a loyal Subject, and that none should mis-report or dispute the Actions of the Duke of York, or of any in his Company: And moreover, the Duke of York is made Protector of the King's Person, and of the Realm; the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord-Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Calais*, wherein they all carried themselves with unblameable Demeanor.

The King  
flieth.

The Duke of  
York made  
Protector of  
the King's  
Person, and  
of the Realm.

The Queen  
opposeth it.

In this mean Time, the Queen, not well pleased with these Proceedings, seeks all Means to incite the Lords of her Party, and they as much seek to incite her to make Opposition; she puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in Mind, that these Traitors had slain his hopeful Son at *St. Albans*; she tells now the Duke of *Somerset*, that by them his dear Father lost his Life: And they again put the Queen in Mind of the unsufferable Indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in Name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a Child, whilst the Duke of York and his Complices manage all. Upon which Incitation all the Enemies of the *Yorkshire* Faction are assembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of some Course to be taken for restoring the King to his former Liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, That the Duke of York should be commanded to give over his Place of Protectorship, for that the King was of Years and Discretion sufficient to rule of himself without a Guardian; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to surrender his Place of being Lord-Chancellor, for that the Great Seal was never delivered him, seeing that which was now used was made since the King's Restraint, and therefore not sufficient: To which Conclusion of theirs the King, easy to be wrought upon, yields his Consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council-Table at *Greenwich*. But the Lords were wiser than to put themselves into their Hands, and therefore make Answer, That none had Power

to displace them, nor to command their Appearance in any Place, but in Parliament; and so they continued about *London*, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumvirate Authority took *John* Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Exeter*, out of Sanctuary, and sent him Prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These Proceedings gave Occasion to the licentious Multitude to raise Commotions; and the Apprentices of *London*, upon a very slight Occasion, fall upon out-landish Merchants, rifle and rob their Houses; and the Mayor assembling a Company of substantial Citizens to suppress them, the Ring-leader of the Disorders flies to Sanctuary; Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the Offence; but when the Mayor and Commissioners were set, Tidings came, that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the Business to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who so discreetly ordered the Matter, that many of the Offenders were punished, some by Death, others by Fine, and all Things were quieted and appeased.

At this Time the French having little to do against the English in France, would needs be doing something against them in England. They set out two Fleets, one under the Conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter* *Breffy*: The Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the West-Country, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in Kent, where some Hurt they did, but not of Importance to countervail their Voyage.

And now the Queen, finding the little Respect the Londoners bore to her Party, or the King's, persuades the King, as for his Health and Recreation, to make a Progress into *Warwickshire*, which he did, by the Way Hunting and Hawking, and the Queen making Shew of minding nothing but Pastimes: And this she did with a Purpose the easilier to entrap the three Lords of York, Salisbury, and Warwick; to whom she writ most loving Letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an Hour appointed; which they, not doubting any Fraud, intended to have done; but hearing by the Way of the Mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to go on-ward the Way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their Safety, the Duke of York, with a Groom and a Page, getting him to *Wigmore* Castle, the Earl of Salisbury to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of Warwick to the Seaside, and so to *Calais*. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have Intercourse of Letters, yet their Intentions kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this Mischief intended against the Duke of York and his Friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council, and therein of his own Accord desireth that some Course might be invented for a perfect Reconcilement of all Parties, promising upon his Salvation (an Asseveration not usual with him) so to entertain the Duke of York and his Friends, that all Discontents should be removed, and a perfect Amity on all Parts be established: To which End Messengers are dispatched to the Duke of York, and all others of his Party, commanding them upon urgent Affairs

A.D. 1455

1456.

The Apprentices of London make a Commotion.

1457.

The Queen in loving Manner invites the three Lords of York, Salisbury, and Warwick, to meet her at Coventry. The Lords hearing of a Plot laid against them, shift away.

The King seeks an Accommodation betwixt him and the three Lords.



A.D. 1458 fairs of the Realm, and upon Royal Promise of safe Conduct, to repair to his Court at London at a Day appointed. The Duke of York accordingly came, and with 400 Men well apparelled, lodged at his House, called *Baynard's Castle*; the Earl of Salisbury with 500 Men lodged likewise at his House, called the *Herbour*: The Duke of Exeter, lately released, and the Duke of Somerset with 800 Men, were lodged within *Temple-Bar*: The Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford, with 1500 Men were lodged in *Holbourn*: The Earl of Warwick with 600 in red Jackets with ragged Staves, embroidered behind and before, were lodged at the *Grey-Friers* in London. Upon the seventeenth of March the King and Queen came to London, and were lodged at the Bishop's Palace; the Mayor having five hundred well appointed Men in Readiness, rode with a competent Number all Day long round the City, for Preservation of the King's Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friers*; the other, at the Chapter-house at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, the Son of Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex, with some other of the most able Prelates, interceded so, that by their Mediation it was at last concluded, that all Wrongs and Misdemeanours on every Side should be forgotten and forgiven; that each Side should be Friends to the other, and both be obedient to the Commands of the King. Besides this in General, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, which afterward was ratified under the Great Seal of England the 24th Day of March, in the 36th Year of the Reign of King Henry the Sixth. Upon the Publication whereof a solemn Procession was made in *St Paul's Church*, at which the King was present with his Crown on his Head: Before him Hand in Hand went the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Salisbury; the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Warwick; and so one of the one, another of the other Part, till they were all marshalled: Behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of York leading her by the Hand, who in going made Shew of favourable Countenance towards him. Divine Service ended, they return to the Court in all outward Appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appear: For presently upon this, an Affray fell out between a Servant of the Earl of Warwick's and a Courtier, who in the Encounter is dangerously wounded: The Earl's Man flieth; the King's Servants seeing their Fellow hurt, and the Offender escaped, watch the Earl's coming from the Council Table, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to London: The Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the Tower; but he foreseeing the Danger, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of York, and his Father the Earl of Salisbury, of all the Occurrents, with the palpable Discovery of the Queen's canker'd Disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching Storm. Himself speeds to *Calais*, and being then Lord Admiral, takes with him all the King's Ships that were in Readiness, and scouring the Seas,

An Accommodation is agreed upon.

But all dissembled.

meets with five great Carriicks, three of *Genova*, A.D. 1458 and two of *Spain*, and after two Days Fight, takes two of them; with which he returned to *Calais*; where he unloaded their Freight, and found it worth ten thousand Pounds in Staple-Commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

In the mean Time the Earl of Salisbury, with about five thousand Men, marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that Way to the King, with a Purpose to acquaint him with the Affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate Malice discovered in the Queen against him: The Queen, with the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, hearing of his coming, gave Order to the Lord Audley to use Means to apprehend him; who thereupon levieth ten thousand Men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, and with them, about a Mile from *Draynton*, in a Plain called *Blorbeath*, he attended the Earl, there being but a small Brook of no great Depth between them. Early in the Morning the Earl made a seeming Retreat, which the Lord Audley observing, presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again into Order, the Earl with his whole Strength falls upon them, and with the Slaughter of the Lord Audley, and most of them that had passed the River, he discomfited the rest, and slew about two thousand four hundred of them. Sir John and Sir Thomas Nevil, Knights, the Earls Sons, were forely wounded, who with Sir Thomas Harrington, travelling into the North Country, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*, but upon a Message from the March-men were presently released.

1459. The Earl of Salisbury going to acquaint the King, is set upon by the Lord Audley.

Who is slain, and his Army defeated.

And now the Duke of York thinking fit no longer to conceal his Design, makes Preparations to take the Field; the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick do the like; and amongst others of approved Valour, whom the Earl of Warwick had brought from *Calais* with him, were two principal noted Men, John Blunt and Andrew Trollop. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, draws his Forces to *Worcester*, from whence Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, is sent to offer the Yorkists a full and general Pardon, if they would lay down Arms and become Loyal Subjects. Whereunto they answered, That there was no Trust to the King's Pardon, as long as the Queen had a predominant Power; but if they might have Assurance of Safety, they would express their Loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his Service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would abandon the Duke of York, should be received to Mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the Night following, Andrew Trollop with all the *Calaisians* submit to the King; and by him are all the Councils of the Duke of York discovered: Which so much discouraged him, that he with his young Son, the Earl of Rutland, fled first into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick, got into *Devonshire*, where, by the Means of John Dynham, Esq; (the same Man that afterward by King Henry the Seventh was made Lord Treasurer of England) they were Shipp'd from *Exmouth* to *Guernsey*, and so to *Calais*. All the common Soldiers the King pardons,

The Duke of York takes the Field.

The King doth the like.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke to the King. Whereupon the Duke of York flies into Ireland.



A.D. 1459 pardons, only makes exemplary Punishment of some few Captains, sends the Duchefs of *York*, and her two younger Children, to the Duchefs of *Buckingham*, her Sister, to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismiss'd his Army. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the Confederates of the Duke of *York*, are convicted of Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seised on to the King's Use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, by the Queen's Means, is made Captain of *Calais*, whither coming to take Possession, he was by reason of Ordnance shot at him from *Ricebank*, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great Passion she gave Order to make ready all the King's Ships, lying at *Sandwich*, to give Assistance to the Duke of *Somerset*: But the fore-mentioned *John* *Dynham*, out of Love to the Earl of *March*, boarded those Ships in the Harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, designed Admiral for that Service, and carried both him and the Ships to *Calais*, from whence the Earl sailed to *Ireland*, to the Duke of *York*, who having conferred and concluded what Course to take, he returned to *Calais*, the new Admiral, the Duke of *Exeter*, not daring to stop his Course. Sir *Simon* *Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-Ports, having divers Ships under his Command, to bar the Earl of *Warwick*'s Entrance: But the Earl by his Espials having perfect Intelligence of all Passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his Ships were ready, took him Prisoner, ranfack'd the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried him Prisoner, and the Ships to *Calais*. By the Way he understood how much the *Kentish* Men desired his Return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second Time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham*, and very many Gentlemen of the Country: So as now his Army was five and twenty thousand strong, with which he marched towards *London*. Against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure *London*. But the Mayor directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the *Tower*, from whence afterwards he did the *Londoners* no small Displeasure. The Earl of *Warwick* having Notice, that his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him, passeth over his Men; and without Impeachment, joined with him and his Friends near *Exeter*.

The Duke of *York* in a Parliament is convicted of Treason: As likewise the other Lords.

*John* *Dynham* doth the Earl of *March* good Service.

The Earl of *Warwick* is received of the *Londoners*.

1460. The Armies of the Earl of *March*, and of the King, meet at *Northampton*. The King's Army is defeated; divers Lords slain.

The King, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet. The Earl of *March*, with the Advice of the Earl of *Warwick*, prepares for the Fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to Devotion than Fighting) did the like; the Fight continued about two Hours, wherein were slain on both Sides above ten thousand Men; but upon the Fall of *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Side was discomfited, and *John* *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Lord *Beaumont*, and some others of Account were slain. The Queen with the

Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young A.D. 1460 Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to *London*: Where the *Tower* is yielded to the Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Scales* in disguised Apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Watermen, and by them beheaded, and his Corpse carelessly left upon the Sands. *Thomas* *Thorpe*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to fly to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, and after by the Commons beheaded at *Highbate*. The Duke of *York* being advertised of this good Success, leaveth *Ireland*, and posts to *London*, where in the King's Name, he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, he, in the Presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great Boldness lays open his rightful Claim to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger* *Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa* the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the Third, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the Usurper *Henry* the Fourth, Grandfather to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this Time untruly stileth himself King *Henry* the Sixth. And after relating the many Miseries that had befallen the Realm since the Time of this Usurpation, he concluded, That he would not expect nor desire Possession of the Crown, except his Descent were indisputable, and his Title without Exception. This being a Business of Importance, required Deliberation; but in Conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his Part, the Burgesses were easily persuaded: And it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, That King *Henry*, during his Life, should retain the Name and Honour of a King; That the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the King's Person, his Lands and Dominions; and that if at any Time any of King *Henry*'s Friends, Allies, or Favourites, in his Behalf should attempt the Disannulling this Act, that then the Duke should have present Possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the Noting, That while the Earl of *March* was declaring his Title in the Upper House, it happened in the Nether House, that a Crown which hung in the Middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set Lights upon, without Touch or Wind, fell down: As likewise at the same Time fell down the Crown which stood on the Top of *Dover* Castle. A Sign, as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the King's Name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility that remained in the Kingdom, with all Speed to repair to his Presence in *London*: But they had other Work in Hand, for having gotten together of *English* and *Scots* to the Number of eighteen thousand, they came marching into *England*. Against whom went the

The Queen fleeth; the King taken Prisoner, and conveyed to *London*. The Lord *Scales* flying away in Disguise, is taken by Watermen, and beheaded. The Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland*: Summons a Parliament, wherein he lays open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament that King *Henry* should remain King during his Life; and the Duke of *York* proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown.

Good Omen for the Earl of *March*.



A.D. 1460  
The Dukes  
of Somerset  
and Exeter  
with an Ar-  
my out of  
Scotland  
come march-  
ing into Eng-  
land.

The Duke of  
York meets  
them, and in  
a Battel on  
Wakefield-  
Green is slain.

The Earl of  
Salisbury be-  
headed.

The Duke of  
York's Issue.

the Duke of York with his younger Son the Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury (leaving the King in the Custody of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Warwick) and approaching near the Queen's Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the Enemy far exceeded his Power, both in Number, and in all Warlike Preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand Men) and thereupon the Earl of Salisbury advised him to retire, and to attend the Coming of the Earl of March, who was gone into Wales to raise the March-men: But the Pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all Counsel of declining the Battel; and so hastened on by his Destiny, from Sandal Castle he marcheth on to Wakefield-Green; where the Lord Clifford on the one Side, and the Earl of Wiltshire on the other, were placed in Ambuscade. The Duke of York supposing that the Duke of Somerset, who led the Battel, had no more Forces than what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him; but being entred within their Danger, Ambushes on both Sides brake out upon him, and slew him, with three thousand of his Men, the rest fled. The Earl of Salisbury is taken Prisoner, and harmless Rutland not above twelve Years old, who came thither but to see Fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Father's Transgressions, who kneeling upon his Knees, with Tears begging Life, is unmercifully stabbed to the Heart by the Lord Clifford, in Part of Revenge, as he swore, of his Father's Death: And the Queen most unwomanly in cold Blood caused the Earl of Salisbury, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at Pomfret Castle, and to have their Heads placed on Poles, about the Walls of York. Thus died Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who had taken to Wife Cicely Daughter to Ralph Nevil, the first Earl of Westmorland, by whom he had Issue eight Sons and four Daughters; his eldest Son Henry died young, his second Son Edward was afterward King of England; his third Son Edmund Earl of Rutland, was slain with his Father; John, Thomas, and William, died young; his seventh Son George was after Duke of Clarence; his youngest Son Richard, surnamed Crouchback, was after King of England. Anne his eldest Daughter was married to Henry Holland Duke of Exeter; his second Daughter Elizabeth, married to John de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk; his third, Margaret, to Charles Duke of Burgoyne; his fourth, Ursula, died young. This Duke being dead, had his Head Crowned with a Paper Crown, together with many Circumstances of disgracing him; but this Act of Spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their Heads that did it.

The Earl of March hearing of his Father's Death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from Shrewsbury, whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he encreased his Army to the Number of three and twenty thousand, and presently took the Field: And having Advertisement that Jasper Earl of Pembroke, with the Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, followed after him with a great Power of Welsh and Irish, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near Mortimer's Crofs, on Candlemas Day in the Morn-

ing, gave them Battel, where with the Slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to Flight. Owen Tendor, who had married Q. Katharine, Mother to K. Henry the sixth, and divers Welsh Gentlemen, were taken, and at Hereford beheaded. Before the Battel, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of March like three Suns, and suddenly it joined altogether in one; for which Cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full Brightness, for his Badge or Cognizance.

The Queen in the mean Time encouraged by the Death of the Duke of York, with a Power of Northern Men marched towards London: But when her Soldiers were once South of Trent, as if the River were the utmost Limit of their good Behaviour, they fell to forage the Country in a most barbarous Manner. Approaching St. Alban's, they were advertised, that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick were ready to give them Battel; whereupon the Queen's Vaward hasteth to pass through St. Alban's: But being not suffered to pass, they encountered with their Enemies in the Field called Bernard-beath. Who perceiving the main Battel to stand still, and not to move, which was done by the Treachery of Lovelace, who with the Kentish Men had the Leading of it, they soon made the Southern Men to turn their Backs and fly: Upon whose Flight the rest in Doubt of each other's well-meaning shifted away; the Lords about the King perceiving the Danger, withdrew themselves. Only the Lord Bonville coming in a complemental Manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that Necessity for the Safe-guard of his Life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir Thomas Kyriel, a Knight of Kent, likewise, by the King to stay, he passing his Royal Word that their Stay should be no Danger to them: Upon which Promise they stayed, but to their Cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron Thorp at Highbate, she in Revenge thereof caused both their Heads to be stricken off at St. Albans: So as there were slaughtered at this Battel the full Number of three and twenty hundred, but no Man of Name but Sir John Grey, who the same Day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of Colney.

And now the King was advised to send one Thomas Hoe, that had been a Barrister, to the Victors, to tell them, that he would gladly come to them, if with Convenience it might be done; whereupon the Earl of Northumberland appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord Clifford's Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great Joy: But it was now observed, as it were in the Destiny of King Henry, that although he was a most pious Man, yet no Enterprize of War did ever prosper where he was: That we may know the Prosperity of the World to be no inseparable Companion to Men of Piety. At the Queen's Request, the King honoured with Knighthood thirty Gentlemen, who the Day before had fought against the Part where he was: The Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abby, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the Outrage of the loose

E c c

Soldiers;

A.D. 1460  
The Earl of  
March puts  
the Queen's  
Forces to  
Flight.  
Owen Tendor  
beheaded.

No Enter-  
prize of War  
ever prosper-  
ed where K.  
Henry was  
present.



A.D. 1460 Soldiers; which was promised, and Proclamation made to that Purpose, but to small Purpose, for the Northern Men said, It was their Bargain to have all the Spoil in every Place, after they had passed *Trent*: And so they robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this Disorder, seeing there was no more Assurance in the King's Promise, to keep the Northern Men out of their Gates; insomuch that when they were sent to, to send over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Provision, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons rose about *Crip-*

The *Londoners* keep Provision from going to the King.

The Earl of *March* is elected King.

*legate*, and by strong Hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon the Mayor sends the Recorder to the King's Council, and withal entreats the Dukes of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales*, to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using Force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtful Times, to stir their Fury that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send Women to entreat a Woman, for by this Means they prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Council, with a Guard of four hundred good Soldiers were appointed to go for *London* to enquire and certify of these Things; when suddenly News was brought that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his scattered Troops, and joined with the Earl of *March*, they halted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth Day of *February*; and upon *Sunday* the second of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* mustered all his Army in *St. John's* Field; and having cast them into a Ring, read unto them the Agreement of the Parliament, and then demanded, Whether they would have King *Henry* to reign still? Who all cried, No, no: Then he asked them, whither they would have the Earl of *March*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*, by that Parliament proclaimed King, to reign over them? Who with a great Clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains and others of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynard's* Castle, to acquaint him with what was passed; who at first seemed to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a Charge: But animated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at last consented to take it upon him. And thereupon the next Morning he went in Procession to *St. Paul's*, and offered there; and after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great State conveyed to *Westminster*: And there in the great Hall seated in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his Hand. And then again the People, of whom there was a great Concurrence, were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? To which with great Willingness they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking Homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Procession and great Solemnity conveyed to the Abby, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst *Te Deum* was singing. That done, he offered at *St. Edward's* Shrine, and then returned by Water to *St. Paul's*, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace; and upon the

fourth of *March* he was generally proclaimed King, by the Name of *Edward* the fourth. And here, in the Course of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth; that it may be truly said, never came any to be King so soon after his Birth, nor left to be King so long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight Months old, and he left to be King, living twelve Years after. There was indeed in that Space of Time, a certain Vicissitude, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the Passages whereof must be related in the following King's Reign.

A.D. 1460  
Is proclaimed King.

### Of his Taxations.

IN the first Year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her Lap came and sat amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidy of five Nobles upon every Sack of Wool that should pass out of the Land, for three Years: But if carried out by Merchant-strangers, then to pay three and forty Shillings for every Sack. In the third Year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein was granted a Subsidy of twelve Pence in the Pound of all Merchandize coming in, or passing out of the Realm, and three Shillings of a Tun of Wine, for the Term of three Years. In his sixth Year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted a Subsidy of every Tun of Wine three Shillings, and other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve Pence in the Pound: Also of every Parish through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in Value ten Marks, ten of that Parish should pay six Shillings eight Pence; and of every Benefice of the Value of ten Pounds, ten Parishioners should pay thirteen Shillings four Pence; and so ratably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughs, every Man being worth twenty Shillings above his Household Stuff, and the Apparel of him and his Wife, should pay four Pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

### Of Laws and Ordinances in his Time.

IN the 32d Year of this King, the Lord Mayor of *London* first began to go by Water to *Westminster* to take his Oath, where before they used to go by Land. Also in this King's Reign the Art of Printing was found out at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cutenberghen*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abby at *Westminster*, in the Year 1471. In the 23d Year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was enacted, That when Wheat was sold for six Shillings eight Pence the Quarter, Rye for four Shillings, and Barley for three Shillings, it should be lawful for any Man to carry the said Kinds of Corn into the Parts beyond the Sea, without License, so it were not to the King's Enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Art of Printing first found.

When Corn might be carried beyond Sea.

Affairs



Affairs of the Church in his Time.

A.D. 1460  
The Bishop  
of Chiche-  
ster's Here-  
sies, for  
which depri-  
ved.

IN the six and thirtieth Year of this King, Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, who had laboured many Years in translating the Holy Scripture into English, was accused and convicted for holding and publishing certain Opinions at that Time held Heretical, which at last openly at Paul's Cross he revoked; That he had held, there was no Necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell; also no Necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot err in Matters of Faith, or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that Spiritual Persons ought to have no Temporal Possessions; and that Personal Tithes were not due by God's Law. These Points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abby, where soon after he died.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his Time.

THE King himself founded two famous Colleges, the one in Cambridge, to our Lady and St. Nicholas, called the College-Royal, the King's-College; the other of Eaton, besides Windsor, called of our Blessed Lady; to the Maintenance whereof he gave 3400 Pounds by Year. In the twenty eighth Year of his Reign, his Queen Margaret began the Foundation of Queen's-College in Cambridge. In the Time of his Reign also Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded two Colleges in Oxford, one called All-Souls-College, the other Bernard-College. In his Time also Humfrey Duke of Gloucester (but others say Thomas Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury) built the Divinity-School in Oxford; also the said Archbishop built Paul's Cross in Form; and William Waneffete, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord-Chancellor of England, founded Mary-Magdalen-College in Oxford. In his seventeenth Year, Ralph Lord Cromwel builded the College of Talsbal in Lincolnshire. Also this Year William Eastfield, Mayor of London, caused to be builded at his own Charge the Water-Conduit in Fleet-street. In his ninth Year John Wells, Mayor of London, caused the Conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap, to be builded. In his first Year the West-Gate of London, sometime called Chamberlain-gate, and now Newgate, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London. In his fifth Year John Reynewell, Mayor of London, gave certain Lands to the City of London, for which the City is bound to pay for ever all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King (so as it pass not three Fifteens in one Year) for three Wards in London; namely, Dowgate Ward, Billingsgate Ward, and Aldgate. Also this Year the Tower at the Draw-bridge of London was begun by the same Mayor. In his four and twentieth Year Simon Eyre, Lord Mayor of London, builded the

Leaden-Hall in London, to be a Store-house for A.D. 1460 Grain and Fuel for the Poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the East-end of the same, leaving in Stock a thousand Pounds; which afterward K. Edward IV. borrowed, and never paid it again. Also in this King's Time William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, and Alice his Wife, Daughter to Thomas Chaucer; Son to Jeffry Chaucer the famous Poet, translated and encreased the Manor-place of Ewelme in Oxfordshire, and builded new the Parish-Church of Ewelme, and an Hospital or Alms-house for two Priests and thirteen poor Men, to which he gave three Manors, Ramruge in Hampshire, Conock in Wiltshire, and Mersb in Buckinghamshire: They also founded the Hospital of Donington Castle.

Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his fifth Year was so unreasonable Weather, that it rained almost continually from Easter to Michaelmas. In his seventh Year, the 8th of November, the Duke of Norfolk was like to have been drowned passing through London-Bridge, his Barge being set upon the Piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty Persons were drowned, and the Duke, with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with Ropes. In his seventeenth Year was so great a Dearth of Corn, that People were glad to make them Bread of Fern-Roots. In his eighteenth Year all the Lions of the Tower died. Also in this Year, the 18th Day of July, the Postern Gates of London by East-Smithfield, against the Tower of London, sank by Night more than seven Foot in the Earth. In his two and twentieth Year, one New-Years-Day, near unto Bedford, a very deep Water, which ran betwixt the Towns of Swellstone and Harlserwood, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the Space of three Miles the Bottom remained dry; which Wonder many thought to signify the Division of the People, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth Year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a strange Sight, a monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the Prefence of a Multitude of People at Portland, made a hideous Crowing three Times, each Time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious Births. In his six and thirtieth Year, in a little Town in Bedfordshire, it rained Blood, whereof the red Drops appeared in Sheets hung out to dry.

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married Margaret Daughter of Rayner Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Arragon, by whom he had a small Portion, and little Strength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good Match, if they could have changed Conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring Spirit, and she his soft and mild Disposition. She was his Wife six and twenty Years, and after her Husband's Depulsion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battel of Tewksbury, in a poor religious House,

Leaden-Hall  
in London  
builded, and  
to what Use.

All the Lions  
in the Tower  
die.

A deep River  
grows sud-  
denly dry.

A prodigious  
Cock.

Rain of  
Blood.

King's-College  
in Cambridge,  
Windsor,  
and Eaton  
College  
founded.

Queen's-Col-  
lege in Cam-  
bridge found-  
ed.

All-Souls and  
Bernard-Col-  
lege in Oxford  
founded.

The Divinity-  
School in  
Oxford built.

Paul's Cross  
built.  
Magdalen-  
College in Ox-  
ford founded.

The Stan-  
dard in  
Cheapside  
builded.

Newgate new  
builded.



A.D. 1460 House, whither she had fled for Safety of her Life, was taken Prisoner, and carried Captive to London, where she remained in Durance, till Duke Rayner her Father purchased her Liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly died in her Native Country. By her K. Henry had Issue only one Son, named Edward, who, when the Day was lost at Tewksbury, fought to escape by Flight; but being taken, was brought into the Presence of King Edward, whose resolute Answers provoked him so much, that he dashed him on the Mouth with his Gauntlet, and then Richard the Crouchback ran him into the Heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongst the poor Persons there slain, in the Monastical Church of the Black-Friers in Tewksbury.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

UPON K. Edward's recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower, where the 21st of May, in the Year 1472, he was murdered by the bloody Hand of Richard, Duke of Gloucester; the Day after he was brought to St. Paul's Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the Black-Friers, where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to Chersey Abby, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, Saying or Singing, and there buried: But afterward, at the Appointment of King Edward, was removed to Windsor, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of Stature, spare and slender of Body, of a comely Countenance, and all Parts well proportioned. For Endowments of his Mind, he had Virtues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are said to be Gods; for of that commanding Power there being two Parts, *Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos*, he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the World calls Honour, accounting the greatest Honour to consist in Humility. His greatest Imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devour. He was not so stupid not to know Prosperity from Adversity; but he was so devout to think nothing Adversity which was not a Hindrance to Devotion. He was fitter for a Priest than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Priest; and he could not choose but die a Martyr, who all his Life had been a Confessor. He had one Immunity peculiar to himself, that no Man could ever be revenged on him, seeing he never offered any Man Injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his Head so long; but if he had been wise as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not sufficient, if we express not in particular his several Virtues. So modest, that when at Christmas a Shew of Women was presented before him with their Breasts laid out, he presently departed, saying, Fie, fie for Shame, for-

The Virtues  
of K. Henry.

footh you be to blame. So pitiful, that when A.D. 1460 he saw the Quarters of a Traitor over Cripple-gate, he caused it to be taken down, saying, I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled for my Sake. So free from Swearing, that he never used other Oath but *Forsooth*, and *Verily*. So patient, that to one who struck him when he was taken Prisoner, he only said, Forsooth you wrong your self more than me, to strike the Lord's Anointed. So devout, that on principal Holidays he used to wear Sackcloth next his Skin. Once for all, let his Confessor be heard speak, who in ten Years Confession never found that he had done or said any thing, for which he might justly be enjoined Penance. For which Causes King Henry VII. would have procured him to be canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by Death; or perhaps, because the Charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more costly than of a private Person.

#### Of Men of Note in his Time.

THERE were Men of Valour in this King's Reign, of extraordinary Eminency; as first, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, who, when a French Lord upbraided him, that his Sword was of Lead, he made his Answer, and made him feel that it was of Steel. Next him was Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, whose very Name was a sufficient Charm to daunt a whole French Army. Then the next was John Lord Talbot, so great a Terror to the French, that when the Women would still their Children from crying, they would use to say, John Lord Talbot comes. Then was Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, so much greater than a King, that which makes is greater than that it makes; and such a one was he. Many other besides these, not much inferiour to these; that we may truly say, There was never a more heroical King of England than Henry V. nor ever a King of England that had more heroical Subjects than Henry VI. And though Arms and Letters seem to be of different Conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flourish together; as in this King's Reign, where John Leland, surnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for Instruction of Grammarians; William White, a Priest of Kent, professing the Doctrine of Wickcliffe, for which he suffered Martyrdom by Fire. Alexander Carpenter, who wrote a Book called *Destructorium vitiorum*, against the Prelates of that Time; Peter Basset, Esq; of the Privy-Chamber to K. Henry V. whose Life he wrote: John Pole a Priest, who wrote the Life of St. Walborale, an English Woman: Also Thomas Walden, alias Netter, who wrote divers Treatises against the Wickliffites: Peter Clark, alias Pain, a Student in Oxford, and Defender of Wickliffe's Doctrine; for which he fled, and was put to Death beyond Sea: Thomas Walsingham, born in Norfolk, a diligent Historiographer: Thomas Ringstead the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: Thomas Rudburn, a Monk of Winchester, and an Historiographer: Nicholas Upton, a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of Colours in Armory, and of the Duty of Chivalry: John Capgrave, born



A.D. 1460 born in Kent, an *Augustine* Frier, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humfrey* Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, whereof he wrote a special Treatise, entituled, *Tabula Directionum*: *John Wethamstead*, otherwise called *Frumentarius*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises; and amongst others, a Book of the Record of Things happening while he was Abbot; which Book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some Passages of his Time followed: *Roger Onley*, accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, by Sorcery, to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: He wrote one Treatise entituled, *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry Walsingham*, a Carmelite Frier of *Norwich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury*, who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learn Languages, and wrote many Works of Poetry: *Thomas Beckington*, Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Trigury*, born in *Cornwal*, whom, for his excellent Learning, *K. Henry V.* made Governor of the Univerfity of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered A.D. 1460 it: *Reynold Peacock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flemming*, who wrote a Dictionary in *Greek* and *Latin*, and a Work in Verse of sundry Kinds: *Richard Flemming*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, who wrote divers Books, one of the *Etyymology* of *England*: *Nicholas Montacute*, an Historiographer: *John Stow*, a Monk of *Norwich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*: *Nicholas Bungy*, born in a Town in *Norfolk* of that Name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsack*, who wrote a Book *De re militari*: *Thomas Dando*, a Carmelite Frier of *Marlborough*, who wrote the Life of *Alfred*, King of the *West Saxons*: *Robert Bale*, surnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of *London*, with other Matters touching the perfect Description of the same City: He wrote other Works also touching the Estate of the same City, and the Acts of *K. Edward III.*

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester a wife Astrologer.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

<p>A.D. 1442</p> <p>In his first Year,  <b>S</b>IR William Walderne was Mayor.  William Eastfield, Robert Tatarfal, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his second Year,  William Cromar was Mayor.  Nicolas James, Thomas Watford, or Windford, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his third Year,  John Michell was Mayor.  Simon Seman, John Bywater, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fourth Year,  John Coventrie was Mayor.  William Milreth, John Brokle, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fifth Year,  Sir John Rainewell was Mayor.  John Arnold, John Higham, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his sixth Year,  Sir John Gedney was Mayor.  Henry Frowick, Robert Otely, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his seventh Year,  Sir Henry Barton was Mayor.  Thomas Duffhouse, or Desehouse, John Abbot, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eighth Year,  Sir William Eastfield was Mayor.  William Ruffe, Raphe Holland, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his ninth Year,  Nicolas Wotton was Mayor.  Walter Chertsey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.</p>	<p>In his tenth Year,  Sir John de Welles was Mayor.  John Aderley, Stephen Browne, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eleventh Year,  Sir John Parveys was Mayor.  John Olney, John Paddeley, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his twelfth Year,  Sir John Brokle was Mayor.  Thomas Chalton, John King, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his thirteenth Year,  Sir Roger Oteley was Mayor.  Thomas Barnewell, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fourteenth Year,  Sir Henry Frowick was Mayor.  Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fifteenth Year,  Sir John Michell was Mayor.  Thomas Morsted, William Gregorie, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his sixteenth Year,  Sir William Eastfield was Mayor.  William Hales, William Chapman, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his seventeenth Year,  Sir Stephen Brown was Mayor.  Hugh Dyker, Nicolas Yoo, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eighteenth Year,  Robert Large was Mayor.  Philip Malpas, Robert Marshall, Sheriffs.</p>	<p>A.D. 1451</p>
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A.D. 1440

In his nineteenth Year,  
*Sir John Paddesley* was Mayor.  
*John Sutton, William Welinbale*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,  
*Robert Clopton* was Mayor.  
*William Combis, or Combes, Richard Rich*,  
 Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first Year,  
*John Aderley* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Beaumont, Richard Nordon*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second Year,  
*Thomas Catworth* was Mayor.  
*Nicolas Wyfold, John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third Year,  
*Sir Henry Frowicke* was Mayor.  
*Stephen Foster, Hugh Wich*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth Year,  
*Sir Simon Eyre* was Mayor.  
*John Darby, Godfrey Fielding*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fifth Year,  
*John Olney* was Mayor.  
*Robert Horne, Godfrey Bolaine*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-sixth Year,  
*Sir John Gedney* was Mayor.  
*William Abraham, Thomas Scot*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-seventh Year,  
*Sir Stephen Browne* was Mayor.  
*William Catlow, William Marrow*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-eighth Year,  
*Sir Thomas Chalton* was Mayor.  
*William Hulin, Thomas Cannings*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-ninth Year,  
*Nicolas Wilford* was Mayor.  
*John Middleton, William Deerc*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth Year,

*Sir William Gregory* was Mayor.  
*Matthew Philip, Christopher Wharton*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-first Year,  
*Sir Godfrey Fielding* was Mayor.  
*Richard Lee, Richard Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-second Year,  
*Sir John Norman* was Mayor.  
*John Walden, or Waldron, Thomas Cook*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-third Year,  
*Sir Stephen Forster* was Mayor.  
*John Field, William Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fourth Year,  
*Sir William Marrow* was Mayor.  
*John Yong, Thomas Oldgrave*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fifth Year,  
*Sir Thomas Canning* was Mayor.  
*John Styward, Ralph Verney*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-sixth Year,  
*Sir Godfrey Boleine* was Mayor.  
*William Edwards, Thomas Reyner*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-seventh Year,  
*Sir Thomas Scot* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-eighth Year,  
*Sir William Hulin* was Mayor.  
*John Plommer, John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-ninth Year,  
*Sir Richard Lee* was Mayor.  
*Richard Fleming, John Lambert*, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1451



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N of  
King *E D W A R D* IV.

A.D. 1460

**E**DWARD Earl of March, born at Roan in Normandy, Son and Heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain in the Battel at Wakefield, succeeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the Possession of the Crown of England; and that by Virtue of an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein the said Duke of York not only was declared Heir apparent of the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom: But it was further enacted, That if King Henry, or any in his Behalf, should attempt the disannulling of this Act, that then the said Duke, or his Heir, should have the present Possession; which, because his Friends attempted to do, therefore justly doth Edward Earl of March, his Son, by Vertue of this Act take Possession of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of England, by the Name of Edward the Fourth, through the City of London, on the fifth Day of March, in the Year 1460. But before he could have Leisure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his Fortune in the Field by Battel; for King Henry in the North was raising a new Army, against whom King Edward upon the twelfth of March marched with his Forces from London; and by easy Journeys came to Pomfret Castle, from whence the Lord Fitzwater was sent to guard the Passage at Ferrybridge, to stop the Enemy's Approach that Way: King Henry likewise advanced forward, sending his Power under the Conduct of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whilst himself, with his Queen and Son, stay at York. The Lord Clifford, very early on Palm-Sunday, with a Troop of Northern Men, falls upon those that guarded Ferrybridge, and defeated them with the Slaughter of the Lord Fitzwater, and the Bastard of Salisbury. The Earl of Warwick hearing of this Defeat, comes posting to King Edward's Camp, and in his Presence killing his Horse, protested his Resolution to stand with him to the Death. Upon this Resolution of the Earl's, the King made presently Proclamation, that all who are afraid to fight, should at their Pleasure depart; but to those that would stay he promised a good Reward; adding withal, That if any that stay'd should after turn his Back, or flee, then he that should kill him should have double Pay. After this he gave Order to the Lord Falconbridge, and Sir Walter Blunt, to lead on the Vaward, who in their March about Dandingdale, encountered with the Lord Clifford (who formerly in cold Blood had slaughtered the young Earl of Rutland) and he being stricken in the Throat with an Arrow, some say, without a Head, and presently dying; the Lord Nevil, Son and Heir of the Earl of Westmorland, was also slain, with most of their Companies, and the rest put to Flight. The next Day likewise (the Duke of Norfolk being dangerously sick, to whom that Place was assigned) Falconbridge and Blunt continue the leading of the Van-guard; and on Palm-Sunday, by Break of Day, they came to a plain Field between Towton and Saxton, from whence they made a full Survey of King Henry's Army, and certified King Edward that the Enemy was threescore thousand strong, whereas his Army was but forty thousand and six hundred. Whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no Quarter should be kept, nor Prisoner taken. The Armies being both in Sight, the Lord Falconbridge gave Direction to the Archers, upon a Signal by him given, to shoot every Man a Flight-arrow, for that Purpose provided, and then to fall back three Strides, and stand. The Northern Men in the mean Time plyed their Bows till all their Sheaths were empty; but their Arrows fell short of their Enemy by threescore Yards; and not only did no Hurt to the Enemy, but did Hurt to themselves; for their Arrows being spent, and coming to Hand-blows, their own Arrows sticking in the Ground, galled their Shins and pierced their Feet. Ten Hours the Battel continued doubtful, till the Earl of Northumberland being slain, with the Lord Beaumont Gray, Dacres, and Wells, Sir John Nevil, Andrew Trollop, and many other Knights and Esquires, the Earls of Exeter and Somerset fled, leaving the Conquest to King Edward; but the bloodiest that ever England felt, for there fell that Day 36,776 Persons, no Prisoners being taken but the Earl of Devonshire. The Battel ended, King Edward hastes to York; where he caused the Heads of his Father and other Friends to be taken down and buried with their Bodies, setting in their Places the Heads of the Earl of Devonshire, and three other, there at that Time executed. The Earl of Somerset acquainting King Henry with this Overthrow, perswades him, with his Queen and Son, to fly to Berwick, where leaving the Duke of Somerset, they fly further for Succour to the King of Scots, who comforteth them with

The Earl of March is proclaimed King of England.

King Henry in the North raiseth an Army to oppose King Edward.

Defeated by Policy of the Lord Falconbridge.

And many Lords slain, and thirty thousand others.



A.D. 1460 with Promise of Relief, but maketh a sure Bargain, for in Lieu of a Pension to be allowed King Henry during his Abode there, the Town and Castle of *Berwick* were delivered to him. Queen Margaret and her Son are sent into France, who obtained of Lewis the Eleventh, her Cousin, that all of King Edward's Friends were prohibited to stay or traffick in the French King's Dominions; but all King Henry's Friends might live there freely. After this King Edward comes to London, and upon his Entrance to the Tower, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next Day four more; and upon the 28th Day of June, in the Year 1461, he rode from the Tower to Westminster, and was there Crowned in the Abby-Church.

King Henry flies into Scotland, the Queen and her Son into France.

1461.

K. Edward is Crowned.

John Earl of Oxford beheaded. Dukes and Earls created.

1462.

Shortly after a Parliament is summoned, which began at Westminster the fourth of November; in which all Acts of King Henry the Sixth prejudicial to King Edward's Title, are repealed; and therein John Earl of Oxford, a valiant and wise Man (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the Question concerning the Precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons, a bold Attempt in those Days; and by Force of whose Argument, Judgment was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tiddingham, Knight, William Tyrrel, and Walter Montgomery, Esquires, were, without Answer, convicted of Treason, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deserving, King Edward at this Time advanced many in Honour; his Brother George he created Duke of Clarence, his Brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, John Lord Nevil, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, he made first Viscount, then Marquess Montacute: Henry Bourchier, Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is made Earl of Essex; and William Lord Falconbridge Earl of Kent. And now their new Honours are presently put into Employment; the Earls of Essex and Kent, accompanied with the Lord Audley and Clinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgrave, and others, to the Number of ten thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas; who landed in Britain, took the Town of Conquest, and the Isle of Bee, and then returned. At this Time Henry Duke of Somerset, Ralph Percy, and divers others, came in, and humbly submitted themselves to King Edward's Mercy; who protested his Propension of freely pardoning them, and as many others as would submit themselves as they did.

All this Time King Henry was in Scotland, and Queen Margaret in France; where she obtained of the French King, a Company of five hundred Men, with whom she sailed towards Newcastle, and landed at Tinnmouth, but suddenly again returned, and was herself by Tempest beaten to Berwick; but her Company was driven on the Shore before Bamburgh Castle; where they set their Ships on Fire, and fled to an Island called Holy Island; but were so assailed there, by the Bastard Ogle and John Manners, Esq; that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken Prisoners, only their Colonel, Peter Bressie, happened upon a Fisherman who brought him to Berwick to Queen Margaret; and by her was made Captain of the

Castle of Alnwick, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen Margaret having gotten together a great Company of Scots, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at Berwick, entered Northumberland, took the Castle of Bamburgh, made Captain thereof Sir Ralph Gray; and then came forward to the Bishoprick of Durham, whither she resorted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and divers others, who altogether made a competent Army. King Edward hearing hereof, makes Preparation both by Sea and Land; and first he sends Viscount Montacute with some Companies into Northumberland, whom he in Person followeth with his whole Power: The Viscount marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountered the Lord Hungerford at Hegley-Moor; but he, upon the first Charge ran away, leaving Sir Ralph Percy alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King Henry was encamped in Levels-Plain, near the River of Don in Hexamshire, marcheth thither by Night, and set upon him in his Camp; whose Charge the Northern Men receive with a desperate Resolution, but were in the End with great Slaughter overcome. Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, Molens, Hungerford, Wentworth, Hussy, and Sir John Findern, Knight, with many others, are taken Prisoners. King Henry himself, by the Swiftnes of his Horse, escaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him was taken, who had on his Head King Henry's Helmet, or, as some say, his high Cap of Estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich Crowns, which was presented to King Edward at York the fourth of May. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded presently at Hexam, the other Lords and Knights were had to Newcastle, and there, after a little Respite, were likewise put to Death. Besides these, divers others, to the Number of five and twenty, were executed at York, and in other Places. This Duke of Somerset was never married, but had a natural Son named Charles Somerset, who was afterward created Earl of Worcester, Sir Humfrey Nevil, and William Talbeis, calling himself Earl of Kyme, Sir Ralph Gray, and Richard Tunstall, with divers others that escaped from this Battel, hid themselves in secret Places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espied and taken. The Earl of Kyme was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastle, and there beheaded; Sir Humfrey Nevil was taken in Holderness, and at York lost his Head. After this Battel called Hexamfield, King Edward came to the City of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Montacute, the Lords Falconbridge and Scroop, to recover such Castles as his Enemies there held, which they affected; and taking in the Castle of Dunstamburgh, they found in it John Gois, Servant to the Duke of Somerset, who was brought to York, and there beheaded; and taking the Castle of Bamburgh, they found in it Sir Ralph Gray, whom, because he had sworn to be true to King Edward, and was now

1464.

The Duke of Somerset and other Lords put to Death.

His base Son Charles Somerset created Earl of Worcester.

now



A.D. 1464 now revolted to King Henry, they degraded from his Order of Knighthood at *Doncaster*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his Head, and then beheaded him.

In this mean Time, King Henry (upon what Occasion no Man knows; but only led by the Left-hand of Destiny) venturing in Disguise to come into *England*, and shifting from Place to Place, was at length discovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or as others say, by *Thomas Talbot*, Son to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Bashal*: Who deceived him, being at his Dinner at *Waddington-Hall* in *Lincolnshire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his Legs tied under the Horse's Belly: In whose Company were also taken Dr. *Manting*, Dean of *Windsor*, Dr. *Bedle*, and one *Ellarton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the Way, and brought them all to the Tower of *London*; whilst the distressed Queen, with her Son, once again is driven for Shelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerset* and his Brother *John* sailed also, where they live in great Misery; and the Earl of *Pembroke* went from Country to Country little better than a Vagabond.

At this Time King *Edward*, to reward his Followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King *Henry* amongst them; but first made Proclamation that whosoever of the contrary Faction would come in and submit, should be received to Grace, and restored to their Patrimonies.

In the fourth Year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made seven Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Geney*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Faux*, who held their Feast in the Bishop of *Ely's* Place in *Holbourn*, where the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, being invited to the Feast; which gave such a Dislike to the Mayor, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without tasting of their Feast; and it was registred, not to be a President in Time to come.

And now King *Edward*, no less intentive to perform the Office of a King in Peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, considering with himself, that seditious and civil Disfensions must needs breed Disorders in a State, and that Disorders bred by troubled Times, are not like troubled Waters, that will in Time settle of themselves, and recover Clearness; but are rather like Weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in Time over-run the whole Ground where they grow, he like a good Gardiner seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general Reformation of Abuses; and to that End, in *Michaelmas* Term in the second Year of his Reign, three Days together he sat publicly with his Judges in *Westminster-Hall* on the King's-Bench, to acquaint himself with the Orders of that Court, and to observe what needed Reformation in it either at Bench or at Bar: As likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intentive to the Benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjust Gain. He also daily frequented

the Council-Table, which he furnished for the most Part, with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he employs about References and Busineses of private Consequence; whilst Mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet-Council: By whom he being now of the Age of three and twenty Years, was advised that it was now Time to provide for Posterity, by taking a Wife; and to provide also for the present Time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in *France*; both thereby to heal old Grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert Assistance from Queen *Margaret*, the only Disturber in the State. And this being concluded, it only remained to make Choice of a fit Man for that Employment, for which none was thought so fit as *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*; he therefore is presently sent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the Lady *Charlotte*, then Queen of *France*; a Lady no less for Beauty and virtuous Qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all Parts. But in the mean Time King *Edward* being Hunting in *Wichwood* Forest beside *Stony-Stratford*, he chanced to come to the Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Duchess of *Bedford* then lay; and where her Daughter, by Sir *Richard Woodville*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, slain at the last Battel of *St. Albans*, became a Suitor to him for some Lands which her Husband had given her in Jointure: With whose Beauty and graceful Behaviour, King *Edward* was so taken, that he presently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtain his Suit by Terms of wanton Love, he was forced to seek it by Terms of Marriage.

And here we may well think, there was no small Conflict in King *Edward's* Mind, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent: Honour put him in Mind that it was against his Law, to take to Wife a meaner Person than himself; but Love would take no Notice of any Difference of Degrees, but took it for his Prerogative to make all Persons equal. Honour persuaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Embassage in which he had sent the Earl of *Warwick*, to a great Prince; but Love persuaded him, that it stood him more upon to make good the Embassage sent to himself from a greater Prince. In Conclusion it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* What is it that Love will not make a Man to do? Whether it be, that Love brings upon the Mind a Forgetfulness of all Circumstances, but such as tend to its own Satisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongst Passions, as Oils amongst Liquors, which will be always supreme, and at the Top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King *Edward*, though he knew no Superior upon the Earth, he obeys the Summons of Love; and upon the first Day of *May* marries the said Lady *Gray* at *Grafton*;

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Sir Ralph Gray degraded, and in what Manner, and then beheaded. K. Henry is taken in Disguise, brought disgracefully to London, and committed to the Tower.

The Queen fleeth into France. The Earl of Pembroke beyond Sea little better than a Vagabond.

Serjeants at Law made.

The Mayor of London offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him.

King Edward sits three Days together in the King's-Bench.

The Earl of Warwick sent into France to treat of a Marriage with the Lady Bona.

In the mean Time King Edward marries the Lady Elizabeth Gray.



A.D. 1464 the First of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which Marriage none was present but the Duchess of Bedford, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young Man to help the Priest at Mass. The Year after, with great Solemnity she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. It is not unworthy the relating the Speech which King Edward had with his Mother, who sought to cross this Match. *Where you say, faith he, that she is a Widow, and hath already Children, by God's blessed Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too; and so each of us hath a Proof, that neither of us is like to be barren: And as for your Objection of Bigamy (for his Mother had charged him with being contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) Let the Bishop, faith he, lay it to my Charge when I come to take Orders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never wist it was forbidden a Prince.* Upon this Marriage the Queen's Father was created Earl Rivers, and made High-Constable of England; his Brother the Lord Anthony was married to the sole Heir of the Lord Scales, and by her had that Barony; her Son, Sir Thomas Gray, was created Marquess of Dorset, and married Cicely, Heir to the Lord Bonville. It may be thought a happy Fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all Things be considered, and the Miseries accruing to her by it will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the Benefits. For first, by this Match she drew upon her self the Envy of many; and was the Cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his Absence glad to take Sanctuary; and in that Place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely Manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murdered; and for a Conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of Bermondsey in Southwark, and all her Goods confiscated by her own Son in Law.

The Queen's Father created Earl Rivers, and her Son, Sir Thomas Gray, made Marquess of Dorset.

The Earl of Warwick at his Return finding the King married, grows discontented.

Cotswold Ews sent to the King of Arragon for a Present.

And now the Earl of Warwick, at his Return, found that Knot tied in England, which he had laboured to tie in France: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady Bona deluded, the King of France abused, and himself made a Stale, and the disgraceful Instrument of all this; which although he resented it in a high Degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that Time he had sufficiently learned the Art of Dissembling: He passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his Mind till a fit Opportunity; and thereupon procures Leave to retire himself to the Castle of Warwick.

King Edward in the mean Time, having just Cause to suspect he had made the French his Enemies, seeks to make other Princes his Friends. He enters into a League with John King of Arragon, to whom he sent for a Present a Score of Cotswold Ews, and five Rams, a small Present in Shew, but great in the Event; for it proved of more Benefit to Spain, and of more Detriment to England than could at first Sight have been imagined. And to secure him at home, he took Truce with the King of Scots for fifteen Years. And where he had married before, his two Sisters, Anne, the Eldest, to Henry Holland Earl of Exeter, and Elizabeth to John de la Pool

Duke of Suffolk, he now matched Margaret A.D. 1465 his third Sister to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which proved a greater Assistance to him, than that which he had lost in France.

By this Time the Earl of Warwick's Spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his Party his two Brothers, the Archbishop of York, and the Marquess Montacute, he seeks also to draw in the King's two Brothers, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Gloucester: But he found Gloucester so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of Clarence he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the Disgrace he had sustained by the King in his Employment in France, and other Wrongs. To whom the Duke presently made Answer, in as great Complaint of his Brother's Unkindness to himself, saying, he had married his Wife's Brother Anthony to the Heir of the Lord Scales, and her Son Thomas to the Heir of the Lord Bonville; but could find no Match of Preferment for him, being his own Brother. And upon his Agreement in Complaints, they agree to join against K. Edward; and to make the Knot the firmer, the Duke of Clarence takes to Wife Isabel the Earl of Warwick's Daughter; and with her hath assured unto him Half the Lands the Earl held in Right of his Wife, the Lady Anne, Daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, deceased. Upon this Marriage the Earl of Warwick discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his Project for the Restoring of King Henry, to which Clarence gives Approbation, with Promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

The Duke of Clarence marries the Earl of Warwick's Daughter.

At this Time Sir Thomas Cooke, late Mayor of London, was by one Hawkins appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his Place in London seized by the Lord Rivers. The Case was this, The said Hawkins came to Sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good Surety; who answered he would first know for whom it should be, and for what Intent; and understanding it should be for the Use of Queen Margaret, he refused to lend a Penny. The Matter rested two or three Years, till the said Hawkins was laid in the Tower and brought to the Brake, called The Duke of Exeter's Daughter; by Means of which Pain, he confessed amongst other Things the Motion he had made to Sir Thomas Cooke, and accused himself so far, that he was put to Death. Sir Thomas Cooke lying in the Tower from Whitsuntide till Michaelmas, had his Place in Essex named Gyddiball spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon Life and Death, he was acquitted of the Indictment; yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousand Pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

And now the Earl of Warwick sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all Things ready to set on Foot the intended Revolt from King Edward, and to procure some rebellious Commotion in the North, whilst he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the Work; which they accordingly did in Yorkshire, and Occasion being taken

1467. The Earl of Warwick causeth a Commotion to be raised in Yorkshire.



A.D. 1467 taken from the Breach of an antient Custom there to give to the poor People of *St. Leonard's* in the City of *York*, certain Quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Archbishop and the Marquess underhand fomented; yet to colour the Matter, the Marquess opposed the Rebels, and cut off the Head of *Robert Huldron* their Captain; but his Head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; *Henry* Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzburgh*, and *Sir Henry Nevil*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*, the one the Nephew, the other a Cousin-German to the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom they join the valiant Captain *Sir John Conyers*. These, when they could not enter *York*, came marching towards *London*, all the Way exclaiming against King *Edward* as an unjust Prince, and an Usurper. King *Edward* hearing of this Commotion, sends *Sir William Herbert*, whom of a mean Gentleman, two Years before he had made Earl of

King *Edward* sends the Earl of *Pembroke* to suppress it, who is with divers others slain.

*Pembroke*, and his Brother *Sir Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, to suppress the Rebels; and they with an Army of seven thousand, most *Welsh-men*, march towards them; but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inn where he used to lodge, by the Earl of *Pembroke*, took such a Distaste at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the Business. Yet the Earl of *Pembroke*, though thus forsaken, with his own Regiment encountered the Rebels, slew *Sir Henry Nevil*, and divers others; when being upon the Point of Victory, one *John Clappam*, a Servant of the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with five hundred rascally Fellows, and crying aloud, A *Warwick!* A *Warwick!* The *Welsh-men* supposing the Earl had been come, turned presently their Backs and fled: Five thousand of them were slain, the Earl of *Pembroke* himself, and his much lamented Brother, *Sir Richard Herbert*, a most goodly Personage, were taken Prisoners, brought to *Banbury*, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to Death. And now the *Northamptonshire* Men joining with the Rebels in this Fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hilliard*, but they named him *Robin* of *Riddefdale*; and suddenly came to *Grafton*, where they took the Earl *Rivers* Father to the Queen, and his Son, *Sir John Woodville*, brought them to *Northampton*, and there without

*Robin* of *Riddefdale* beheaded the Earl *Rivers*.

The Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

Judgment beheaded them. King *Edward* advertised of these Mischances, wrote to the Sheriffs of *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick* (who had treacherously forsaken the Earl of *Pembroke*) and if they could take him, to put him to Death; who being soon after found in a Village within *Brentmarsh* was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this Battel fought at *Hedgecote*, commonly called *Banbury-Field*, the Northern Men resorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great Joy received them; and hearing that King *Edward* with a great Army was coming thither, he sent for his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all Speed to repair unto him; who joining together, and using Means cunningly, by having some Communication of Peace, to make the King secure, and to take little heed of himself, they took Advantage of his Security; and in the Dead of the Night set on his Camp; and

killing the Watch before the King was aware, A.D. 1467 at a Place called *Wolvey*, four Miles from *Warwick*, they took him Prisoner in his Bed, and presently conveyed him to *Middleham-Castle* in *Yorkshire*, to be there in safe Custody with the Archbishop of *York*. And now they had the Prey in their Hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King *Edward*, whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwise winning them by fair Promises, got so much Liberty sometimes for his Recreation to go a Hunting; by which he caused *Sir William Stanley*, *Sir Thomas Burgh*, and divers of his Friends at a certain Time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and set him again at Liberty; whilst the Earl of *Warwick*, nothing doubting his Brother's the Archbishop's Care in safe Keeping him, and thinking the Brunt of the Wars to be now passed, dismissed his Army, and intended only to find out King *Henry*, who was kept a Prisoner, but few Men knew where.

The Earl of *Warwick* surpriseth King *Edward*, and commits him to Custody.

King *Edward* gets at Liberty. The Earl of *Warwick* dismisseth his Army.

King *Edward* being now at Liberty, posteth to *York*, and from thence to *Lancaster*; where his Chamberlain the Lord *Hastings* had raised some Forces; with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of *Warwick* likewise sends to his Friends, and makes Preparation for a new Army; whilst in the mean Time, by the Mediation of divers Lords, an Interview in *Westminster-Hall* is agreed upon, and solemn Oath taken on both Sides for Safety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*; but each Party standing strictly upon Terms tending to their own Ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met. And so from thence the King went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the Earl to *Lincoln*; whither they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the Conduct of *Sir Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a Man of great Valour and Experience in the Wars. King *Edward*, to take off so able a Man from the Earl's Part, sends for his Father the Lord *Wells* to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in Law *Sir Thomas Dymock*, and coming to attend the King's Pleasure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them; whereupon, for their Safety they take Sanctuary at *Westminster*. But upon the King's Princely Word they came unto him, who commandeth the Lord *Wells* to write to his Son, to desist from adhering to the Earl of *Warwick*, which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did; but *Sir Robert Wells*, notwithstanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl still, so much incensed King *Edward*, that he caused both his Father and *Sir Thomas Dymock* to be beheaded. He supposed, perhaps, that the Lord *Wells* was himself underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that Party. But now *Sir Robert Wells* seeing the King draw near to *Stamford*, where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Father's Beheading, was much distracted what to do: To decline Battel with the King he thought would shew too much Fear; and to give him Battel before the Earl of *Warwick* was come with his Forces, would shew too much Boldness. But his Veins were so filled with

The King and Lords have a Meeting, but to no Purpose.

1470.

The Lord *Wells* beheaded.



A.D. 1470 with a Desire of revenging his Father's Death, that he thought he could never shew Boldness enough; and thereupon encountering with the King's Army, far greater than his own, oppressed with Multitude was taken Prisoner, together with *Thomas de Land*, and divers others; who presently in the Place, were put to Execution. As soon as *Sir Robert Wells* was taken, the *Lincolnshire Men*, to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which Cause, this Battel was afterward called *Losscoat-field*; in which it is reported, were slain above ten thousand Men.

Sir Robert Wells his Son taken and put to Death.

The Earl of Warwick fled to Calais, where not received, and by what Subtily.

The Earl of Warwick honourably received by the King of France.

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this Defeat, and not having present Means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King *Edward*; when he could by no Means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his Party, he determined to sail into *France*, and hiring Ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, he with his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Calais*, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord *Vauleer*, a *Gascoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great Inhumanity, that the Dukes of *Clarence*, who was then in Labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship (all the Courtesy in that Distress shewed was only to send a Flaggon or two of Wine) which Fact of *Vauleer's*, when *K. Edward* heard of, he was so well pleased with it that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himself; and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, for the same Service, sent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the History of these Times) with a Grant of one thousand Crowns Pension during his Life. Never Man was better paid for one Act of Dissembling; for the Truth was, *Præ amore exclusit foras*, it was out of his Love that he suffered him not to enter the Town; for he knew there were many great Ones in it addicted to King *Edward*, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his Company should have come, they would in all Likelihood have done them some Mischief. And hereof he made a good Proof soon after; for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord *Vauleer* sent him Word, he should take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of *Burgoyne* lay in wait to take him; which Advertisement did the Earl more good, than the keeping out of *Calais* did him hurt. The Earl upon this Advertisement landed at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whereof when King *Lewis* heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at *Amboise*; where he received him with no less Honour than if he had been a King: In the mean Time, King *Edward* made Enquiry for all such as were Aiders of the Earl of *Warwick*, of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the King's Mercy; as *John Marquess Montacute*, whom he courteously received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this Time sojourned with Duke *Rayner* her Father, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* Arrival, with her Son Prince *Edward*, came to *Amboise*; and with her came also *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into *France*; between whom a new Combination is made, and for a Foundation of firm Amity, *K. Henry's*

Son Prince *Edward*, marries *Anne* the Earl of A.D. 1470 *Warwick's* second Daughter: After which Marriage the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* were restored to the Crown. But now about this Time, comes a Gentlewoman out of *England*, to the Dissembling Lord *Vauleer* at *Calais*, and pays him in his own Coin; for she made a Shew of intending great Good to the Earl of *Warwick*, but had a Purpose indeed to work his Ruin; and by this Shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom she persuaded to forsake the Earl of *Warwick*, as one that intended wholly the Rooting out of the House of *York*, and only the advancing of the House of *Lancaster*, which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry's* only Son; and this Reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of *Clarence's* Mind. So fit Agents of State are Women sometimes, that can transact a Business in Covert, which if Men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this Time forward the Duke of *Clarence*, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of Dissembling, sought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King *Edward*, but made a fair Shew still to the Earl of *Warwick*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* having been six Months in *France*, in this Time he had procured from the King of *France*, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their Lives in this Quarrel, if he would come (for the People generally held him in such Admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World when he was absent; and this in great Part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a Breakfast) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea; and though the Duke of *Burgoyne* had a Fleet at Sea to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by Tempest scattered, and King *Edward* trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had quiet Passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*; where being landed, he made a Proclamation in *K. Henry* the Sixth's Name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King *Edward*, who contrary to the Right had usurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many Thousands of Men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon Notice of whose Approach, on Sunday next after *Michaelmas-day*, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Paul's Cross*, did so set forth his Earl's pious Intention, that many of his Auditory were moved to favour the Earl's Proceeding; insomuch that the Marquess *Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* Behalf levied six thousand Men about *London*, found them inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joined with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of the People to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all Parts of the Realm, for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no

The Earl of Warwick assisted out of France, lands at Dartmouth in Devonshire, to whom much People resorted.



A.D. 1470 great good Will; which when he perceived, he began to doubt his Case; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain (who having married the Earl of Warwick's Sister, yet continued ever true to King Edward) and the Lord Scales, Brother to the Queen, he departed into Lincolnshire, and coming to Lynn, he found there an English Ship, and two Hulks of Holland ready to make Sail; whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about seven or eight hundred Persons entered the Ships, having no Provision with them but only the Apparel they wore; and so bare of Money, that he was fain to reward the Master of his Ship with one of his Garments: And thus making Course towards the Duke of Burgoyne's Country, they were presently chased by eight great Ships of Easterlings, open Enemies both to England and France; which drove them before a Town in the Country called Alkmaer, belonging to the Duke of Burgoyne; where by Chance the Lord Grunture, Governour of that Country, at that Time was, who defended them from the Easterlings, and brought them to the Hague in Holland, where they had all Things ministred to them, by Order from the Duke of Burgoyne.

1471.

The Queen takes Sanctuary; where she is brought to Bed.

The Earl of Warwick removes King Henry out of Prison, where he had been held almost nine Years.

King Edward proclaimed an Usurper.

The extreme Melancholy of Sir William Hawkwood or Hawkford.

At this Time, upon News of the Earl of Warwick's Approach, Queen Elizabeth forsaketh the Tower, and secretly takes Sanctuary at Westminster; where in great Penury forsaken of all her Friends, she was brought to Bed of a Son called Edward, who like a poor Man's Child was christned, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the Lady Scroop Godmother.

And now the Earl of Warwick entering the Tower, removes King Henry out of his Hold of Durance, where he had been almost nine Years, into his own Lodging, where he was served according to his Estate; which the Earl did more congratulate than the King himself. Upon the sixth Day of October, King Henry, accompanied with the Archbishop of York, the Prior of St. Johns, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and other Noblemen, and apparalled in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through London, to the Bishop's Palace, where he rested till the thirteenth of that Month; on which Day he went in solemn Procession about St. Paul's Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of Warwick bearing up his Train, and the Earl of Oxford the Sword before him. The next Day in all usual Places about London, King Edward was proclaimed an Usurper, and all his Partakers Traitors to God and the King; whereof John Lord Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, as a Partaker with King Edward, was made the first Example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King Edward in Ireland, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterwards found on the Top of a high Tree, in the Forest of Weybridge in the County of Huntingdon; and being there taken, was brought to London, attainted, and beheaded on the Tower-bill, and after buried at the Black-friers.

About this Time happened an Accident not unworthy to be related. Sir William Hawkwood Knight, one of the chief Justices of the

Law, who dwelt at Annory in Devonshire, a Man of great Possessions; and having no Son, the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir John Saintleger, and Sir William Bulloin, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs. This Man grew into such Degree of Melancholy, that one Day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with Negligence in suffering his Deer to be stolen: And thereupon commanded him, that if he met any Man in his Circuit in the Night Time, that would not stand or speak, he should not spare to kill him whosoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his Foundation, and meaning to end his doleful Days, in a certain dark Night secretly conveyed himself out of his House, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his Night-walk hearing one stirring and coming towards him, asked, who was there? But no Answer being made, he willed him to stand; which when he would not do, the Keeper shot; and killed him, and coming to see who it was, found him to be his Master.

On the twentieth Day of November a Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein King Edward and all his Partakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to King Henry's Use. George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence is, by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to Richard Duke of York his Father, and that Duchy settled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of Edward: Upon him also was entailed the Crown of England, in Case Heirs male of the Body of King Henry failed. Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford are fully restored to their Lands and Honour; and Warwick and Clarence are made Governors of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marquess Montacute, excusing himself, that for Fear of Death he had taken King Edward's Part; which Excuse was accepted. Queen Margaret is sent into France, but by Reason of contrary Winds was kept back all that Winter.

About this Time Jasper Earl of Pembroke going into Wales to view his Land in Pembroke-shire, found there the Lord Henry, born of Margaret the only Daughter and Heir of John the first Duke of Somerset, not being then full ten Years of Age, kept in a Manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady Herbert. Him he brings with him to London, and presents him to King Henry; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him; Lo! this is He, to whom both We and our Adversaries, leaving the Possession of all Things, shall hereafter give Place. Which if it be true, it shews a very propheticall Spirit to have been in King Henry; that could so long before foretel a Thing so unlikely to happen; for this was he that was afterward King Henry the Seventh, before whom at that Time there were many Lives in Being, of both the Houses of York and Lancaster.

King Henry's propheticall Speech of Henry, afterward K. Henry the seventh.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of Burgoyne's Means, King Edward is furnished with eighteen tall Ships, two thousand Dutchmen, and fifty thousand Florens of Gold; and thus furnished, he took to Sea, and landed at Ravenspur in York-shire, where they found but cold Entertainment;

H h h

never-



A.D. 1471 nevertheless he made a weary March to York, where likewise he found no great Expression of Welcome; so as he was forced to change his Pretence; swearing deeply, and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more Shew thereof, wearing an *Ostrich* Feather, Prince Edward's Liveries; which Proposition seemed so reasonable, that many, who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it must be considered it was *Regni causa*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: And so he broke not his Oath neither. From York he marched towards Wakefield and Sandal, leaving the Castle of Pomfret upon his Left-hand, where the Marquess Montacute with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: From Wakefield he came to Doncaster, and from thence to Nottingham, where there came to him Sir William Parre, and Sir James Harrington with six hundred Men; also Sir Thomas Burgh, and Thomas Montgomery, with their Aids, who caused him to make a Proclamation in his own Name, affirming they would serve no Man but a King. From Nottingham he came to Leicester, where three thousand able Men, and well armed came unto him: From Leicester he came before the Walls of

He comes to Coventry, where the Earl of Warwick lay, but would not come forth to Battel.

Coventry, into which City the Earl of Warwick had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his People, being about six or seven thousand Men: Three Days together King Edward provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he stayed for more Forces, and would not do it: Whereupon King Edward marched forward to Warwick, eight Miles from Coventry, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of Warwick; but neither would that do it: Indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of Clarence with twelve thousand Men to join with him; but that Expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King Edward, and brought all his Forces to join with him, only he sought to make Amity between King Edward and the Earl: But though King Edward offered general Pardon, and other fair Conditions; yet none would please the Earl without maintaining King Henry. But now to repair the Defection of the Duke of Clarence, there came to the Earl of Warwick and Coventry, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Exeter, and the Marquess Montacute; by whose coming that Side was not a little strengthened; yet all this Aid would not make the Earl of Warwick to come to Battel: Whereupon King Edward marched forward towards London. Both Sides seek to make London their Friend; the Earl of Warwick sends to his Brother the Archbishop of York, to labour in it; who thereupon caused King Henry to mount on Horseback, and to ride from St. Paul's thro' the Cheap, down Walbrook, supposing that this shewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to assist him; but this Device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand Men, a small Proportion to withstand King Edward: And when the Archbishop of York saw

this Backwardness in the Citizens, or rather indeed an Inclination to King Edward, he secretly sent to him to receive him into Grace; which upon Promise to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of April, in the Year 1471, and the eleventh of his Reign, King Edward made his Entry into the City of London, riding first to St. Paul's Church, and from thence to the Bishop's Palace, where the Archbishop of York presented himself to him, and having King Henry by the Hand, delivered him to King Edward (six Months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King Edward being seized of his Person, went from St. Paul's to Westminster, and there gave God most hearty Thanks for his safe Return. The Reasons alledged here by Philip Commynes for the Citizens receiving of King Edward, seem scarce worthy of so good an Author: One Cause, saith he, was because King Edward, being extremely indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their Debt; another, because he had won the Love of many Citizens Wives, who importuned their Husbands to receive him.

The Earl of Warwick having Intelligence that King Edward was received into London, and King Henry delivered into his Hand, marched out, and encamped at St. Alban's, and after some Refreshing of his Army, removed towards Barnet, and in a large Plain there called Gladmore-beath, pitched his Camp; which King Edward hearing, on Easter-eve the thirteenth of April, he marched forth, and came that Evening to Barnet, where he would not suffer a Man of his Army to stay in the Town, but commanded them all to the Field, and lodged with his Army nearer to the Enemy than he was aware, by reason of a Mist, railed as some say by one Bungy a Conjuror, which made it so dark, that it could not well be observed where they were encamped. In taking his Ground he caused his People to keep as much Silence as was possible, thereby to keep the Enemy from knowing of their Approach. Great Artillery they had on both Parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the Night Time, they shot from his Camp almost continually, but did little Hurt, because they still over-shot them, as lying nearer than was conceived. On Easter Day, early in the Morning, both Armies are ordered for Battel; the Earl of Warwick appointed the Command of the Right Wing, which consisted of Horse, to his Brother the Marquess Montacute, and the Earl of Oxford; the left Wing, consisting likewise of Horse, was led by himself and the Duke of Exeter; and the main Battel consisting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of Somerset. On the King's Part, the Vanguard was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester; the Battel, in which was King Henry, was led by King Edward himself; and the Lord Hastings brought on the Reer. After Exhortations for Encouragement of their Soldiers, the Fight began; which with great Valour was maintained by the Space of six Hours, without any apparent Disadvantage on either Side; only the Earl's Vanguard, by the Valiancy of the Earl of Oxford seemed somewhat to over-match the King's, which made some flying towards London, to carry News that

A.D. 1471 King Edward makes his Entry into London, and is joyfully received.

King Henry is delivered into his Hands.

The Earl of Warwick comes with his Army to Barnet.

The two Armies meet.



A.D. 1471 the Earl of *Warwick* had won the Field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange Misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford*, and his Men; for they having a Star with Streams on their Liveries, as *K. Edward's* Men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick's* Men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the Badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford's* Men that were on their Part; whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred Men. At length, after great Slaughter made on both Sides, *K. Edward* (having the greater Number of Men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new Power of fresh Men, which he had kept on Purpose, to come on; which the Earl of *Warwick* observing, being a Man of an invincible Courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the Press he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, That the Earl seeing the desperate Estate of his Army, leaped on a Horse to fly; and coming to a Wood, where was no Passage, one of *K. Edward's* Men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked Skin) The Marquis *Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his Life, and left the Victory to *K. Edward*. On both Sides were slain, as *Hall* saith, Ten thousand at the least: *Fabian* saith but Fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the King's Side. Upon the King's Part were slain the Lord *Cromwel*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoy's* Son and Heir, Sir *Humfrey Bourchier*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earl's Part were slain the Earl himself, the Marquis *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tirrel* was one. The Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead Bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead Bodies of the Earl and Marquis were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the Space of three Days lay open-faced in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bissam*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her Right was Earl of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*. He was also Lord *Montthomer*, Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and High Steward of the Duchy of *Lancaster*. He had Issue two Daughters, *Isabel*, married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to *Prince Edward*, *K. Henry* the Sixth's Son, and after to *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*.

We may here observe a Constellation of disastrous Influences, concurring all to the Overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been missing, the Wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of *York* had not too credulously believed *K. Edward's*

Oath, not to disturb *K. Henry*, or if the Marquis *Montacute* had stopped, as he might, his Passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not, at the very Point of the Battel at *St. Albans*, deserted his Party and joined with *K. Edward*; or if *Queen Margaret* had not by Tempest been kept from coming into *England* in Time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his Expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was. But, *Fata viam invenient*, Destiny will find Ways that were never thought of, will make Way where it finds none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by Means, of which Earth can take no Notice.

*Queen Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother*, Prior of *St. Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock*, with divers Knights and Esquires, took Shipping at *Harfleur*, *March* the 24th, but by Tempest was kept back till the 13th of *April*; and then with her Son *Prince Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abby hard by, called *Ceern*, and then to *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their Fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son *Prince Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in Safety, till the next Battel were tried; but they being of a contrary Mind, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Beaulieu* she, with her Son and the Duke of *Somerset*, passeth on to *Bristol*, intending with what Power they could raise in *Gloucestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to join with *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who was there making Preparation of more Forces. *K. Edward* hearing of these Things, resolves to cross this Conjunction, and follows *Q. Margaret* with a great Power so close, that near *Tewksbury* in *Gloucestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make Head against him; where *Somerset* on the Queen's Part leading the Vanguard, performed the Part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Soldiers through Weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the Conduct of the Battel on the Queen's Part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with Cowardise or Treachery, never staid, but with a Pole-ax beat out his Brains; and now before he could bring in his Men to the Rescue, their Vanguard was routed, and *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, with above Three thousand of the Queen's Part were slain. The Queen her self, *John Beaufort*, the Duke of *Somerset's* Brother, the Prior of *St. Johns*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken Prisoners; all which, except the Queen, were the next Day beheaded. At which Time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to *K. Edward*, *K. Henry's* Son *Edward*, whom he had taken Prisoner; to whom *K. Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous Countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover my Father's Kingdom and Heritage*: *K. Edward* with his Hand thrust him from him, or, as some say, struck

Where the Earl of *Warwick* with many other Lords is slain.

The Honours he enjoyed, and of his Issue.

A.D. 1471

*Queen Margaret* cometh over, and gets two Armes.

But is overthrown by *K. Edward*.

The Queen is taken Prisoner.



A.D. 1471 struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorset, and William Lord Hastings standing by, fell upon him in the Place, and murdered him. His Body was homely interred with other ordinary Corpse in the Church of the Monastery of the Black-Friers in Tewksbury. After the Victory thus obtained, K. Edward repaired to the Abby-Church at Tewksbury, to give God Thanks for his good Success, and finding there a great Number of his Enemies that were fled thither to save themselves, he gave them all free Pardon; only Edmund, Duke of Somerset, John Longstrother, Prior of Saint Johns, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Jervis Clifton, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of Gloucester, sitting that Day as Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk as Marshal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to die; and accordingly upon the Tuesday, being the 7th of May, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the Middle of the Town, beheaded, but not dismembred, and permitted to be buried. The same Day Queen Margaret was found in a poor House of Religion not far from thence, into which she was fled for Safeguard of her Life; but she was after brought to London, and there kept a Prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great Sums of Money. This was the last pitched Battel that was fought in England in K. Edward the Fourth's Days; which happened on the 4th of May, being Saturday, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord, 1471.

Her Son  
Prince Ed-  
ward is mur-  
thered.

The Duke of  
Somerset and  
others be-  
headed.

Queen Mar-  
garet is kept  
in Durance,  
till her Father  
fetches her  
away.

The Bastard  
Falconbridge  
makes Distur-  
bance about  
London.

K. Edward being assured that as long as any Partakers of K. Henry lived and were at Liberty, he should never be free from Plots against his Life, sent Roger Vaughan, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Country, to entrap Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, who had escaped from the last Encounter: But he having Notice of the Plot before, prevented it by striking off Vaughan's Head.

After these great Clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at least the City of London, no small Disquiet. For now the Bastard, Sir Tho. Falconbridge, who had been employed by the Earl of Warwick to scour the Seas, hearing of these Defeats, having enriched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand Men; and coming to London, imperiously commanded Admission into the City, and Release of K. Henry out of Prison: But being denied Entrance, and hearing that K. Edward, with a great Power, was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to St. Katharines, and taking with him his most desperate Men, with them he marched to Kingston-bridge; but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the Places of Passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into St. George's Field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of London: For the Effecting whereof he landed all his Ship-Ordnance, and planted them all along the Bank's-side, with which he batter'd down many Houses, and much annoyed the City; but the Ci-

tizens on the other Side lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any Place along the Water-side, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his Men to set Fire on the Bridge, and withal caused Three thousand to pass over the Thames, and some of them to assault Aldgate, and some Bishopsgate; but they were in all Places, by the Industry of the Citizens, repelled, and chiefly by Robert Bassett, and Ralph Jocelyne, Aldermen. Upon this he retired to Blackheath, and there encamped by the Space of three Days; but then hearing that K. Edward was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the rest fled, some one Way, some another. The 21st of May, the King coming to London, thanked the Citizens for their Pains and Care, and dubbed the Mayor, John Stockton, the Recorder, Thomas Urswike, and eleven Aldermen, Knights.

And now the Time was come for K. Henry to be delivered out of all his Troubles; for the bloody Duke of Gloucester entering the Tower, where he found K. Henry nothing at all troubled with all his Crosses, struck him into the Heart with his Dagger, and there slew him. And now we have had, within the Space of half a Year, one Parliament proclaiming K. Edward an Usurper, and K. Henry a lawful King; and another proclaiming K. Edward a lawful King, and K. Henry an Usurper: That we may know in humane Affairs, there is nothing certain but Uncertainty; nothing stable but Unstability.

K. Edward, presently after the Interment of K. Henry, draws his Forces towards Sandwich in Kent, where some of the Followers of Falconbridge, to the Number of eight or nine Hundred, had in the Castle there, strongly fortified themselves; but upon their asking Pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with Promise to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their Pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships, to the Number of thirteen, to the King's Use. But how this Composition was observed, may be imagined; when Falconbridge, who was comprised in the same Pardon, was afterward taken and executed at Southampton; Spicing and Quintine, the Captains that assailed Aldgate and Bishopsgate, and were in Sandwich Castle at the Surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at Canterbury, and their Heads placed on Poles upon those Gates. And by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, many, both in Essex and Kent, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

And now K. Edward desiring to be secured from all suspected Persons, sent the Archbishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, over to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe Custody; and there he remained a long Time, till at length by Friendship he was delivered, and shortly after died. Likewise John Earl of Oxford, who after Barnet Field yielded himself to K. Edward, had his Life pardoned, but yet was sent over Sea to the Castle of Hammes, where, for the Space of twelve Years, he was shut up in a strong Prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that Time was not suffered to come un-

A.D.

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1472.



A.D. 1472 to him, nor had any thing to live upon, but what People of their Charities gave her, or what she could get by Needle, or other Work. As for the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*, who were fled out of the Realm to the Duke of *Brittain*, King *Edward* sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon Promise of great Rewards; to which the Duke made Answer, that he could not with his Honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection, but that for King *Edward's* Sake, he would take such Care of them, that he should not need to take any, and to that End he sequestered their own Servants from them, and appointed *Britains* to attend upon them.

K. Edward seeks to get the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond* into his Hands.

It was now the thirteenth Year of King *Edward's* Reign, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*; wherein all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived, and all their Lands and Goods confiscated that had taken Part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken Part with him.

1473. King *Edward* being destined to be always in Troubles, now that he had Quietness at home, was drawn into new Broils abroad; for the Duke of *Burgoyne* at this Time having Wars with *France*, thought he could no way make a better Harvest to himself, than by sowing Seeds of Dissention between *France* and *England*; and to this End he sent Ambassadors to King *Edward*, to sollicite him to set on Foot his Title to the Crown of *France*, making great Offers, with Protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the King's Privy-Council, is at last approved of, as being both lawful and behoveful, for the Honour of the King, and Good of the Kingdom. Only Means to bear the Charges of the War were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary Course, would ask too much Time; a new Course therefore is devised, to procure Money from the Subjects by way of Benevolence; and this Course was taken.

A Benevolence to raise Money.

Henry Holland, Duke of *Exeter*, his miserable Life and Death.

About this Time *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntingdon*, disinherited by Act of Parliament in the fourth Year of this King (though he had married King *Edward's* Sister) yet grew to so great Misery, that passing over into *Flanders*, I there saw him, saith *Commynes*, running bare-legged after the Duke of *Burgundy's* Train, begging his Bread for God's Sake; whom the Duke of *Burgundy* at that Time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the Shore of *Dover*, and stripped all naked; but how he came to his Death, could never by any Enquiry be brought to Light.

1474. Provision for this *French* Expedition being thoroughly made, and Order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his Absence, and the Stop of Incurfions, if any by the *Scots* should be made; King *Edward*, with an Army of fifteen hundred Men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Soldiers, and three thousand Pioneers, came down to *Dover*; whither the Duke of

K. Edward with an Army passeth over into *France*.

*Burgoyne* had sent five hundred flat-bottom'd A.D. 1474 Boats to transport the Horse to *Calais*; yet for all that Help, it was two and twenty Days before the King's Forces were all passed over. Before the King's Departure from *Dover* (to the End he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herald named *Garter*, a *Norman* by Birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King (so well written, saith *Commynes*, that he thought it not of any *English-man's* inditing; as though *English-men* could not write as well as the *French*) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable Inheritance; which, if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword. This Letter the *French* King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herald to be brought to his Presence, to whom, in private, he gave this Answer: That the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earl of *Saint Paul* the Constable (by whose Instigation he knew the King of *England* was drawn to this Design) would but delude him; for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would conduce more to the Honour of the King of *England* to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary, than to hazard the Fortune of the Wars upon the promised Assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me, saith he, to the King, thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then, with an honourable Reward of three hundred Crowns, dismissed him. The Herald promised to do all that in him lay, and beyond his Commission, shewed the *French* King Ways (by working upon the Lords to do *Howard* and *Stanley*) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good Conclusion. The *French* King, glad to hear it, gave the Herald, besides the other Reward, a Piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty Yards long; and withal sent to King *Edward* the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a wild Boar, Beasts at that Time rare in *England*: And then the Herald returning to *Calais*, delivered to K. *Edward* the *French* King's Answer.

He sends a Herald to the King of *France*, to demand the Crown.

The *French* King's Answer to the Herald.

1474. The Herald adviseth the King of *France* what to do.

And now to make good the *French* King's Allegation to the Herald, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who had promised on the Word of a Prince, to bring to *Calais* by this Time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stradiots, or Light-horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord *Scales* is by King *Edward* sent to the Duke, to put him in Mind of his Promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: But the Journey was to little Purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small Troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the Cause, he said, was, for that having been embroiled in the Siege of *Nuz*, he could not depart thence without infinite Disgrace, if neither Composition nor Submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his Patience, he was enforced to do, by the Obstinacy of the Besieged, but promised to supply all Defects, both with his Presence and Power, and that speedily.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* and the Constable of *France* fail King *Edward* in Performance of their Promises.



A.D. 1474 The Constable likewise, by his Letter, perswades the King of *England* to proceed in the Action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, passeth on, but in his Way found no Performance of Promises, either on the Duke's or Constable's Part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Soldiers at their coming to *Peronne*, with Victuals or Lodging, in such Manner as was requisite and expected; and the Constable, instead of surrendering up *St. Quintins* according to Agreement, made a Sally out upon such as were sent from the King of *England* to take Possession, and played upon them with his great Ordnance; whereupon King *Edward* began to suspect the Truth of the *French* King's Description of the Duke and Constable's Conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own Guard, and gave no further Credit to their Protestations; which the Duke of *Burgoyne* resenting, pretending Occasions for the hastening forward his Forces, and promising speedy Return together with them, taketh his Leave, and departeth, which did not a little encrease the King's Suspicion.

The *French* King having Intelligence of the Duke of *Burgoyne*'s Departure, fore-casting the Danger if they should unite their Forces, resolved with himself to essay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Duke's Absence; and yet so to treat, that if it took not Effect, he might disclaim the Knowledge of the Overture:

The King of France sends a counterfeit Herald to K. Edward to propound Conditions of Peace.

Whereupon he privately dispatcheth a Messenger, in Shew an Herald, but was indeed a Fellow of no Office or Estimation, and not known to any of the King's Household, but to *Villiers*, the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the Plot and Party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpet's Banner-roll, addressed himself to the King of *England*, and upon Admission to his Presence, insinuates the *French* King's Desire; which was, to have Commissioners on both Parts assigned, to confer of the Means to reconcile the Differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a Cessation from Arms for some Time. And so well this Messenger delivered his Errand, that it was credited, and the King's Request granted; and thereupon Letters of safe Conduct are sent of both Sides, for such Commissioners as to this Purpose should meet at *Amiens*. For King *Edward* came, the Lord *Howard*, *Saint Anthony Sentleger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellor of *England*. For King *Lewis* came, the Admiral of *France*, the Lord *Saint Piers*, and *Heberg*, Bishop of *Eureux*. After long Conference, Articles

The Conditions of Peace between the two Kings.

of Peace are concluded on to this Effect; That the *French* King should pay presently to the King of *England* threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thenceforth annually fifty thousand Crowns, during the Life of King *Edward*: That within one Year, the *French* King should send for the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King of *England*'s Daughter, and join her in Marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheyney*, Master of the Horse, should remain in Hostage there, till the *English* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine

Years; wherein the Dukes of *Burgoyne* and *Britain* are included, if they will accept thereof. This Conclusion was the more easily compassed by the King of *France*, his following the Herald's Counsel; for he distributed sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King *Edward*'s Counsellors and Favourites; two thousand Crowns to the Lord *Hastings*, the King's Chamberlain; and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and *Montgomery*, the Residue; besides great Store of Plate and Jewels distributed amongst inferior Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Gloucester* only opposed this Accord, as not suiting with his Design; nevertheless it proceeded, and Notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who thereupon, only with fifteen Horse, comes posting to the *English* Camp, whom King *Edward* perswades to enter into the Peace, according to the Reservation; but he, in great Chafe, reproacheth King *Edward* for entering into it himself, saying, That his Predecessors had by many brave Exploits gotten Fame and Reputation from the *French*, and now he had brought his Soldiers only to shew them the Country, and return as they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without Help of the *English* to subsist of himself, he utterly disclaimed any Benefit of that Truce, until three Months after the *English* were returned to their own Country; and so in a great Snuff returned home.

The Duke of Burgoyne reproacheth K. Edward for making the Peace.

For the better Confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an Interview is desired; but before the same is effected, the *French* King sends the *English* Army an hundred Tun of *Gascoigne* Wine, to be drank amongst the private Soldiers, and therewithal free License for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themselves in *Amiens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burghers of the Town, by the King's express Command. The Place of Interview of these two Kings is agreed on to be at *Pequigny*, a Town three Miles distant from *Amiens*, seated in a Bottom, through which the River of *Some* runneth; over which a strong Bridge was built, and in the Midst thereof a Grate made overthwart with Bars, no wider asunder than a Man might well thrust in his Arm, covered with Boards over Head, to avoid the Rain; four of the Bed-Chamber on both Sides, are appointed to search the Rooms, to prevent Traps or Instruments of Treachery; and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themselves. King *Edward* being come in Sight of the Place, made a Stand; being told, that the Circumstance of coming first to the Place was a Matter of great Disparagement in Point of State; but the *French* King, more regarding Substance than Circumstance, gave the King of *England* the Advantage to come at his Pleasure, and went first to the Bar appointed for Conference, and there did attend King *Edward*'s Leisure. He had in his Company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred Men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellor, and at his Back his whole Army in Battel. The Kings lovingly salute each other, and Complements

An Interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The Place and Manner of their Interview.



A.D. 1474 ments of Courtesy reciprocally pass : Which finished, they, with their Noblemen there present, take all their Oaths upon the holy Evangelists, in all their Power, to observe the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, in private, the French King importunes King Edward that the Duke of Britain might be left out of these Articles ; but after much urging to that Purpose, King Edward gave this resolute Answer, that if King Lewis desired the Friendship of England, he should not molest the Duke of Britain ; for that he was resolved, at any Time to come in Person to relieve him, if he were disturbed : King Edward pretended the many Kindnesses he had formerly received of the Duke of Britain ; but it was conceived, that the Desire of compassing the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, now in the Duke of Britain's Country, were the greatest Motives of his standing so firmly for him. After more serious Discourse, King Lewis told King Edward, that he would one Day invite him to Paris, there to court his French Ladies, with whom, if he committed any Sin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal Bourbon should be his Confessor, who, he might be sure, would assign him an easy Penance, as one that loved to kiss fair Ladies himself : But when King Edward seemed not unwilling to accept his Offer, he was then glad to put it off with other Discourse : For that, as he told Commynes, too many English Princes had been there before.

The Money to be paid to King Edward by the Articles, is accordingly paid : And thereupon the French Hostages are delivered, and the English Army retire to Calais, and from thence is transported into England ; and then the English Hostages are likewise delivered. This Peace was said to be made only by the Holy Ghost, because on the Day of Meeting, a white Dove came and sat upon the King of England's Tent ; though the Dukes of Gloucester and Burgoyne thought it was made by no good Spirit.

1475. King Edward being returned into England, had his Mind running still upon the Danger that might grow from the Earl of Richmond : He therefore dispatched Dr. Stillington, and two other his Ambassadors, to the Duke of Britain, to send him over to him, under this subtle Pretence that he meant to match him in Marriage with the Lady Cicely his younger Daughter ; and withal, sent also no small Store of Angels to speak for him ; which so prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of Richmond to the Ambassadors, who conducted him thence to St. Malo, where, whilst they stayed for a Wind, the young Earl by the cunning Plotting of Peter Landois, the Duke's Treasurer (more out of Scorn that he was not gratified by the English Ambassador, to the Proportion of his Place, than for any Love to the Earl) escapes into the Sanctuary ; from whence neither Prayers nor Promises could get him out : Nevertheless upon Peter Landois's Promise he should be safe kept there ; the Ambassadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King Edward with the Duke of Britain's Courtesy in delivering him, and their own Negligence in suffering him to escape ; only making Amends with the Promise of Peter Landois ;

King Edward sends to the Duke of Britain to deliver the Earl of Richmond to him. The Earl is delivered, but makes Escape, and how.

which might be to King Edward some Contentment, but was no Satisfaction.

At Christmas following, being the sixteenth Year of his Reign, he created his eldest Son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. His second Son he made Duke of York ; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of Lincoln, and many others. He created also four and twenty Knights of the Bath, whereof Brian Chief Justice, and Littleton a Judge of the Common-Pleas were two.

About this Time, there were two Examples of Severity seen, not unworthy the Relating, if but only to make us see how dangerous a Thing it is *Ludere cum sanctis*, to speak Words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The first was of one Walter Walker, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in Cheapside : This Man one Day when his Child cried, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown ; which Words being subject to Interpretation, he was called in Question about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to Death. The other was of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire, Esq ; It happened that King Edward hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof Master Burdet made special Account ; so as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wished it Horns and all in his Belly that had counselled the King to kill it : And because none counselled the King to kill it but himself, it was thought those Words were not spoken without a malignant Reflecting upon the King : And thereupon Burdet was arraigned and condemned, drawn to Tyburn, and there beheaded ; though Markham, then Chief Justice, chose rather to lose his Place, than assent to the Judgment.

And now began Ambition to boil in Richard Duke of Gloucester ; whereof the first Heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of Clarence, how to rid him out of the Way ; to which End, he seeks to raise Jealousies in King Edward's Head against him, telling him, that some of Clarence's Followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth Speeches, that one whose Name begun with G. should disinheret his Children, and get the Crown : And for a Colour of this Suggestion, one of the Duke of Clarence's Servants, who came with him out of Ireland from Dublin, where the Duke was born, is in his Master's Absence, by the Procurement underhand of the Duke of Gloucester, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at Tyburn for a Conjuror, and all within the Space of two Days : And the Duke of Gloucester, to make shew that he had no Hand in this Fellow's Death, set on the Duke of Clarence to complain of it to King Edward ; and in the mean Time finds Matter, at least Colour of Matter to make him be committed to the Tower : And then again, to make shew he had no Hand in his Imprisonment, bids him be of good Cheer ; for it should not be long e'er he would see him released : And he kept his Word ; for not long after, by his Procurement, he was drowned in a Butt of Malmsey (and this was his Release) and then laid in his Bed, to make the People believe

Two great Examples of Severity ; one upon Walter Walker ;

The other upon Mr. Burdet.

1477.

The Duke of Gloucester plots to take away his elder Brother the Duke of Clarence.

1478.

He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of Malmsey.



A.D. 1478 lieve that he died of Discontent; whose Death King Edward, though perhaps consenting to it, so much repented, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any Man's Pardon, he would sighing break out into such Words: O unfortunate Brother! for whose Life not one Man would open his Mouth. Being dead, he was buried at Tewksbury in Gloucestershire, by the Body of his Duchess, who great with Child, died of Poison a little before.

1482.

A Match treated on between the King of Scots eldest Son, and a Daughter of King Edward:

But dallied by the King of Scots.

Whereupon King Edward enters Scotland with an Army,

And brings the Scots to Submission.

Causes of K. Edward's Discontentment.

It was now the two and twentieth Year of King Edward's Reign, when James King of Scotland sent Ambassadors to treat of a Marriage between his eldest Son James Duke of Rothsay, and Cicely King Edward's second Daughter. This Overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great Part of the Portion was delivered to the Scots, with this Proviso, That if the Marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of Edinburgh should be bound to repay it again. But the Scottish King, who had other Phantasies in his Head, and would take Counsel of none but his own Will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of France, not only dallied the Proceedings in the Match, but affronted those of the Nobility that persuaded him to it; insomuch that his Brother the Duke of Albany was enforced to abandon the Country, and to fly for Refuge into England: By whom King Edward being informed of King James's fickle Disposition, was so much incensed, that under the Conduct of the Duke of Gloucester, accompanied with the Duke of Albany, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against Scotland; who in their Way took in Berwick, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl of Bothwell, the Duke left the Lord Stanley to continue the Siege, whilst he with the rest of the Army, marcheth towards Edinburgh; where within the Castle, King James had immured himself. But the Nobility of Scotland seeing the Danger they were in, endeavoured by humble Submission to procure a Peace, at least a Cessation from War; which with much Importunity they obtained, upon these Conditions; That full Satisfaction should be presently given for all Damages sustained by the late Incurfions: That the Duke of Albany should be fully restored to Grace and Place, with an Abolition of all Discontents between his Brother King James and him: That the Castle of Berwick (which had been now out of the Possession of the English one and twenty Years) should immediately be surrendered into the General's Hands, and from thence no Reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such Sums of Money as upon Proposition of the Marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

When this Business with Scotland was indifferently accommodated, King Edward receives Intelligence from his Ambassador Legier in France, that the French King not only denied the Payment of the Annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the Ratification of the late concluded

Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of France to the Lady Margaret, Daughter of Maximilian, Son of the Emperor; which so much incensed King Edward, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the Advice of his Council, open War was presently proclaimed against France. But whilst King Edward is making Preparation, and intentive to the Business, he is attached by the Hand of Death, and upon the 9th of April, in the Year 1483, at Westminster, ended his mortal Life.

1483. He falls sick and dies.

### Of his Taxations.

IN his second Year, he sent his Privy Seal through England, to move Men to give him a certain Sum of Money towards resisting the Scots, which was granted and given liberally: In his seventh Year, in a Parliament at Westminster, were resumed all Manner of Gifts, which the King had given from the first Day he took Possession of the Realm, to that Time. In his eighth Year, at a Parliament were granted two Fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth Year, a Parliament was holden wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the Year following, towards War to be undertaken in France, a new Way of raising Money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great Sums of Money were gotten of the Subjects: And it is not unworthy the Relating, what an old rich Widow at this Time did; whom King Edward, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great Charges? By my Troth, quoth she, for thy lovely Countenance, thou shalt have even twenty Pounds. The King looking scarce for half that Sum, thanked her, and lovingly kissed her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty Pounds more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his Death he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distasteful Course for raising of Money; which was, by fining Men for Delinquencies against Penal Statutes: By which Course some Money was gathered; but before it came to full Execution, he dying, that also died with him.

A merry Passage between King Edward and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal Statutes.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his fourth Year, he newly devised the New Coin both of Gold and Silver; the Gold he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver Groats, and half Groats; the new Groat weighing scanty three Pence, and the Noble of six Shillings eight Pence, appointed to go for eight Shillings four Pence. In his fifth Year it was proclaimed in England, that the Beaks or Pikes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon Pain of curfing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty Shillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwainers of London, and the third to the Chamber of London: And for other Countries and Towns the like Order was taken. Before this Time, and since the Year 1382, the Pikes of Shoes and Boots were of such Length, that they were fain to be tied up to the Knees with Chains of Silver, and gilt, or at least with filken Laces.

The Length of Beaks and Pikes of Shoes limited.

Affairs



Affairs of the Church in his Time.

**A.D. 1483** **I**N this King's Time the Jubile, which was before but every fiftieth Year, was, by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, brought to be every five and twentieth Year. Also, where before this Time, the *Scotish* Bishop had no Metropolitan, but the Bishop of York was Metropolitan and Primate of Scotland: Now in this King's Time, Pope Sixtus appointed the Bishop of St. Andrews to be Metropolitan of Scotland, who had twelve Bishops under his Obedience.

Works of Piety done in his Time.

**T**HIS King laid the Foundation of the new Chappel at Windsor, and his Queen Elizabeth founded the *Queen's College* in Cambridge, and endowed it with large Possessions. About his fifteenth Year, Doctor Woodlark, Provost of King's College in Cambridge, founded *Katharine-Hall* there. In his seventeenth Year, the Wall of the City of London, from Cripplegate to Bishopsgate, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; also Bishopsgate it self was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the Steel-yard. Also in this Year died Sir John Crosby, Knight, late Mayor of London, who gave to the Repairing of the Parish-Church of St. Helen's, in Bishopsgate-street, where he was buried, five hundred Marks; to the Repairing the Parish-Church of Henworth in Middlesex, forty Pounds; to the Repairing of London-Wall, an hundred Pounds; to the Repairing Rochester-Bridge, ten Pounds; to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in London, two large Pots of Silver chased half gilt, and other Legacies. About this Time also, Richard Rawson, one of the Sheriffs of London, caused a House to be builded in the Church-yard of St. Mary Hospital without Bishopsgate, where the Mayor and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in Easter Holy-days. In his nineteenth Year, William Taylor, Mayor of London, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every Fifteenth granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in Cordwainer-street Ward, seised at twelve Pence a-piece, or under. In his three and twentieth Year, Edward Shaw, Goldsmith, who had been Mayor of London, at his own Costs re-edified Cripplegate in London, which Gate in old Time had been a Prison.

Of Casualties happening in his Time.

**I**N his third Year, the Minster of York, and the Steeple of Christ's Church in Norwich, were burnt. In his seventeenth Year, so great a Pestilence reigned in England, that it swept away more People in four Months, than the Wars had done for fifteen Years past. Also in his nineteenth Year was another Pestilence; which beginning in the latter end of September, continued to the Beginning of November, twelve Months following; in which Space of Time innumerable People died.

Of his Wife and Issue.

**K**ING Edward had been contracted to Eleanor Daughter to John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, married after to Sir John Butler, Baron of Sudely; but he married Elizabeth the Widow of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Richard Woodvile, by his Wife Jaqueline Duchess of Bedford: She liv'd his Wife eighteen Years and eleven Months, by whom he had three Sons and seven Daughters. Edward his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster; Richard, his second Son, born at Shrewsbury; George, his third Son, born also at Shrewsbury, but died a Child. Elizabeth, his eldest Daughter, promised in Marriage to Charles Dauphin of France, but married afterward to King Henry the Seventh; Cicely, his second Daughter, promised in Marriage to James Duke of Rothsay, Prince of Scotland; but was married afterward to John Viscount Wells, whom she out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Issue; she lieth buried in the Isle of Wight. Ann, his third Daughter, was married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Earl-Marshal, and High-Treasurer of England, by whom she had two Sons, both dying without Issue; she lieth buried at Framingham in Norfolk: Bridget, his fourth Daughter, born at Eltham in Kent, became a Nun in the Nunnery of Dartford in Kent, which King Edward had founded. Mary, his fifth Daughter, was promised in Marriage to the King of Denmark, but died in the Tower of Greenwich, before it could be solemnized; she lieth buried at Windsor. Margaret, his sixth Daughter, died an Infant. Katharine, his seventh Daughter, was married to William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire; to whom she bare Lord Henry, who by King Henry the Eighth was created Marquess of Exeter.

Concubines he had many; but Three especially, and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their several Properties excelled; one, the Merriest; another, the Wyliest; the Third, the holiest Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no Man could lightly get out of the Church to any Place, unless it were to his Bed. The other Two were greater Personages than are fit to be named: But the Merriest was Shore's Wife, in whom therefore he took special Pleasure. This Woman was born in London, worshipfully descended, and well married; but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest Man, and did know his Good, not presuming to touch a King's Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

By these he had natural Issue, Arthur, Sir-named Plantagenet (whose Mother, as is supposed, was the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) created Viscount Lisle, by King Henry the Eighth, at Briderwell in London; and Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Lumley, Knight; to whom she bare Richard, afterward Lord Lumley, from whom the late Lord Lumley did descend.



## Of his Personage and Conditions.

A.D. 1483 **H**E was, saith *Commines*, the goodliest Personage that ever mine Eyes beheld, exceeding tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of most Princely Presence; and we may truly say, he was of full Age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen Years old when his Father died, he sued out his Livery presently: So as he began the Race of his Fortune just like *Augustus Caesar*, each of them at the same Time succeeding an Ancestor after a violent Death; and each of them left to set on a Roof, where but only a Foundation was laid before. For his Conditions, he was of an erected Composure both of Body and Mind, but something sagging on the Flesh's Side; and never any Man that did marry for Love, did so little love Marriage; for he took as much Pleasure in other Mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, than when he was in Danger, nor never more doubtful than when he was secure. Of the four Cardinal Virtues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Justice but to serve his Turn. He was politick even to Irreligion; for to compass his Ends, he would not stick to swear what he never meant. Yet he was religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he used to make his Prayers to God, after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and could use Familiarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber, and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in Error, sometimes to the Hurt of himself, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as *Henry the Fourth* made the Red, if he had not made it change Colour with too much Blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother; but he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent Art in improving his Favours; for he could do as much with a small Courtesy, as other Men with a great Benefit: And that which was more, he could make Advantage of Disadvantages; for he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them Money, and the good Will of the Citizens, by lying with their Wives.

## Of his Death and Burial.

**W**Hether it began from his Mind, being extremely troubled with the injurious Dealing of the King of *France*, or from his Body by Intemperance of Diet, to which he was much given; he fell into a Sicknes (some say a Catarrh, some a Fever) but into a Sicknes whereof he died. In the Time of which Sicknes, and at the very Point of Death, *Sir Thomas More* makes him to make a Speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the Speech of a sick Man, if it were not so found; and of a

weak Man, if it were not so long: But it seems A.D. 1483 *Sir Thomas More* delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he said; the Contents being only to exhort the Lords, whom he knew to be at Variance, to be in Love and Concord amongst themselves; for that the Welfare of his Children, whom he must now leave to their Care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their Agreement. And having spoken to this Purpose as much as his Weakness would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one Side, he fell into his long Sleep, the ninth of *April*, in the Year 1484, when he had lived one and forty Years, reigned two and twenty and one Month; and was buried at *Windsor*, in the new Chappel, whose Foundation himself had laid.

## Of Men of Note in his Time.

**M**EN of Valour in his Time were many, but himself the Chiefest; the rest may be observed in reading his Story. For Men of Letters, we may have Leave at this Time to speak of some Strangers, having been Men of extraordinary Fame; as *Johannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blancanus*, all great Astronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Castrensis*, and *Anthonus Rossellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Servisanus*, *Savonarola* and *Barzizius*, all great Physicians; *Bessarion* and *Cusanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philephus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great Men in humane Literature: And of our Countrymen, *John Harding*, Esquire, born in the North Parts, who wrote a Chronicle in *English Verse*; and, among other special Points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the *Scotish Kings*, even from the Days of King *Athelstan*: Whereby it may evidently appear, how the *Scotish Kingdom*, even in a Manner, from the establishing thereof here in *Britain*, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chief and superiour Lords. *Juliana Barnes*, a Gentlewoman of excellent Gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a Book of the Laws of Arms, and Knowledge appertaining to Heralds. *John Fortescue*, a Judge and Chancellor of *England*, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government. *Rochus* a *Charter-house* Monk, born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite* Frier, who for his excellent Learning was sent from the whole Body of the Realm to the General Council holden first at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth; where he amongst others disputed with the *Greeks*, in Defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latin Church*. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fruetus Temporum*, and an Appendix unto *Trevesa*, besides divers other Books and Translations. *John Milverton*, a *Carmelite* Frier of *Bristol*, and Provincial of his Order; who, because he defended such of his Order as preached against Endowments of the Church with Temporal Possessions, was committed to Prison in the Castle of *Saint Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three Years.



A.D. 1483 Years. *David Morgan*, a *Welsh-man*, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a Description of the Country. *John Tiptoft*, a Noble-man born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his Head in the Year 1471. *Robert Huggon*, born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Prophecies. *Thomas Norton*, born in *Bristol*, an Alchymist. *Scogan*, a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a Time in *Oxford*; who for his A.D. 1483 present Wit and merry Conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembered, *Thomas Littleton*, a reverend Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed; and his Book called *Littleton's Tenures*. *Thomas Littleton*, who wrote the *Tenures*, at this Time lived.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

<p>A.D. 1460</p> <p>In his first Year,  <b>S</b>IR <i>Hugh Wich</i> was Mayor.  <i>George Ireland</i>, <i>John Locke</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his second Year,  <i>Sir Thomas Cooke</i> was Mayor.  <i>William Hampton</i>, <i>Bartlemew James</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his third Year,  <i>Sir Matthew Philip</i> was Mayor.  <i>Robert Bassett</i>, <i>Thomas Muschamp</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fourth Year,  <i>Sir Raphe Joceline</i> was Mayor.  <i>John Tate</i>, <i>John Stone</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fifth Year,  <i>Sir Raphe Verney</i> was Mayor.  <i>Henry Weaver</i>, <i>William Constantine</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his sixth Year,  <i>Sir John Young</i> was Mayor.  <i>John Browne</i>, <i>Henry Brice</i>, <i>John Darby</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his seventh Year,  <i>Sir Thomas Oldgrave</i> was Mayor.  <i>Thomas Stalbrooke</i>, <i>Humfrey Heyford</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eighth Year,  <i>Sir William Taylor</i> was Mayor.  <i>Simon Smith</i>, <i>William Hariote</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his ninth Year,  <i>Sir Richard Lee</i> was Mayor.  <i>Richard Gardener</i>, <i>Robert Drope</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his tenth Year,  <i>Sir John Stockton</i> was Mayor.  <i>John Crosby</i>, <i>John Ward</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eleventh Year,  <i>Sir William Edwards</i> was Mayor.  <i>John Alen</i>, <i>John Shelley</i>, Sheriffs.</p>	<p>In his twelfth Year,  <i>Sir William Hampton</i> was Mayor.  <i>John Browne</i>, <i>Thomas Bledlow</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his thirteenth Year,  <i>Sir John Tate</i> was Mayor.  <i>Sir William Stoker</i>, <i>Robert Belisdon</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fourteenth Year,  <i>Sir Robert Drope</i> was Mayor.  <i>Edmond Shaa</i>, or <i>Shawe</i>, <i>Thomas Hill</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his fifteenth Year,  <i>Sir Robert Bassett</i> was Mayor.  <i>Hugh Brice</i>, <i>Robert Colwich</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his sixteenth Year,  <i>Sir Raphe Joceline</i> was Mayor.  <i>Richard Rawson</i>, <i>William Horne</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his seventeenth Year,  <i>Sir Humfrey Heyford</i> was Mayor.  <i>Henry Collet</i>, <i>John Stoker</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his eighteenth Year,  <i>Richard Gardener</i> was Mayor.  <i>Robert Harding</i>, <i>Robert Bifield</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his nineteenth Year,  <i>Sir Bartlemew James</i> was Mayor.  <i>Thomas Ilam</i>, <i>John Ward</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his twentieth Year,  <i>Sir John Browne</i> was Mayor.  <i>Thomas Daniel</i>, <i>William Bacon</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his twenty-first Year,  <i>Sir William Heriot</i>, or <i>Harriot</i>, was Mayor.  <i>Robert Tate</i>, <i>Richard Chawrey</i>, <i>William Wiking</i>, Sheriffs.</p> <p>In his twenty-second Year,  <i>Sir Edmond Shaa</i>, or <i>Shawe</i>, was Mayor.  <i>William White</i>, <i>John Mathew</i>, Sheriffs.</p>	<p>A.D. 1471</p>
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T H E

L I F E and R E I G N of

King *EDWARD V.*

A.D. 1483  
K. Edward  
Proclaimed  
King; but  
never  
Crowned.

**K**ING *Edward* the Fourth being dead, his eldest Son *Edward*, scarce yet eleven Years old, succeeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; for he was Proclaimed

King, but never Crowned: And it may not so properly be called the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third; for from the Time of King *Edward's* Death, though not in Name, yet in Effect, he not only ruled as King, but reigned as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward*, when his Father died, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived some Time before, the better by his Presence to keep the *Welsh* in Awe; he had about him of his Mother's Kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodville*, the Earl *Rivers* his Uncle, was appointed his Chief Counsellor and Director. The Duke of *Gloucester* was at this Time in the North, but had Word presently sent him from the Lord *Hastings*, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King *Edward's* Death, who acquainted him withal, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his Care and Government; and thereupon putting him in Mind, how necessary it was for him

The Duke of  
*Gloucester*  
hearing of  
his Brother's  
Death, posts  
out of the  
North to  
*London*.

speedily to repair to *London*: But the Duke of *Gloucester* needed no Spur to set him forward, who was already in a full Career; for he had long before projected in his Mind, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the Way was made him. For as it is said, the very Night in which King *Edward* died, one *Misselbrook*, long e'er Morning came in great Haste to the House of one *Potter*, dwelling in *Redcross-street*, without *Cripplegate*; where he shewed unto *Potter*, that King *Edward* was departed: To whom *Potter* answered, By my Troth, Man, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be King: What Cause he had so to think, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to *London* with a strong Guard, partly to make a first Expression of his Greatness, and partly to oppose any Disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Gloucester* finding this Proceeding like to be a Rub in his Way, at least, not fit for his Designs, he presently falls to undermining; writes most loving Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithful Service to the King and her; but withal perswading her, that this great Guard

about the King might be presently dismissed, A.D. 1483; which did but minister Matter of Suspicion, and would be apt to breed new Jealousies in them who were now thoroughly reconciled. The Queen, of a Nature easy to be wrought upon, gives Credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon sends in all Haste to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*, requiring them by all Means, for some Causes to her known, to dismiss their Guard (not mentioning by whose Advice she writ them, which if she had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they presently did, and came forward with only a sober Company. And now is *Gloucester's* first Work done; but he, knowing that the Work yet behind was too great to be done by himself alone, gets the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Hastings*, two of the greatest Men of Power at that Time in the Kingdom, to join with him in Opinion, that it was not fit the Queen's Kindred should be so wholly about the King; and others of better Blood and Desert, to be estranged from him; and therefore by all Means for to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of *Buckingham* is easily wrought, upon a Promise to have the Earldom of *Hertford* conferred upon him; and the Lord *Hastings* not hardly, upon a Hope by this Means to cut off many, whom in King *Edward's* Days he had justly offended. And now another great Work was done; it remains in the next Place, to put it in Execution, which was presently thus effected: The young King had been at *Northampton*, and from thence went to *Stony-Stratford*, whither the two Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the Entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alight at the same Inn where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his Lodging for that Night, intending the next Morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental Meeting, great Shews of Courtesy passed between them; and Supper ended, the Dukes pretending Weariness, retire to their Lodgings, the Earl to his: But the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into Consultation with their private Friends, in which they spent a great Part of the Night, and then secretly get the Keys of the Inn-Gates, suffering none to pass either in or out; whereof the Earl having Notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet setting

And thereupon seizeth upon the King's Uncle and other Friends.



A.D. 1483

A.D. 1483

ting a good Countenance upon the Matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of Gloucester's Chamber, where he found the Duke of Buckingham and the rest closely set in Council; with whom he expostulates the Reason of this Course, to imprison him in his Inn against his Will: But they, instead of Answer, command presently to lay Hands on him, charging him with many Crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking Order for his safe Imprisonment, they speedily took Horse and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such Time as the King was taking Horse, whom in all reverend Manner they saluted: But presently in the King's Presence, a Quarrel is picked against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the King's Half-Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making Relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the Queen's Brother, had endeavoured, and almost affected, to draw to themselves the whole Managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, and to set Variance between the Peers of the Realm; and particularly, that the Lord Marquess, without any Warrant, had taken out of the *Tower of London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great Quantity: But to what Purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just Cause to suspect it was to no good End: And therefore it was thought expedient, by the Advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-coming to make his Answer for these and many other his overbold Actions. The King, unable to sound the Depth of these Plots, mildly said unto him; What my Brother Marquess hath done I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either against me or you. O! saith the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hath been their Cunning to keep their Treachery from your Grace's Knowledge: And thereupon, instantly in the King's Presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his Company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their Rooms Creatures of their own, whom they had Power to command. At which dealing the young King wept, but it booteth nothing; and to colour the Matter, the Duke of Gloucester at Dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good Cheer, for all shortly would be well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same Message for his Comfort, as one to whom such Adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his Days been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it.

The Earl Rivers and other Lords beheaded at Pomfret. The Duke of Gloucester gives out Colours for these Lords Imprisonment.

But for all the comfortable Courtesy of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Country, into divers Places to Prison, and afterwards to *Pomfret*, where, in Conclusion, they were all beheaded.

And now the Duke of Gloucester having thus gotten the Custody of the King, set forwards towards *London*, giving out by the Way, that

the Marquess and the Queen's Kindred had plotted the Destruction of the King, and of all the antient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their Trial according to Law. And the better to settle these Suggestions in the Apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, of their own providing, with dry Fats and great Chefts, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the Payment of Soldiers, with which they so possessed the common People, that all was believed for Truth which was thus rumoured: But the finest Device of all was, to have five of the Duke of Gloucester's Instruments manacled and pinioned like Traitors; and these in every Place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be Men of great Birth, drawn into this vile Plot of Treason by the Queen's Brother, who must seem to be penitent for their Offence, and to confess their own Guilt: And this Device continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the Disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen in the mean Time having Intelligence of these doleful Accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow, with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and the young King hearing of these Things, with Tears and Sighs expressed his Grief: But the Dukes making Protestation of their Fidelity, and Care of his Safety, seemed only to marvel why he should be melancholick.

The Queen with her young Son and Daughters takes Sanctuary.

At this Time a Messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, to signify to him, that there was no Fear of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well! quoth the Archbishop, be it as well as it will, I assure him it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the Messenger's Departure, he calleth up his Servants, being then in the Night, and taking the great Seal with him, came before Day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom he comforted the best he could, assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithal delivering to her the Great Seal, departed: But soon after bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the Great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him: Yet shortly after, reproved for delivering it, by the Council-Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Dr. *Ruffel*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned Man at that Time.

The Lord Chancellor delivers the Great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

And now the Duke of Gloucester so respectfully carries himself towards the King, with so much Shew and Care of Faithfulness, that by a general Consent of the Council, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this Means he hath the King in his Custody: It remains now how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*; for without having both, he were as good, as to his Purpose, have neither: And to effect this, he

The Duke of Gloucester is appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom.



A.D. 1483 makes the Effect to become a Cause: For where-  
as by his undue Dealings, he had made the King  
melancholick, he now makes that Melancholy a  
Cause to require his Brother's Company to make  
him merry: And therefore wishes some Course  
may be taken, either by Persuasion or other-  
wise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of  
York to keep his Brother the King Company.  
Here the Archbishop of York, the Lord Cardinal,  
the Man thought most fit to be sent in this  
Employment, riseth up and saith, he would do  
his best Endeavour to persuade her; but if he  
could not, he then thought it was not to be at-  
tempted against her Will, for that it would turn  
to the high Displeasure of God, if the Privi-  
ledge of that holy Place should now be broken,  
which had so many Years been inviolably kept,  
which both Kings and Popes so good had grant-  
ed, so many had confirmed, and which holy  
Ground was more than five hundred Years ago,  
by St. Peter, in his own Person, accompanied  
with great Numbers of Angels by Night, so  
specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and  
for Proof hereof, there is yet in the Abby, St.  
Peter's Cope to shew, that from that Time hi-  
therward, there never was so undevout a King  
that durst violate that sacred Place, nor so ho-  
ly a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it:  
And therefore, saith he, God forbid, that any  
Man, for any Earthly Thing, should enterprise  
to break the Immunity and Liberty of that sa-  
cred Sanctuary: And I trust, with God's Grace,  
we shall not need it, at least my Endeavours  
shall not be wanting; if the Mother's Dread  
and Womanish Fear be not the Let. Womanish  
Fear, nay Womanish Forwardness, quoth the

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
vilifies the  
Privilege of  
Sanctuary.

The Archbi-  
shop's Rea-  
sons prevail  
with the  
Queen to de-  
liver her  
Son, but with  
great Heavi-  
ness.

Duke of Buckingham, for I dare take it upon  
my Soul, she well knoweth there is no need of  
any Fear, either for her Son, or for herself:  
And prosecuting his Discourse, declareth at  
large, that there was no just Cause for the  
Queen to keep her Son, so there was great  
Cause for them to require him; and that for  
Breach of Sanctuary in this Case there could be  
none; for that he had often heard of Sanctu-  
ary-Men, but never heard of Sanctuary-Child-  
ren. And to this Purpose having spoken  
much, it was well assented to by the Lords  
that were present, and with this Instruction is  
the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen specia-  
lly relied) sent unto her: Who after humble  
Salutations, acquaints her with his Message,  
earnestly persuading her not to oppose the  
Lord Protector's Request, and giving her many  
Reasons, first that she ought not, and then that  
she could not keep him in Sanctuary. She an-  
swered all his Reasons, though with great Mild-  
ness, yet with great Earnestness; so as the  
Archbishop finding little Hope to prevail with  
her by Persuasion, turns the Tenor of his Speech  
another Way, telling her plainly, that if she  
did not consent to send her Son, he doubted  
some sharper Course would be speedily taken.  
This Warning sunk so deep into the Queen's  
Mind, that after a little Pausing, taking her  
Son by the Hand, she said, my Lord Arch-  
bishop, here he is; for my own Part I will ne-  
ver deliver him, but if you will needs have him,  
take him, and at your Hands I will require  
him: And therewith weeping bitterly, Dear

Child, saith she, let me kiss thee, before we  
part. God knows whether ever we shall meet  
again: And so the Child weeping as fast as she,  
went along with the Archbishop to the Star-  
Chamber, where the Lord Protector, and other  
Lords had stayed all the while looking for his  
coming back: And as soon as he was entred the  
Room, the Protector spying the Child, riseth  
up and embraceth him, saying, Dear Nephew,  
now welcome with all my Heart; next to my  
Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me  
so much Contentment as your Presence: And  
we may believe him, he spake as he thought;  
for now he had the Prey which he so much de-  
sired, a few Days after, pretending to have  
them lodged in a Place of more Security, until  
the Distempers of the Common-wealth might  
better be quieted; he caused them in great Pomp  
and State to be conveyed through London to  
the Tower, there at Pleasure to remain till the  
Time of Coronation; whereof there was great  
Shew of Preparation made.

But now the great Work is to be done, the  
Princes are to be made away; and how to have  
it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: There must be  
potent Instruments, and none so potent as the  
Duke of Buckingham; and he, by a Match to  
be concluded betwixt their Children, and an  
equal Partition of the Treasure of the Realm  
betwixt them two, not only is drawn to con-  
descend, but most forward to contrive and plot  
Stratagems to effect it. The first Rub in the  
Way was the Lord Hastings; who being found  
so firm to his old Master King Edward's Sons,  
that nothing could remove him, it was fit to  
remove him out of the Way; which was done  
in this Manner: All the Lords of the Privy-  
Council, in the Protector's Name, are convoked  
to the Tower; where fitting Preparations for  
the Coronation of the young King, are propo-  
sed, until the Protector came in; who taking  
his Chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jest-  
ing with some, and more than ordinarily plea-  
sant with them all: When after a little Talk,  
he said to the Bishop of Ely, My Lord, I hear  
you have very good Strawberries at your Gar-  
den in Holbourn; I pray let us have a Mess of  
them. Most gladly, said the Bishop, and pre-  
sently sent for some: And then the Protector  
rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his Absence  
a little; and so departed. Within the Space  
of an Hour he returned; but so changed in  
Countenance, and with such inward Perturba-  
tions, which with Sighings and other passionate  
Gestures he expressed so, that it made them all  
to marvel. After long Silence (the better to  
prepare them to the more Attention) he confu-  
sedly interrogates, What they deserved that  
nefariously had practised his Destruction? This  
unexpected Interrogation struck such Amaze-  
ment amongst the Lords, that they all sat ga-  
zing on one another, and were as it were stricken  
dumb: At length the Lord Hastings, by Buck-  
ingham's Instigation, as one presuming on his  
Intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered,  
that they deserved the Punishment of Trai-  
tors; which all the rest by their Silence ap-  
proved: Whereat the Protector riseth up, and  
with a stern Look upon the Lord Hastings, re-  
plied; Why, it is the old Sorcerers my Bro-  
ther's

The Prote-  
ctor's Shew  
of Kindness  
to the young  
Prince.

The two  
Princes are  
with great  
Shew of  
Honour con-  
veyed to the  
Tower.

The Lord  
Hastings firm  
to the Princes,  
and therefore  
is first made  
away, and in  
what Manner.



A.D. 1483 ther's Widow, and her Partner, the common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by Incantation conspired to bereave me of my Life; and though by God's Grace I have escaped the End of their Malice, yet see the Mischief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left Arm to the Elbow, and shewed it) how they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither, and grow useless! and so should all my Body have been served, if they might have had their Will a little longer. Those to whom the Queen's religious Courses were not unknown, and who knew his withered Arm to have been such from his Birth, sat gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or say, until the Lord *Hastings*, thinking thereby to leave all Blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistress *Shore* (whom ever since the Death of King *Edward* he had entertained for his Bed-fellow, and had but that Morning parted from her) with a sober Look, submissively said, *If the Queen have conspired*—Which Word was no sooner out of the Lord *Hastings*'s Mouth, than the Protector clapping his Hand upon the Board, and frowningly looking upon him, said, Tellest thou me of *If* and *And*? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy self art Partaker of the Villany. Who I, my Lord, quoth he? Yea, thou Traitor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a Watchword given, those prepared before for that Purpose, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treason, Treason! when presently a great Number of Men in Arms came rushing in, as it were to guard the Protector; one of which, with a Pollax, struck a main Blow at the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him on the Head, and had slain him outright, if he had not avoided the Stroke by slipping backward, and falling down to the Ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* of High Treason, and wished him to make Haste to be confessed; for he swore by Saint *Paul*, his usual Oath, that he would not touch Bread, nor drink, till his Head were off. It booted not to ask, why; for he knew the Protector's Actions were not to be examined, so he was led forth unto the Green, before the Chappel, within the *Tower*, where his Head was laid down upon a long Log of Timber, and there stricken off. His Body afterwards, with his Head, were interred at *Windsor*, besides the Body of King *Edward*. In this Man's Death we may see how inevitable the Blows of Destiny are; for the very Night before his Death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a secret Messenger to him at Midnight, in all Haste, to acquaint him with a Dream he had; in which he thought that a Boar with his Tusks so goared them both by the Heads, that the Blood run about their Shoulders; and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognizance, this Dream made so fearful an Impression in his Heart, that he was thoroughly resolved to stay no longer; and had made his Horse ready, requiring the Lord *Hastings* to go with him, and that presently, to be out of Danger, before it should be Day. But the Lord *Hastings* answered the Messenger; Good Lord! leaneth your Master so much to such Trifles, to put such Faith in Dreams, which either his own Fear fantasieth, or else do rise in

The Lord Hastings is beheaded.

His Neglect of Presages and Warnings.

the Night's Rest, by reason of the Day's A.D. 1483 Thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no Fear; for I assure him, I am as sure of the Man he wotteth of, as of my own Hand. The Man he meant, was one *Catesby*, well learned in the Laws of the Land; who by his Favour was grown into good Authority in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings*'s Estate lay. Of this Man he made himself so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveal unto him. But this Man deceived him, and was grown so inward with the Protector, that being set by the Protector to draw him to be a Party in his Designs, and finding he could not do it, was himself the first Mover to rid him out of the Way. Another Warning the Lord *Hastings* had, the same Morning in which he was beheaded: His Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling; which, though it often happen to such to whom no Mischance is toward, yet hath it of old been observed as a Token foregoing some great Misfortune. Also at the *Tower-Wharf*, near to the Place where his Head soon after was stricken off, he met with one *Hastings*, a Pursuivant of his own Name, to whom he said, Ah, *Hastings*, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy Heart? Yea, my Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that Time is past. In Faith Man, saith the Lord *Hastings*, I never stood in so great Dread of Life, as I did when thou and I met here: And lo, how the World is changed! Now stand my Enemies in the Danger, as thou mayest hap to hear hereafter (for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord *Rivers*, and other of the Queen's Kindred, who that very Day were beheaded at *Pomfret*) and I never so merry, nor in so good Surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater Omen, or Sign of ill Fortune, than to presume of Good. And indeed, such is the Uncertainty of our Estate in this Life, that we seldom know when we are in a Tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a Calm on Shore; thinking our selves oftentimes most safe, when we are most in Danger, and oftentimes to be in Danger, when we are most safe: He only is in the true Haven that can say, as Christ teacheth us, *Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven*.

But this Lord being thus put to Death, the Lord Protector, to colour the Matter, immediately after Dinner, in all Haste, sent for many substantial Citizens; at whose coming, himself, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a Shew they were forced by the sudden Danger to take such as they could first come by: And withal, a Herald of Arms is sent with a Proclamation in the King's Name, signifying that the Lord *Hastings*, with some others, had conspired the same Day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they sat in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own Pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two Hours after the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded; and was so curiously indited, and so fair written in Parchment, and withal so long, that every Child might perceive it was prepared before, which

How the Lord Protector colours the Death of the Lord Hastings.



A.D. 1483 which made one that was School-matter of St. Paul's, standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, *Here is a gay goodly Cast, foul cast away for Haste: To whom a Merchant answered, It was written by Prophecy.* And now by and by, as it were in Revenge of his Offence, the Protector sent the Sheriffs of London into the House of Shore's Wife, and spoiled her of all her Goods, above the Value of three thousand Marks; and then conveying her through London to the Tower, there left her Prisoner; where he laid to her Charge, that she went about to bewitch him, and was of Council with the Lord Hastings to destroy him. In Conclusion, she was laid into Ludgate, and by the Bishop of London put to open Penance for Incontinency, going before the Cross in Procession upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her Hand: In which, although she were out of all Array, save her Kirtle only; yet went she so fair and lovely, and withal so Womanly and demurely, that many who hated her Course of Life, yet pitied her coarse Usage, and were not a little grieved to see her Misery. And indeed, this may be said in her Behalf, that being in extraordinary Favour with King Edward, yet she never used it to the Hurt of any, but to the Relief of many; and was ever a Mediator, an Oppressor never.

Shore's Wife,  
how punish-  
ed.

Now it was contrived by the Protector, that the very Day in which the Lord Hastings was beheaded at London, and about the very same Hour, there were beheaded at Pomfret the Lord Rivers, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at Northampton, and Stony-Stratford, which was done in the Presence, and by the Order of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Knight, whose Service the Protector specially used in that Business; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not suffering them to declare their Innocency, lest their Words might have enclined Men to hate the Protector, caused them hastily, without Judgment or Order of Process, to be beheaded.

When these were thus rid out of the Way, then thought the Protector, that now was the Time to put himself in Possession of the Crown: But all the Study was, by what Means this Matter, being so heinous in it self, might be broken to the People in such wise as that it might be well taken: For which Purpose, it was thought fit to call to this Council Edmund Shaw, Knight, the then Mayor of London, who, upon Promise of Advancement, should frame the Peoples Inclination to it. And because spiritual Men are best hearkened to for Matters of Conscience, some of them were used also, among whom Choice was made of John Shaw, Clerk, Brother to the Mayor, Frier Penker, Provincial of the Order of the Augustine Friars, both great Preachers, of more Learning than Virtue, of more Fame than Learning. These two were appointed to preach, the one at St. Paul's Cross, the other at the Spittle, in Praise of the Protector: Penker in his Sermon so lost his Voice, that he was fain to leave off, and came down in the Midst: Shaw by his Sermon lost his Reputation, and soon after his Life; for he never after durst come abroad for very Shame of the World.

But now was all the Labour and Study to find out some convenient Pretext, for which

the People should be content to have the Prince A.D. 1483 deposed, and the Protector be received for King; to which Purpose many Things were devised; the chief was, to alledge Bastardy either in King Edward himself, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Bastardy to King Edward, founded openly to the Reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that Point should more favourably be handled; but the other Point, concerning the Bastardy of his Children, he would have enforced to the uttermost. The Ground whereof was, that King Edward had been formerly contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, by whom he had a Child; though the said Lady, having been examined about it, confessed plainly, they were never assured. Yet upon this Pretext, Doctor Shaw taking for his Text, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep Root*; in his Sermon declared, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and so his Children Bastards. And besides that, neither King Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence were reckoned very sure for the Children of the noble Duke Richard, as those that by their Favours more resembled other known Men; but the Lord Protector, saith he, is the Father's own Figure, his own Countenance, the very Print of his Visage, the plain express Likeness of that noble Duke. Now it was before devised, that just at the speaking of these Words the Protector should have come, to the End that these Words meeting with his Presence, might be taken among the Hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preacher's Mouth, and so should move the People even then to cry, King Richard! King Richard! that it might be after said, he was specially chosen by God, and in a Manner by Miracle: But this Device failed; for whether by the Protector's Slackness in coming, or the Doctor's Haste in preaching, he had passed these Words, and was gone clean to another Matter before the Protector came; so as afterward seeing him come, he was fain to leave the Matter he had in Hand, and out of all Order and Frame begin to repeat those Words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Father's own Figure, his own Countenance, the very Print of his Visage, the plain express Likeness of that noble Duke. While these Words were in speaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, pressed through the People into the Place where the Doctors sit; and there sat to hear the Sermon. But the People were so far from crying King Richard, that they cried Shame on the Preacher for abusing his sacred Function with so shameful a Sermon.

The Tuesday following this Sermon, the Duke of Buckingham, with divers Lords and Knights, came to the Guild-hall in London, and there, before the Mayor and whole Assembly of Citizens, made a very solemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many Grievances of the late King Edward's Government; his many unnecessary Taxations and unjust Severities; thereby to bring his Children into Hatred, and then remembered them of the late Sermon made at St. Paul's Cross, by a learned Doctor, who clearly

Shaw, Mayor  
of London, is  
made an In-  
strument for  
bringing the  
Duke of  
Gloucester to  
the Crown.

Causes de-  
vised to  
make the  
two Princes  
illegitimate.

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
at Guild-hall  
propoundeth  
the Duke of  
Gloucester for  
the rightful  
Heir to the  
Crown.



A.D. 1483 clearly shewed the Bastardy of King Edward's Children, and that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of England: Which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their Consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their Consents. Which Oration ended, all Men stood wondering at the Motion, but no Man offered to speak a Word. At which the Duke marvelling, as supposing the Mayor had prepared them before; he asked the Mayor privately, what this Silence meant? Who answered, That perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible Voice repeated the same Matter again, in a more earnest and plain Expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any Inclination to the Motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being used to have such Motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him, and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: But the Recorder (called Fitzwilliams) being an honest Man, and newly come to his Place, repeated only, as near as he could, the Words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the People to break their Silence. At last the Duke, seeing their resolved Sullenness, told them plainly, That all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to choose the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great Respect they all bear to this honourable City, and therefore required them plainly to speak their Minds, whether they would join with them in this Choice or no. At this, certain Servants of the Duke's, and others of their procuring, standing at the lower End of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cried aloud, K. Richard! K. Richard! Whereat, though the whole Multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant, yet the Duke taking Advantage of it, as of an unanimous Consent; A goodly Cry, saith he, and thanked them all for their universal Approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great Love they shewed toward him; and then requiring the Mayor and chief Citizens to meet him the next Morning at Baynard's Castle, where the Protector then lay, there to join with him in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely proffered Subjection, he took his Leave, and so departed.

The Duke of Buckingham and the Mayor of London make Suit unto the Protector to take the Crown upon him.

The next Morning, according to Appointment, they all meet at Baynard's Castle; where the Duke of Buckingham sends up Word to the Lord Protector, that himself, with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to present a Supplication to him concerning a Business of great Importance: But the Protector (though pre-acquainted with all Passages, yet) made it strange what their Supplication should be; and answered, That though he suspected nothing which the Duke of Buckingham presented to

him, yet he desired at least some slight Intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered, That the Business they came about was to be made known to himself in Person; and therefore humbly besought him for Admission to his Presence. Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their Meaning towards him, he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making Semblance as though he would prevent all Danger, by standing something aloof, and in his Fort. To whom the Duke of Buckingham, in Behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present, in most respectful and reverend Manner, makes Request that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: And much Circumstance he used, before he would discover their Cause of coming; but though long first, yet at last he told it: That in respect of the urgent Necessities of the Commonwealth, they all humbly entreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own Right; to whom they all rendered their Allegiance. At which Words the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most displeasing to him, passionately answered; I little thought, good Cousin, that you of all Men would have moved me to a Matter, which of all Things in the World I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that which, without apparent Wrong to my dear deceased Brother's sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated Dissimulation, the Duke, in a seeming abrupt Passion, kneeling upon his Knee, said, Your Grace was pleased to give me free Liberty to deliver unto you in the Name of this worthy Assembly, the Tender of their dutiful Obedience to you: But I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, That your late Brother King Edward's Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of England; and therefore, if your Grace shall neither regard your self nor us so much as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon some other of the House of Lancaster, that will be more sensible of his own and our Good. These Words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's Passions, that with some Change of Countenance, and not without seeming Reluctation, he said; Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no Means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of Succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, my illustrious Father; We are contented to condescend to your Importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom; and will, to the Uttermost of my Power, endeavour to procure and maintain the Welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all; which so pleased the giddy Multitude, that presently they fell to Acclamations, Long live K. Richard, our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every Man departed.

The Protector started at their Motion.

But yet accepts it.



# THE LIFE and REIGN of King *RICHARD* III.

A.D. 1483 **I**T was now the 18th Day of *June*, in the Year 1483, when *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* took upon him the Crown: So as the imaginary Reign of *Edward V.* continued but just ten Weeks. The next Day *K. Richard* with a great Train went to *Westminster-Hall*, and placed himself in the Court of the *King's-Bench*, saying, He would take the Crown upon him in that Place where the King himself sitteth and ministreth the Law, because he considered that it is the chiefest Duty of a King to administer the Laws. And here, to get the Love of the People by a feigned Clemency, he sent for one *Fooge* out of Sanctuary, who for Fear of his Displeasure was fled thither; and there, in the Sight of all the People, caused him to kiss his Hand.

*K. Richard* marries the Relict of *Prince Edward*, Son to *Henry VI.*

After his Return home, he took to Wife the Lady *Anne*, youngest Daughter of the Great *Warwick*, and the Relict of *Prince Edward*, Son of *Henry VI.* though she could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death. But Womens Affections are eccentric to common Apprehension; whereof the two Poles are Passion and Inconstancy.

Lords created.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand Men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of *Robin Riddefdale*, upon the 4th Day of *July*, together with his new Bride, he went from *Baynard's Castle* to the *Tower* by Water, where he created *Edward* his Son, a Child of ten Years old, *Prince of Wales*; *John Lord Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son *Sir Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*; *William Lord Berkley*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Francis Lord Lovel*, Viscount *Lovel*, and his Chamberlain; and the Lord *Stanley* (who had been committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, in regard his Son the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied Forces in *Lancashire*) not only that Day was released out of Prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of *York* was likewise then delivered; but *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely* (as one that could not be drawn to the disinheriting of *K. Edward's* Children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in Custody. The same Night were made seventeen Knights of the *Bath*; *Edmund*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* Son; *George Gray*, the Earl of *Kent's* Son; *William*,

*Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

the Lord *Zouch's* Son; *Henry Aburgaveny*, A.D. 1483 *Christopher Willoughby*, *Henry Babington*, *Thomas Arundel*, *Thomas Boleyn*, *Gervis Clifton*, *William Say*, *Edmund Bedingfield*, *William Enderby*, *Thomas Lewknor*, *Thomas of Urmond*, *John Browne*, and *William Berkley*, Esqs. The next Day, being the 5th of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Northumbreland*, *Arundel*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltshire*, *Huntingdon*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincoln*; the Viscounts *Lisle* and *Lovel*; the Lords *Stanley*, *Audley*, *Dacre's*, *Ferrers of Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroop of Upsale*, *Scroop of Bolton*, *Gray of Codnor*, *Gray of Wilton*, *Sturton*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Aburgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Ferrers of Groby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert*, and *Beckham*, and fourscore Knights. On the Morrow, being the 6th of *July*, the King, with Queen *Anne* his Wife, came down out of the *White Hall* into the great Hall at *Westminster*, and went directly to the King's Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth bare-footed, went to *St. Edward's Shrine*, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his Degree. The Bishop of *Rochester* bore the Cross before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of *Huntingdon*, bearing a Pair of gilt Spurs, signifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of *Bedford*, bearing *St. Edward's Staff* for a Relick: After him came the Earl of *Northumberland* bare-headed, with the pointless Sword in his Hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord *Stanley* bore the Mace of Constableship: The Earl of *Kent* bore the second Sword, on the Right-hand of the King, naked, with a Point which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord *Lovel* bore the third Sword on the King's Left-hand, with a Point which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of *Suffolk* followed with the Sceptre in his Hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of *Lincoln* bore the Ball and Cross, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of *Surrey* bore the fourth Sword before the King in a rich Scabbard, which is called the Sword of Estate: Then went three together; in the Midst went *Garret King of Arms*, in his rich Coat; and on his Right-hand went the Mayor of *London*, bearing a Mace; and on his Left-hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy-Chamber: Then followed the Duke of *Norfolk*, bearing the King's Crown

*K. Richard* and his Queen in great State are Crowned, and the Manner of it.



A.D. 1483 Crown between his Hands : Then followed King Richard in his Robes of Purple Velvet, and over his Head a Canopy, born by four Barons of the Cinque-ports ; and on each Side of the King went a Bishop : On one Side the Bishop of Bath ; on the other, of Durham : Then followed the Duke of Buckingham, bearing the King's Train, with a white Staff in his Hand, signifying the Office of High-Steward of England. Then followed the Queen's Train, before whom was born the Sceptre, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove (signifying Innocency) and the Crown : Her self, appalled in Robes like the King's, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold. On her Head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of Richmond bearing her Train ; the Duchesses of Norfolk and Suffolk in their Coronets, attending with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this Order they passed the Palace into the Abby : And going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes ; and having other Robes open in divers Places from the Middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned ; and then after the Sacrament received (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. Edward's Shrine, where the King left St. Edward's Crown wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own ; and this done, in the same Order and State as they came, they returned to Westminster-hall, and there held a most Princely Feast, at the second Course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir Robert Dymock the King's Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King Richard was not lawful King of England, he was there ready to prove it against him ; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet, and then all the Hall cried, King Richard ! King Richard ! And thus with some other Ceremonies the Coronation ended, and the King and Queen returned to their Lodgings.

King Richard sends to make Amity with the King of France, but he rejects it. Presently after this, King Richard sent a solemn Ambassage to Lewis King of France, to conclude a League and Amity with him : But the French King so abhorred him, and his Cruelty, that he would not so much as see or hear his Ambassadors ; but sent them away with Shame, in Disgrace of their Master.

At this Time with his Queen, he made a Progress to Gloucester, under Colour to visit the Place of his old Honour ; but indeed to be out of the Way, having a special Villany to be acted ; for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their Livelihoods ; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their Lives. For effecting whereof, his old Friend the Duke of Buckingham was no fit Instrument ; it must be one of a baser Metal, and to find out such a one he needed not go far ; for upon Enquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next Chamber to him, Sir Thomas and Sir James Tyrrel ; two Brothers like Jacob and Esau, not more near in Blood, than different in Conditions ; of equal Goodliness of Personage both, but not of equal Goodness of Mind ; Sir Thomas a Man of an honest and sober Disposition ; but Sir James of a turbulent Spirit, and one who gaping after Preferment, would not stick to make a Fortune out of any Villany. Being told of this Man as

A.D. 1483 he was sitting on the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him ; where being met, the Match is soon made up between them ; for he found Sir James more ready to undertake the Work, than he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free Passage to the Place where the Work was to be done ; for King Richard had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named John Green, to Sir Robert Brackenbury then Lieutenant of the Tower, thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the Deed himself ; but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord, said he, whom may a Man trust ! Once he saw plainly, that whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no Possibility to affect it. To remove therefore this Rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to Brackenbury, to deliver presently the Keys of the Tower to Sir James Tyrrel, who being now Lieutenant for the Time, and having the two innocent Princes under his Custody, gets two other, as very Villains as himself, the one Miles Forrest, the other James Dighton, his Horsekeeper, a big sturdy Knave ; and these he makes his under Agents ; who coming into the Childrens Chamber in the Night (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one black Will, or William Slaughter, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their Cloaths, and keeping down by Force the Feather-bed and Pillows hard under their Mouths, so stifled them, that their Breath failing, they gave up their innocent Souls to God, whom when the Murtherers perceived, first by their struggling with the Pains of Death, and then by their long lying still, to be thoroughly dead, they laid their Bodies out upon the Bed, and then fetched Sir James to see them ; who presently caused their Bodies to be buried under the Stairs, under a Heap of Stones ; from whence they were afterward removed to a Place of Christian-burial, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenbury's, who dying within a few Days after, and none knowing the Place but himself, was Cause that it hath not been known to this Day ; and gave Occasion afterward to the Imposture of Perkin Warbeck in King Henry the Seventh's Reign. [Since this was written, the Bones of these young Princes were found in the Year 1674, in the Place where they were buried : And King Charles the Second gave Order that they should be put in a Marble Urn, and deposited among the Remains of the Royal Families in Westminster-Abby.] And now see the divine Vengeance upon the Actors of this execrable Murther : Miles Forrest, at St. Martins le Grand, rotted away piece-meal : Dighton lived at Calais a long Time after, but detested of all Men, died in great Misery : Sir James Tyrrel was beheaded afterward on the Tower-bill for Treason : And King Richard himself, after this abominable Fact done, never had a quiet Mind, was troubled with fearful Dreams ; and would sometimes in the Night start out of his Bed, and run about the Chamber in great Fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him ; that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina sæva sororum.*

The Princes are murdered.

But where buried not known.

The Murtherers miserable Ends.

Con-



A.D. 1483

King Richard  
and the Duke  
of Buckingham  
fall at  
Variance.

Confederacies in Evil are seldom long-lived, and commonly end in a reciprocal Destruction; and so was it now with King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham*: They had confederated together to the Destruction of many; and now their Confederacy dissolves in both their Ruins. But what the Cause was of their Dissolving, is not so certain; whether it were that the Duke thought not himself so well rewarded as his great Services had deserved; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himself absolute King as long as the Duke, by whose Means he came to be King, was in such a Height and Greatness; or whether it were, as was rather thought, that the Duke being a Man ambitious, and of an aspiring Spirit; though he had himself been the Means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his Head, so envied at it, that he turned his Head another Way, as not enduring the Sight; and for the same Cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending Sickness in Excuse of his Absence; but that King *Richard* sent him a sharp Message, requiring him to come, or he would fetch him; whereupon the Duke went, but with so ill a Will, that he bore it in Mind ever after. Whatsoever it was, certain it is, that presently after the Coronation there grew great Jealousies between them, and the Duke retired himself to his Castle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Bishop of *Ely* in Custody. And here we may observe the unsearchable Depth of the divine Providence, the Bottom whereof, the soundest Judgment of Man can never fathom, as working Effects by contrary Causes: For whereas King *Richard* had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchful Eye over him, this which the King did for the Bishop's greater Punishment, proved a Means afterwards of the Bishop's greater Advancement, and a Means, at the present, of King *Richard*'s Ruin: For the Duke being retired Home, and having his Head so full of Thoughts, that of Necessity it required Vent; for his own Recreation would sometimes fall in Talk with the Bishop, with whose Discourse (as he was a Man of great Wit and solid Judgment) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more than to be conferring with him.

The Duke of  
*Buckingham*  
plots with  
*Morton* Bi-  
shop of *Ely*,  
to put down  
King *Richard*,  
and to bring  
in the Earl of  
*Richmond*.

One Time it happened, that the Duke had opened his Mind something freely to him; and the Bishop following him in his own Way, and cunningly working upon that Humour of the Duke which he found most working in the Duke; which he perceived to grow out of Envy to King *Richard*, he said to this Purpose; My Lord, you know I followed first the Part of King *Henry* the Sixth, and if I could have had my Wish, his Son should have had the Crown, and not King *Edward*: But after that God had ordained King *Edward* to Reign, I was never so mad, that I would with a dead Man strive against the quick. And so was I to King *Edward* also a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his Child had succeeded him: Howbeit, if the secret Judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King — and even there

he left, saying, he had already meddled too much with the World; and would from that Day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have said, because he ended with the King, and there suddenly stopped; and thereupon entreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come Hurt, and peradventure more Good than he would think; and withal, that himself intended to use his secret Counsel; which he said, was the only Cause for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his Custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said, In good Faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a Thing not at all out of Peril, though the Word be without Fault; for so much as it shall not be taken as the Party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on *Aesop*'s Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed, on Pain of Death, that no horned Beast should abide in a certain Wood, one that had in his Forehead a Bunch of Flesh, fled away a great Pace: The Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that Haste? who answered, in Faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclamation made of horned Beasts: Why Fool, quoth the Fox, thou mayest abide well enough, the Lion meant it not by thee, for it is no Horn that is on thy Head: No, marry, quoth he, that wot I well enough: But what if he call it a Horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said, My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar shall pick any Matter from any thing here spoken; for it shall never come near their Ear. Then said the Bishop, in good Faith, Sir, if it did, the Thing I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but Thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little Good, and you to less. Then longed the Duke much more to hear what it was: Whereupon the Bishop said, My Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in Possession, I purpose not to dispute his Title: But for the Weal of the Realm, I could wish he had in him those excellent Virtues which God hath planted in the Person of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke somewhat marveling at this sudden Pause, said, My Lord, I cannot but note your sudden Stoppage in your Speech, so as your Words come not to any direct Sentence, whereby I may have Knowledge, either what your inward Intent is now toward the King, or what your Affection is toward me: I therefore entreat you to use no more such Obscurity, but plainly to disclose your Mind unto me, who upon mine Honour will be as secret in the Case as the deaf and dumb Person is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop then upon Confidence of the Duke's Promise, said, My Lord, I plainly perceive the Kingdom being in the Case as it is, under such a King as now we have, must needs decay and be brought to Confusion; but one Hope I have, that when I consider and daily behold your noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent Love towards your Country, and in like Manner the great



A.D. 1483 great Love of your Country towards you ; I must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in Store, meet and apt to be a Governour ; in whose Person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true Honour. And then taxing the present King with many Cruelties and Oppressions, he concluded, saying, And now, my Lord, if ever you love God, your Lineage, or your native Country, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm ; but if your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the Faith you own to God, and by the Love you bear to your native Country, to devise some Way how this Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to some convenient Regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed : And if you could devise to set up again the Lineage of *Lancaster*, or advance the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* to some puissant Prince ; not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the Glory of his Dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his Saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while, which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change Colour, which the Duke perceiving, he said, Be not afraid, my Lord, all Promises shall be kept ; so for that Time they parted. The next Day the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the Communication had between them the Day before, he went on and said ; My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true Heart, and sincere Affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own Imaginations. After I had found the Dissimulation and Falseness of King *Richard*, and especially after I was informed of the Murder of the two young Princes, to which (God be my Judge) I never condescended, I so much abhorred the Sight, and much more the Company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court ; but feigning a Cause to depart, I took my Leave of him (he thinking nothing less, than that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you ; but in that returning, whether it were by Inspiration, or else through some melancholick Disposition, I had divers Imaginations how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal Seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the Time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all Men ; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me : In this Imagination I rested two Days at *Tewksbury* ; in my Journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all Men, and especially the Nobility, would oppose me ; but at last there sprung up a Branch in my Head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair Flowers, but they turned indeed to dry Weeds ; for I suddenly remembered that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the Sixth, in two or three Degrees of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* ; so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I

was next Heir to King *Henry* the Sixth, of the A.D. 1483 House of *Lancaster*. This Title pleased well such as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious Intent : But while I was in Amaze, whether I were best suddenly to set this Title open amongst the common People, or else keep it secret a while, to see what chanced ; as I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather's elder Brother (which was as clean out of my Mind, as if I had never seen her) so that she, and her Son the Earl of *Richmond*, have both of them Titles before mine, and then I clearly saw how I was deceived ; whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical Imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self ; and found there could be no better Way to settle it in a true Establishment, than that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York* ; so that the two Roses may be united in one ; and now, saith the Duke, I have told you my very Mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the Mark he had himself aimed at ; and thereupon, after some Complements of extolling his Device, he said ; Since by your Grace's incomparable Wisdom, this noble Conjunction is now moved ; it is in the next Place necessary to consider, what Friends we shall first make privy of this Intention. By my Troth, quoth the Duke, we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond*, the Earl's Mother ; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the Foundation laid of a League, by these two great Men, by which the Death of the two young Princes was fully revenged ; and it was not talked of only, but presently put in Execution ; for now is *Reynold Bray* employed by the Bishop, to his Mistress the Duchess of *Richmond* ; Doctor *Lewis*, the Duchess's Physician, was employed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth* ; *Hugh Conway*, and *Thomas Rame*, were employed to the Earl of *Richmond*, to acquaint them, but in most secret Manner, with the intended Plot, and to procure their Promises to the propounded Marriage, which was no hard Matter to make them all willing to their own Wishes. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in Parties to the Confederacy ; *Bray*, by his Credit, drew in *Sir Giles Dawbeny*, *Sir John Cheyney*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas Rame*, and others ; *Ursewick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepeper*, *Thomas Roper*, with some others ; Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exeter*. It is memorable, that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by Land ; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the Space of little more than an Hour ; upon whose Information of the Plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who, though by *Hutton*, King *Richard*'s Ambassador, he had by many great Offers been solicited to detain him in Prison, yet he both readily promised,



A.D. 1483 mised, and really performed, both his Advice and Aid to the Earl's Proceedings. In this mean Time Bishop *Morton*, not without asking the Duke's Leave, though without obtaining it, secretly, in Disguise, gets him into the Isle of *Ely*; and there having done the Earl good Offices by procuring of Friends, he thence passeth into *Britain* to him, from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* sent for by *K. Richard*, refuseth to come.

But though all these Things were carried closely, and Oath taken by all for Secrecy, yet came it to King *Richard's* Knowledge; who notwithstanding dissembled it, sends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come to him; and he putting off his coming with pretended Excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance, when he returned this resolute Answer; That he owed no Allegiance to such a perjured inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood; and so from that Time Preparation for Arms is made on both Sides. The Duke had gotten a good Power of *Welsh-men*, and the Marquess of *Dorset* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in *Yorkshire* to raise Forces; the like did the two *Courtneys* in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, and *Guildford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* setting forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* doth the like, intending at *Gloucester* to have passed the *Severn*, and so to have joined with the two *Courtneys*; but such Abundance of Rain at that Time fell, that the *Severn* was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the *Welsh-men* seeing, and taking it for an ill Sign, they secretly slipt away; so as the Duke left well-near alone, without either Page, or so much as

The Duke of *Buckingham* betakes himself to the House of one *Humfrey Bannister*, near to *Shrewsbury*; who having been raised by him, and his Father before him, he thought himself safe under his Roof: But *Bannister*, upon Proclamation made by King *Richard*, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand Pound for his Labour, like an ungrateful and perfidious Wretch, discovered him to *John Mitton*, High Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the House, and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and there, without Arraignment, or legal Proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether *Bannister* received the proclaimed Reward from the Hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the Reward of a Villain from the Hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for Man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was deflowered by one of his Carters, as some say, stricken with a foul Leprosy; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murdered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroner's Inquest; and his younger Son in a small Puddle was strangled and drowned.

And is beheaded.

The Judgment of God upon *Bannister*.

Upon this Disaster of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Complices shifted for themselves, some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown Places, but many conveyed themselves into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*; of

whom the Marquess *Dorset*, *John Lord Wells*, A.D. 1483 the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his Brother Sir *John Bouchier*, Sir *Edward Woodville*, Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and his two Brethren, Sir *William Brackley*, Sir *William Brandon*, and his Brother *Thomas*, Sir *Richard Edgecome*, *Hollewel*, and *Poynings*, Captains, were the chief. Whilst these Things are in doing, King *Richard* receives Intelligence from *Hutton*, his Ambassador Lierger in *Britain*, that the Duke not only refuseth to restrain the Earl of *Richmond*, but intendeth also to give him Assistance; whereupon the King took present Order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earl's landing in any Port of *England*. He apprehended also in divers Parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of *Richmond's* Confederation; but coming himself to the City of *Exeter*, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called *Rugemont*, he suddenly fell into a Dump, as one astonished, said, Well, I see my Days be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to *Richmond*, he should not live long after; which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Castle, but in respect of *Henry Earl of Richmond*.

Upon the twelfth Day of *October*, in the Year 1484, the Earl of *Richmond*, with forty Ships, and five thousand waged *Britains*, took to Sea; but that Evening, by Tempest of Weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed; so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of *Cornwal*; where discovering upon the Shore great Store of armed Soldiers to resist his Landing, he hoisted Sail, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence sending Messengers to *Charles the Eighth*, King of *France*, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good Sums of Money to bear his Charges. After this, the Earl returning into *Britain*, received there the News of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess *Dorset*, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: Soon after whose coming, upon *Christmas* Day, before the High Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as soon as he should be quietly settled in the Government of *England*; and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present did him Homage; and in the same Place each to other religiously vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to cease prosecuting War against King *Richard*, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

The Earl of *Richmond* is aided by the King of *France*.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edward's* eldest Daughter.

King *Richard* being informed of these Things, makes diligent Enquiry after all such as might be suspected to be Favourers of *Richmond's* Association; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford*, with four other Gentlemen, are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who married *Anne*, the Duke of *Exeter's* Widow, this King's own Sister, and *Thomas Rame*, Esq; were executed at *Exeter*. *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, and all such as were with



A.D. 1484 with the Earl of *Richmond*, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seized on to the King's Use: Besides these, a poor Gentleman called *Collingborn*, for making a small Rhime of three of his wicked Counsellors; the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby* (which Rhime was thus framed)

*The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog,  
Rule all England under a Hog:*

was put to Death, and his Body divided into four Quarters.

At this Time a Truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, for three Years; and for settling a firmer Amity between the two Kingdoms, a Marriage is treated of between the Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son to the King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John Duke of Suffolk*, by *Anne*, Sister to King *Richard*: Which Sister he so much favoured, that after the Death of his own Son, who died some Time before, he caused *John*, Earl of *Lincoln*, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*.

King Richard seeks by great Gifts to have the Earl of *Richmond* delivered to him.

Which Plot the Earl escapes by Morton's Information, and in what Manner.

Peter Landois hanged.

The Earl having passed this Danger in *Britain*, and being arrived in *France*, addresseth himself to the *French King*, imploring his Aid; and hath it promised and performed: And in this Time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long Time been kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Hammes*, so far prevailed with *James Blunt* Captain of the Fortrefs, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Porter of the Town of *Calais*, that not only they suffered him to be at Liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of *Richmond*, to whom Captain *Blunt* gave Assurance that the Fortrefs remained wholly at his Devotion. At this Time also there resorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of *Paris*, proffering him their Service; amongst whom was *Richard Fox*, at that Time famous for his Learning; with whom afterward the Earl advised in all his Affairs, made him one of his most Privy-Council, and at last Bishop of *Winchester*.

Richard Fox made first known to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But now King *Richard* having been disappointed of his Design in *Britain*, hath another Way in his Head to disappoint the Earl of *Richmond* of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*: And to this End, he sent to the Queen, being still in Sanctuary, divers Messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all Things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise Promotions innumerable, not only to herself, but also to her Son, Lord *Thomas*, Marquess *Dorset*: By Force of which Promises the Messengers so prevailed with her, that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit herself wholly to the King's Pleasure. And thereupon putting in Oblivion the Murther of her innocent Children, the Butchering of her own Brother and Son, the Infamy of her Royal Husband, the Aspersions of Adultery cast upon herself, the Imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters; forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother, seduced by flattering Words, she first delivered into King *Richard*'s Hands her five Daughters, and after sent Letters to the Marquess her Son, being then at *Paris* with the Earl of *Richmond*; willing him by any Means to leave the Earl, and with all Speed to repair into *England*; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all Offences on both Parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the King's Favour. If we consider of this Credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great Motives of Fear and Hope: She feared, no doubt, that if she denied the King's Request, he would presently take some sharp Course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yielded to his Request, he would undoubtedly perform his Promise, seeing it was as easy for him to keep it as break it.

King Richard seeks to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edward*'s Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her Consent.

But now King *Richard*'s Purpose being to marry one of his Brother *K. Edward*'s Daughters, there was one Impediment which directly hindered it, That he had a Wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new Aspersions upon himself, he could not well tell: Yet this he resolved, that be rid of her

1485. King Richard rids himself of his present Wife, and by what Devices.



A.D. 1485 her he would by some Way or other : But before he would use Extremity, he would first try milder Ways, and first he abstained both from her Bed and Company, and complained to divers of her Barrenness ; which coming to her Ear, he hoped might cause her to die with Grief: And when this Device failed, he then caused a Rumour to be spread among the People, that she was suddenly dead, hoping the very Conceit thereof would kill her : When this Device also failed (for the Queen, hearing of it, and mistrusting the Worst, with a most sorrowful Countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to die? Who answered with fair Words, bidding her be of good Cheer, for to his Knowledge she should have no other Cause) he then made sure Work, for within few Days after, whether by Poison, or by what other Means, it is not certainly known, she departed this Life ; and with all Solemnity, not without some formal Tears of King *Richard*, was interred in St. Peter's Church at *Westminster*.

He makes Love to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

King *Richard* now by his Wife's Death having made himself Way to marry another, useth all the alluring Means he can devise, to win the Love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Niece ; but meaning at last to purchase his Desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise ; and had perhaps done it, but that the Storms threatned from beyond the Seas, growing every Day more strong than other, forced him to prorogue the Execution of his Desires, and look to the Prevention of his present Danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded presently to levy Forces for the King's Aid, as he will justify his Integrity to him ; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Country, until he had left *George Lord Strange*, his eldest Son, as a Pledge of his Loyalty behind him. And now King *Richard* being informed, though the Information was craftily suborned by his Enemies, that the Earl of *Richmond* was out of Hope of any great Assistance from *France*, discharged the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Soldiers ; only Order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

Which makes him hasten his coming over.

To whom many Lords and others come.

At this Time, one *Morgan Kidwelly*, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great Hazard of his Life passed over to the Earl, informing him, that King *Richard* by all Means laboured to match himself with the Lady *Elizabeth* ; which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no Lingring : And the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two powerful Men in their Countries, were ready with great Forces to assist him : Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the Middle of *August* he put to Sea, and by the Advice of the said *Kidwelly*, steered his Course for *Wales*, and on the seventeenth Day after his Departure from *Harfleur*, arrived at *Milford-Haven* ; and there landing his Forces without Trouble or Impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receives News by Captain *Arnold Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his Retinue was upon the Way

to join with him ; also thither came to him *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a Band of brave *Welsh-men*, and the same Day Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Tenants, being about two thousand well appointed Men, came to him : With these he marched toward *Shrewsbury* ; at which Time Word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas* were ready with a great Power to stop his Passage, which somewhat troubled him, that his Friends so suddenly should revolt : But it was a Trick of *Rice ap Thomas*, to make his Bargain the surer : For soon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his Service, so as the Earl will pledge his Faith to perform his Promise formerly made ; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* sole Governour of *Wales* ; which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this Time the Lord *Stanley* with five thousand Men had taken up his Lodging at the Town of *Leicester* ; but hearing of the Earl's March that Way, he left *Leicester*, and went to *Adderton*, not daring to shew himself openly for the Earl, for Fear the King should put his Son, the Lord *Strange*, to Death, whom he had left an Hostage with him.

All this Time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a Spirit of Security, hearing that the Earl had but small Assistance either from *France* or in *England* ; and therefore flighting him, as little able to do any greater Matter : But when he heard that Part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and sends present Direction to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, with all Speed to bring their Forces to him at *Lutterworth* ; from whence upon their Arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at *Litchfield*, he marched thitherward ; at which Time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and some others, withdrew themselves from King *Richard's* Part ; and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their several Forces, joined with the Earl.

King *Richard* took the Advantage of a large Plain near *Bosworth*, where he encamped : And observing by his Adversaries Manner of Approach, that they meant to give him Battle, he the next Morning put his Forces in Order : The Vanguard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Surrey* : The Battel King *Richard* led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled, with two thousand Pikes : The Rereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled Weapons, with two Wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square Maniples, expecting the Lord *Stanley's* coming with two thousand, most of them Horse-men : But the Lord *Stanley* carried himself so warily, that he might neither give Cause of Suspicion to the King, nor yet Cause of Disadvantage to the Earl : That when early in the Morning the Earl sent unto him, desiring his

Near to Bosworth their Armies meet : And how King *Richard's* Army was marshalled.



A.D. 1485 his present Repair, he answered, that he must look for no Aid from him, till the Battels should be joined; and therefore advised him, with all possible Speed to give the Onset. This Answer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his Number did but little exceed one Half of the King's: Yet to make the best Shew he could, by the Advice of his Council of War, he made his Vanguard open and thin; of which *John Earl of Oxford* had the Leading: The Earl himself led the Battel, *Sir Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right Wing, and *Sir John Savage* the left; whose Soldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the Reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the View of their Enemies, double the Number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which consisted most of Horse and some Pikes, and black Bills. King *Richard*, to encourage his Soldiers, made a solemn Speech to them: But, alas, what Hope could he have to put them in Heart, whose Hearts he had lost? or to raise Alacrity in others, who had none in himself? For now the Remembrance of his fore-passed Villainies, and specially, a fearful Dream he had the Night before (wherein it seemed to him, he saw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any Rest or Quiet) so damped his Spirits, that although he set a good Face upon the Matter, yet he could not choose but have a presaging Fear, that the Date of his Days was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other Side, having a clear Conscience in himself, and speaking to Men that followed him for Love, had the easier Means to give them Encouragement; which he did with so chearful a Countenance, as though already he had gotten the Victory. After their military Exhortations ended, *K. Richard* commanded to give the Onset. Between both Armies there was a great Marsh; which the Earl left on his right Hand, that it might be a Defence for his Soldiers on that Side; and besides, by so doing he had the Sun at his Back, and in the Faces of his Enemy. When King *Richard* saw the Earl's Company was passed this Marsh, he commanded with all Speed to set upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both Sides, and those spent, they came to Hand-strokes; at which Encounter comes in the Lord *Stanley*, and joins with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean Time, fearing lest his Company should be compassed in with the Multitude of his Enemies, gave Charge in every Rank, that no Man should go above ten Foot from the Standard; whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a while from Fighting; which the Enemy seeing, and mistrusting some Fraud, they also paused and left striking. But then the Earl of *Oxford* having brought all his Band together, set on the Enemy afresh; which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their Men slender and thin before, but thick and broad behind; and resolutely again began the Fight. While these two Vanguards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed, that the Earl of *Richmond*, with a small Number, was not far off; whereupon he presently makes towards him; and being of an

invincible Courage, whereof he was now to give the last Proof, he made so furious an Assault, that first with his own Hands he slew *Sir William Brandon*, who bore the Earl's Standard; next he unhorsed and overthrew *Sir John Cheyney*, a strong and stout Man at Arms, and then assaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himself, who (though no Man would have thought it, yet) for all the King's Fury held him off at his Launce's Point, till *Sir William Stanley* came in with three thousand fresh Men; and then oppressed with Multitude, King *Richard* is there slain. It is said, that when the Battel was at the Point to be lost, a swift Horse was brought unto him, with which he might have saved himself by Flight, but out of his undaunted Courage he refused it, saying, he would that Day make an End of all Battels, or else lose his Life. In this Battel *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, who led King *Richard's* Rereward, never struck Stroke; as likewise many other, who followed King *Richard* more for Fear than Love: And so King *Richard*, who had deceived many in his Time, was at this Time deceived by many; which was not unforeseen by some, who caused a Rhyme to be set upon the Duke of *Norfolk's* Gate the Night before the Battel, which was this:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,  
For Dicken thy Master is bought and sold.

Yet notwithstanding this Warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more considering what he was towards him than what towards others, followed him at the last, and in his Quarrel lost his Life. This *John Howard* was the Son of *Sir Robert Howard*, Knight, and *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of *Thomas Mowbrey*, Duke of *Norfolk*, in whose Right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* by *K. Richard the Third*, in the Year 1483, having been made a Baron before by King *Edward the Fourth*. The whole Number slain in this Battel on King *Richard's* Part, was not above a thousand Persons; whereof, of the Nobility, besides the Duke of *Norfolk*, only *Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, *Sir Richard Ratcliffe*, and *Sir Robert Brakenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. *Sir William Catesby*, one of the chief Counsellors of King *Richard*, with divers others, was two Days after beheaded at *Leicester*. Amongst those that ran away, were *Francis*, Viscount *Lovel*, *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, who took Sanctuary in *Saint John's* at *Gloucester*. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great Numbers. *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, who though on King *Richard's* Side, intermeddled not in the Battel, was incontinently taken into Favour, and made of the Council: But *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, though he submitted himself, yet, as having been specially familiar with King *Richard*, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a long Time, but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of *Richmond's* Part were slain scarce an hundred Persons (some say but ten) of whom the principal was *Sir William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer. This Battel was fought at *Rodmor*, near *Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*, the two and twentieth

King Richard encounters the Earl of Richmond Hand to Hand.

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, firm to King Richard to the last.



A.D. 1485 Day of *August*, in the Year 1485, having continued little above two Hours. Presently after the Battel, the Earl Knighted in the Field, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Mortimer, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Robert Poynts, Sir Humfrey Stanley, Sir John Turbervile, Sir Hugh Pershal, Sir R. Edgecomb, Sir John Pykenil, and Sir Edmund Carew; and then kneeling down, he rendered to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained, and commanded all the Hurt and Maimed Persons to be cured; whereat the People rejoicing, clapped their Hands, and cried, King Henry! King Henry! Which Good-will and Gladness of the People, when the Lord Stanley saw, he took the Crown of King Richard, which was found amongst the Spoils in the Field, and set it on the Earl's Head, as though he had been elected King by the Voice of the People. It may not be forgotten, that when King Richard was come to *Bosworth*, he sent to the Lord Stanley to come presently to his Presence; which if he refused to do, he swore by Christ's Passion, that he would strike off his Son's Head before he dined; whereto the Lord Stanley answered, That if he did so, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his Pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which Answer, when King Richard heard, he commanded the Lord Strange immediately to be Beheaded; but being at the very Time when both Armies were in Sight of each other, his Lords persuaded him, it was now Time to fight, and not to put to Execution; and so the Lord Strange escaped.

The Lord Stanley takes the Crown from King Richard's Head, and puts it on the Earl of Richmond.

#### Of his Taxations.

WE must not look for Taxations in Kind in this King's Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not Money so much as Blood; and the Money he drew was most by Blood, which drew on Confiscations; whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent; for where Taxations properly do but *tondere*, these did *deglubere*. Yet in his second Year, he called a Parliament, wherein, besides the great Confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the People a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAVING gotten the Crown by pestilent Courses, he sought to establish it by wholesome Laws; for in no King's Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this Man. Amongst others of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Commonalty of the Realm should in no wise be charged by any Imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like Charge; and that such Actions called a Benevolence, before this Time taken, should be taken for no Example to make any such like Charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may say he took the Ways of being a good King, if he had come to be a King by Ways that had been good.

No Benevolence to be required.

#### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN his Time the Troubles of the Temporality A.D. 1485 kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were Complaining in the Streets, there was none in the Church. Only *Shore's* Wife might complain, why she should do Penance for offending lightly against only the Seventh Commandment, and King Richard do none for offending heavily against all the Ten, but that perhaps he had gotten some good Fellow to be his Confessor.

#### Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet some good Works he did; he founded a College at *Middleham* beyond *York*; and a Collegiate-Chantry in *London*, near unto the *Tower*, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue, and disforested the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had enclosed for Deer.

#### Of Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his second Year, at the Time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to pass with his Army over *Severn*, there was so great an Inundation of Water, that Men were drowned in their Beds, Houses were overturned, Children were carried about the Fields swimming in Cradles, Beasts were drowned on Hills; which Rage of Water continued ten Days, and was a long Time in the Countries thereabout, called the *Great Water*, or the *Duke of Buckingham's Water*. A great Inundation, called the Duke of Buckingham's Water.

#### Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Anne*, the second Daughter of *Richard Nevil*, the Great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of *K. Henry* the Sixth: She lived his Wife to the last Year of his Reign; and then, to make Way for another, was brought to her End, and laid at rest in the Abby of *Westminster*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham*, near *Richmond* in the County of *York*; at four Years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle King *Edward* the Fourth; at ten Years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but died soon after.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

THERE never was in any Man a greater Uniformity of Body and Mind, than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, Crooked-back'd, Hook-shouldered, Splay-footed, and Goggle-eyed; his Face little and round, his Complexion swarthy, his left Arm from his Birth dry and withered; born a Monster in Nature, with all his Teeth, with Hair on his Head, and Nails on his Fingers and Toes: And just such were the Qualities of his Mind. One Quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, sternly when he executed. Those Vices, which in other Men are Passions, in him were Habits; and his



A.D. 1485 and his Cruelty was not upon Occasion, but natural. If at any Time he shewed any Virtue, it was but Pretence; the Truth of his Mind was only Lying and Falshood. He was full of Courage, and yet not valiant; Valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the Middle, Wisdom to the End; which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty; that it might be in his Power to kill at his Pleasure: And to say the Truth, he was scarce of the Number of Men who consist of Flesh and Blood, being nothing but Blood. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the Truth of History to exceed the Fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his Life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible Thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behind him: And it had been Pity he should, at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

K. Richard  
bafely ufed  
being dead.

BEing slain in the Battel at *Bosworth*, as before is related, his Body was left naked and de spoiled to the very Skin, not so much as a Clout left about him to cover his Privy-parts: And taken up, was trussed behind a Pursuivant at Arms, one *Blanch Senglier*, or *White-Boar*; his Head and Arms hanging on one Side of the Horse, and his Legs on the other; and all besprinkled with Mire and Dirt; he was brought to the *Grey-Friers* Church within the Town of

*Leicester*, and there for some Time lay a miserable Spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp, was there interred. But after this, K. *Henry VII.* caused a Tomb to be made and set up over the Place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alabaster, representing his Person, which, at the Suppression of that Monastery, was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Chest, wherein his Corpse lay, was made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in *Leicester*, and retained the only Memory of this Monarch's Greatness. But his Body, as is reported, was carried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the End of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth Passage over a Branch of *Stowre*, upon the West-side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like Report runneth) stood a Stone of some Height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by Chance struck his Spur: And against the same Stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the Horse-side, his Head was dashed and broken, as a wise Woman, forsooth, had foretold; who, before his going to Battel, being asked of his Success, said, That where his Spur struck, his Head should be broken. But these are but Reports. He had lived seven and thirty Years, reigned two, and two Months.

*Of Men of Note in his Time.*

OF Men of Note for Wickedness and Villainy, enough hath been mentioned in the Body of the Story: And for Men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better King's Reign.

*Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.*

In his first Year,

SIR *Robert Billeston* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Newland*, *William Martin*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,

Sir *Thomas Hill* was Mayor.  
*Richard Chester*; and he dying, *Raphe Austrie*,  
*Thomas Britaine*, Sheriffs.



# T H E

## L I F E and R E I G N of

# King *H E N R Y* VII.

A.D. 1485  
K. Henry's  
first Title.

Edward  
Plantagenet,  
Son and Heir  
of George  
Duke of Cla-  
rence, shut up  
in the Tower.

The Earl of  
Richmond is  
Crowned  
King.

**H**ENRY Earl of *Richmond*, born in *Pembroke Castle*, Son to *Edmund Earl of Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, sole Daughter of *John Duke of Somerset*, which *John* was Son of *John Earl of Somerset*, Son of *John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*, by his third Wife *Katharine Swinford*; and by this Descent, Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, having won the Battel at *Bosworth*, against *K. Richard*, is by publick Acclamations saluted King of *England*, on the 22d Day of *August*, in the Year 1485, and this was his first Title. And now, to take away a Root of Danger, before his Departure from *Leicester*, he sent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriffshaton* in the County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*, being then of the Age of fifteen Years, whom *K. Richard* had there kept a Prisoner all his Time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and shut up in the Tower to be kept in safe Custody. In the same Castle also *K. Richard* had left residing the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to *K. Edward IV.* And her now *K. Henry* appoints honourably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his Journey towards *London*; where, at his approaching near the City, *Thomas Hill* the Mayor, *Thomas Britain*, and *Richard Chester*, Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at *Shoreditch*, and in great State brought him to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of *St. George*; in the other was a red, fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarlener; in the third was painted a Dun-Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishop's Palace, and there sojourned a Season: And in the Time of his Stay here, he advised with his Council, and appointed a Day for solemnizing his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: Before which Time notwithstanding he went by Water to *Westminster*, and was there with great Solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole Consent as well of the Commons, as of the Nobility, by the Name of *Henry VII.* on the 30th Day of *October*, in the Year 1485; and this was his second Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred ninety and seven Years past;

That his Offspring should Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

A.D. 1485

On the 17th Day of *November* following, he called his High Court of Parliament; where, at the first Sitting, two Scruples appeared; one concerning the Burgeses, for that many had been returned Burgeses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King *Richard's* Time stood attainted still; and it was thought incongruous for Men to make Laws, who were themselves outlawed: For Remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring, and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by *K. Richard*: But for this it was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, That the Possession of the Crown takes away all Defects; yet for Honour's sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File: And so these Scruples thus removed, the Parliament began, wherein were attainted first, *Richard* late Duke of *Gloucester*, calling himself *Richard III.* Then his Assistants at the Battel of *Bosworth*; *John* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Earl of Surrey*, *Francis Viscount Lovel*, *Walter Devereux*, late Lord *Ferrers*, *John Lord Zouch*, *Robert Harington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Berley of Wely*, *Robert Middleton*, *James Harington*, *Robert Brakenbury*, *Thomas Pilkington*, *Walter Hopton*, *William Catesby*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humfrey Stafford*, *William Clark of Wenlock*, *Jeffry St. Germain*, *Richard Watkins*, Herald at Arms, *Richard Sevel*, *Thomas Putter*, *John Welsh*, *John Kendal*, late Secretary to the late King *Richard*, *John Buck*, *Andrew Rat*, and *William Brampton* of *Burford*. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the Persons aforesaid were afterwards not only by *K. Henry* pardoned, but restored also to their Lands and Livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon. Whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other Places, who submitting themselves, were received to Mercy.

The Posses-  
sion of the  
Crown takes  
away all De-  
fects.

Lords and  
others at-  
tainted by  
Parliament.

And now King *Henry* considering that *Pæna & Præmio Respublica continetur*, after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Services; and first, *Jasper Earl of Pembroke* his Uncle he created Duke of *Bedford*: *Thomas Lord*

Dukes and  
Earls created.



A.D. 1485 Lord Stanley, he created Earl of Derby; the Lord Chandois of Britain, his special Friend, he made Earl of Bath: Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Daubeny; Sir Robert Willoughby was made Lord Brook; and Edward Stafford, eldest Son to Henry late Duke of Buckingham, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for settling the Crown upon the Person of King Henry and the Heirs of his Body successively for ever: And then with all Speed he sent and redeemed the Marquis Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left Hostages in France for Money; and called Home Morton Bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox, making Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and Bishop of Exeter. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, Jasper Duke of Bedford, John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley, E. of Derby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley, Lord Chamberlain of his Household; Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brook, Lord Steward of his Household; Giles Lord Daubeny; John Lord Dynham, after made Lord Treasurer of England; Sir Reynold Bray, Sir John Cheyney, Sir Richard Guildford, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Edmund Poynings, Sir John Risley, with some other.

Morton is made Archbishop of Canterbury, Fox is made Lord Privy-Seal.

1486. King Henry marries the Lady Elizabeth.

The King's Guard first ordained.

A violent Sickness in London, and the Remedy.

These Things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make the Crown fit the surer on his Head, on the eighteenth Day of January he proceeded to the solemnizing his Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this Conjunction made a Wreath of three so indissoluble, that no Age since hath ever questioned it; and it is fix'd upon a Tree planted so happily by the Waterside, and hath at this Day so many flourishing Branches, that there is good Hope it will continue as long as the World endures.

And now whether King Henry doubted any sudden Attempt upon his Person, or whether he did it to follow the Example of France; in the very Beginning of his Reign he ordained a Band of tall personable Men to be attending upon him, which was called the King's Guard; which no King before, and all Kings since have always used: But though he provided a Guard for Defence of his own Body, yet for the Bodies of his People he could provide none; for at this Time a Sickness (of the Symptom called the Sweating-sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a short Time many thousands perished; particularly in London, two Mayors successively, and six Aldermen within eight Days died: And for this Sickness no Physick afforded any Cure; till at last this Remedy was found: If a Man were taken with the Sweat in the Day-time, that then he should presently lie down in his Cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty Hours; if he were taken in the Night, then he should not rise out of his Bed for the Space of four and twenty Hours; not provoking Sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this Sickness there was one good Circumstance, that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: For beginning about the one and twentieth of September, it cleared up before the End of October following.

And now all Things being set in good Order A.D. 1486 in the South Parts, there ariseth a little Storm in the North, but was soon dispersed. For King Henry making a Journey into the North Parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been, and where the Respect to King Richard might have left some Opposites; at his Coming to Lincoln, was certified that the Lord Lovel and Humfrey Stafford were gone out of The Lord Lovel raiseth an Army against the King, but upon Proclamation of Pardon is dispersed. Sanctuary in Colchester; but whither, no Man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to York; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, That the Lord Lovel with a strong Power was at Hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great Strait; for neither had he any Army ready, nor if he had Men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this Strait, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, with three thousand Men to set out against him; but so ill armed, that their Armour for the most part were but of tanned Leather: Who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves as Loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into Grace. Which Proclamation so prevailed, that it made the Lord Lovel secretly in the Night to flee away; and then the Army, left without a Head, submitted themselves to the King's Mercy. The Lord Lovel fled into Lancashire, and there for a Time lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton, a Man powerful in those Parts. Humfrey Stafford took Sanctuary in a Village called Culham, two Miles from Abingdon: But the Sanctuary being judged, by the Justices of the King's Bench, to be no lawful Defence for Traitors, he was taken from thence by Force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to Tyburn, and there hanged. His Brother Thomas was pardoned, because it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother Humfrey.

A Sanctuary no Defence for Traitors.

In this Year John Persival the Mayor of London's Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London, only by Sir Henry Collet, then Mayor, drinking to him in a Cup of Wine, as the Custom is to drink to him whom he list to name Sheriff, and forthwith the said Persival sat down at the Mayor's Table, and covered his Head, and was afterward Mayor himself.

The Mayor's Carver chosen Sheriff of London, and by what Occasion.

At this Time a mean Instrument attempted a great Work; by which we may see how far Imaginations may out-go Reason. One Richard Simonds a Priest, a Man of base Birth, though some Learning, had a Scholar of baser Birth, the Son of a Shoemaker (some say a Baker) named Lambert Symnel; but of a pregnant Wit, and comely Personage: Him he gives out to be Edward Earl of Warwick, lately, as was said, escaped out of Prison, both of them being of like Years and Stature: With this Scholar of his, he sails into Ireland, and so sets forth the Matter, that not only the Lord Thomas Fitzgerrard, Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland, but many other of the Nobility gave Credit to his Words; and as those that affected the House of York were ready to take his Part, and even already saluted the young Symnel King: Withal they sent into Flanders to the Lady Margaret,

Lambert Symnel given out to be Edward Earl of Warwick.

Countenanced in Ireland.



A.D. 1486 Sifter to the late King Edward, and Widow of Charles Duke of *Burgoigne*, requiring Aid and Assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of *York*, bore an inward Grudge against King Henry, being of the House of *Lancaster*; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured Matter, yet was willing to take Advantage of it: And thereupon promised her Assistance. King Henry being advertised of these Things, advised with his Council, by whom it was agreed, that two Things presently should be done. First, to grant a Pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any Offence whatsoever, though it were for High-Treason. The next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick Places; whereby, the Report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Withal, the Queen

Chiefly by the Lady Margaret Duchesse of *Burgoigne*.

Queen Elizabeth hath all her Goods confiscated, and her self confined.

By the Plot of the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lady Margaret, Symnel is conveyed into *Ireland*, and there Crowned King of *England*.

1487.

*Elizabeth*, Widow of King Edward the Fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abby of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; where in great Penitiveness within a few Years she died. But for what Cause this Severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say, as was commonly said, that it was for rendring her self and her Daughters into the Hands of King *Richard*, were manifest Injustice, to punish her for doing a Thing out of Fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by Force: And to say, as some also have said, that it was for giving Aid under-hand to *Perkin*, were a manifest Unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son in Law. We must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable Pretext, and leave the true Reason as a Secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all; for some gave out that it was but a Trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sifter to King Edward the Fourth, would not omit to take the Advantage, though he knew that *Symnel* was a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady Margaret, Duchesse of *Burgoigne*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovel* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick*, and honour him as a King, and with the Power of the *Irish-men* bring him into *England*: But it was concluded withal, that if their Actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the True be delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this Purpose the Earl of *Lincoln*, by the Help of the Lady Margaret, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart*, a valiant and expert Captain, to be their Leader. With this Power the Earl sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert*, the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn Manner, first to be proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*; and then with a great Number of beggarly and unarmed *Irish-men*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Thomas*

*Gerardine* Earl of *Kildare*, they sailed into *England*, and landed at a Place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there, by the Means of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful Man in that Country, to have their Army both furnished and encreased. King Henry hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; and with these he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his Field; whether there came unto him the Lord *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, in which meantime the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *Yorkshire*, passed quietly on his Journey, without doing Spoil or Hurt unto any; trusting thereby to have won the People to come to his Aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a Battel with the Army he had already; and thereupon took his Way from *York* to *Newark upon Trent*. King Henry understanding which Way he took, came the Night before the Battel to *Newark*; and going three Miles further, near to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the Approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next Day they joined Battel; where, after a long Fight of at least three Hours; though the *Almains*, and specially their Captain *Martin Swart*, behaved themselves most valiantly; yet their *Irish*, being in a Manner but naked Men, were at last overthrown, four thousand slain, and the rest put to Flight, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine*, were all found dead in the very Place where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the Battel, yet they won the Reputation of hardy and stout Soldiers. Only of the Lord *Lovel*, some report, that attempting to save himself by Flight, in passing over the River of *Trent*, he was drowned. On the King's Part, though some were slain, yet not any Man of Note. This Battel was fought on a Saturday (observed as always fortunate to King Henry) being the sixteenth of June, in the second Year of King Henry's Reign. The young *Lambert* and his Master *Simond* the Priest, were both taken, and both had their Lives saved: *Lambert*, because but a Child, *Simond*, because a Priest; yet *Simond* was kept in Prison, *Lambert* was taken into the King's Kitchen, to turn the Spit in the Turn of his Fortune, and at last made one of the King's Faulknors.

In the Beginning of his third Year, King Henry having been in *Yorkshire*, to settle the Minds of that People, about the Midst of August came to *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and from thence sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, *Richard Fox*, lately before made Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scots: A Peace by Reason of the Peoples Backwardness, could not be obtained; but a Truce was concluded for the Term of seven Years; with a Promise from the King, that it should be renewed before the first seven Years should be expired.

At

A.D. 1487

King Henry goeth with an Army against the Earl of *Lincoln*.

At *Stoke* he gives him Battel, and overthrows him;

Where he and divers other Lords are slain.

Saturday always fortunate to King Henry.

*Lambert* is taken into the King's Kitchen.

1488.

A Truce for seven Years between K. Henry and the King of Scots.



A.D. 1488

At this Time Ambassadors came from the King of France to King Henry, who declared, that their Master King Charles was now at War with Francis Duke of Britain, for that he succoured the Duke of Orleans, and other Rebels, against the Realm of France; and therefore requested, that for the old Familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand neuter. King Henry answered, That having received Courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost Endeavour to make them Friends: And to that End, as soon as the French Ambassadors were departed, he sent Christopher Urswike his Chaplain over into France, who should first go to the French King, and after to the Duke of Britain, to mediate a Peace between them.

Q. Elizabeth is Crowned.

In the Time of Urswike's Ambassage, King Henry caused his Wife the Lady Elizabeth to be Crowned Queen on St. Katharine's Day, in November, with all Solemnity; and at the same Time delivered the Lord Thomas, Marquess Dorset, out of the Tower, and received him again into his former Favour.

A Peace between France and England.

Urswike travelled between the two Princes to procure a Peace; but they, though making a Shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and Offers on neither Side would be accepted. In which Time Edward Lord Woodville, Uncle to the Queen, made Suit to the King, for Leave to go over with a Power of Men, in Aid to the Duke of Britain; which Suit, though the King denied, yet the Lord Woodville would venture it, and with a Power of four hundred able Men, got secretly over, and joined with the Britains against the French. This the French King took ill at King Henry's Hand; but being informed that it was against the King's Will, he seemed satisfied, and a Peace was concluded between France and England, to endure for twelve Months. But in Conclusion, King Henry finding that the French King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with Pretences, he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring their Advice, what was fit to be done; where it was concluded, that the Duke of Britain should be aided; and to that End great Sums of Money were by Parliament granted. This Determination of the Parliament King Henry signifies to the French King, hoping it would have wrought him to some Terms of Peace. But the King of France little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent Courses against the Britains, so at last, on the 28th Day of July, the Britains gave Battel to the French near to a Town called St. Aubyn, having apparelled seventeen hundred of the Britains in Coats with red Crosses, after the English Fashion, to make the French-men believe they were all English, although indeed they had no more English than the four hundred of the Lord Woodville's. But notwithstanding this Device, the Victory fell to the French; so that almost all the English-men were slain, with the Lord Woodville himself, besides six thousand Britains. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, who were on the Britain's Part, were taken Prisoners. The French lost twelve hundred Men, and amongst other, that valiant Italian Captain, James Galeazzo.

The King of France overthrows the Duke of Britain's Army, where the Lord Woodville is slain.

This News being brought into England, A.D. 1488 caused K. Henry to make Haste to send forth his Army; and thereupon the Lord Brook, with Sir John Cheyney, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Lacon, and Sir Edmund Cornwall, are sent over with all Speed into Britain, having with them eight thousand Men, to aid the Duke of Britain against the French. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of Britain died, leaving, in Effect, one only Daughter, the Lady Anne (for the other, being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of Britain falling at Dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the Defence of the Country: Whereupon the English returned home within five Months after their setting forth; and the French King getting the upper Hand of the Britains, and marrying the Lady Anne, sole Daughter to the Duke of Britain, incorporated that Duchy to the Crown of France.

K. Henry sends an Army to aid the Duke of Britain.

The French King marries the Heir of the Duke of Britain.

In the last Parliament a Subsidy was granted for the furnishing out an Army into Britain; and it was agreed, that every Man should be taxed after the Rate of his Substance, to pay the tenth Penny of his Goods: Which Tax the most Part of Yorkshire and the Bishoprick of Durham refused to pay; whereof the Collectors complained to Henry Earl of Northumberland, President of the North-parts: The Earl signifies it to the King, and the King commands him to levy the same by Distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude Multitude hearing of this Command from the King, with great Violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple Fellow named John a Chamber; and alledging all the Fault to be in the Earl, as chief Author of the Tax, they cruelly murdered both him and divers of his Household-Servants. And to make good their seditious Fact, they assembled a great Number, and made one Sir John Egremont their Captain; declaring, That in Defence of their Liberties they would bid the King Battel. In this Bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them; but when Thomas Earl of Surrey appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader John a Chamber was taken, and at York on a Gibbet, set upon a square Pair of Gallows, like an Arch-Traitor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent People for the most part pardoned. But Sir John Egremont fled into Flanders, to the Lady Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, the common and sure Refuge for all Rebels against K. Henry. After this, the King appointed Sir Richard Tunstall to gather the Subsidy, and would not spare the Payment of a Penny. This Year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of London two hundred Pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two Pounds, seventeen Shillings and four Pence, which was paid again at the Time with great Thankfulness; which he did at a Time he needed not, to the End, perhaps, he might do it another Time, when he needed.

The Earl of Northumberland is slain in collecting the Subsidy.

1489.

John a Chamber Ring-leader of the Insurrection is hanged.

At this Time James III. King of Scotland, having by some Errors of Government incurred the Hatred of his Nobility and People, laboured with



A.D. 1489 with King Henry, as also with the Pope, and the King of France, to make an Accord between him and his People; who had compelled Prince James his Son to be the Titular Head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediations by Ambassadors, but could receive no other but this outrageous Answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which Answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common Injury to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable for Subjects to lift their Hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at *Bannocksborn* by *Strivelin*; where King James, rashly beginning the Fight before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary Commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the Battel ended.

James King of Scots in a Battel at *Bannocksborn* is slain.

About this Time a Difference fell out, which grew to a War, between the Emperor *Frederick*, and some Towns of his in *Flanders*, especially *Ghent* and *Bruges*. In this War the Lord *Ravenstein*, a principal Person about *Maximilian*, not only forsook the Emperor and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord (corrupted, as was thought, from France) but made himself Head of the popular Party, seizing upon the Towns of *Ypres* and *Sluys*; and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord *de Cordes*, Governor for the French King in *Picardy*, to aid him against some Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Cordes*, willing of any Occasion to set Foot in *Flanders*, was easily drawn. But King Henry not liking to have the French so near his English Pale, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand Men, who should join with the Lord *Daubeny*, then Deputy of *Calais*, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief, That the Lord *Daubeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, Captain of *Guisnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfrey Talbot*, Marshal of *Calais*, and others, to the Number of two thousand, issued secretly one Night out of *Calais*, and came to *Nieuport*, and from thence to *Dixmude*, where the Lord *Daubeny* commanded all Men to send back their Horses; which the Lord *Morley* only refusing to do, was the Cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun; for the rest, after their Arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the Ground; by which Means the Enemies Ordinance over-shot them, killing only the Lord *Morley* that was on Horse-back. Here they slew of the Enemy to the Number of eight thousand; of the English Part was slain the Lord *Morley*, and not above a hundred more. This Victory so enriched the English, that they who went forth in Cloth, came home in Silk; and they who went out on Foot, returned back on Horse-back. Upon this Defeat, the Lord *de Cordes* lying at *Ypres* with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revenged, besieged the Town of *Nieuport*, and so strongly assaulted it, that one Day his Men entred, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town, when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh English Archers, so terrified them, thinking their Num-

The Lord *Morley* slain, and by what Chance.

ber to be far greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the Assault; and the Night following the Lord *de Cordes* (who so much longed for *Calais*, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lie seven Years in Hell, so that *Calais* were in the Possession of the French) broke up his Siege, and returned to *Hesdin* with as much Shame, as the English to *Calais* with Honour.

A little before this Time, *Francis Duke of Britain* dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady *Anne*, affianced to *Maximilian King of the Romans*, and in so solemn a Manner, that she taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her Bed, was contented to permit *Maximilian's* Deputy, in Presence of many noble Witnesses, as well Men as Women, to put his Leg, stripped naked to the Knee, between the Spousal-Sheets, accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Consummation. The King of France likewise had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to the foresaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that End: Yet all this, notwithstanding, out of a violent Desire to join the Duchy of *Britain* to the Crown of France, he disannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the End he might do it without Opposition of the King of England, he sent Ambassadors, the Lord *Francis of Lutsemburgh*, *Charles Marignan*, and *Robert Gaguin*, to King Henry, partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King Henry's good Will to make void the foresaid Contracts: To which, though King Henry was not willing to give Consent, yet he consented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that End, sent over *Thomas Earl of Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenstone*, Prior of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, to the French King about it. But during this Treaty, and before Conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the French King had gotten into his Possession the Lady *Anne* of *Britain*, and solemnly married her. Which under-hand Dealing so incensed King Henry, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just Cause he had of War with France, desiring their Benevolence to the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as desired, and great Sums of Money were soon collected.

In the Year 1491, being the sixth Year of the King's Reign, on the 6th of April, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, where also was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citizens in their Liveries; to whom Dr. *Morton* Lord Chancellor made an Oration, declaring from his own Letters, that the King of Spain had won the great and rich City and Country of *Granada* from the Moors, which had been in their Possession above seven hundred Years; and having, in Places of their Superstition, built Churches to the Honour of Christ, was thereupon entitled the Catholick King: For Joy whereof *Te Deum* was sung with great Solemnity.

In the Month of May was holden a solemn Jutting at the King's Palace of *Sheen*, now called *Richmond*, which continued the Space of a Month.

*Granada* won by the King of Spain from the Moors.

K. Henry propounded this Parliament a War with France, to which End he hath a Benevolence granted.

The French frightened with a Conceit. How much the French longed for *Calais*.

Two Contracts of Marriage formerly made, by the King of France.



A.D. 1491

Month, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which Jufts, Sir James Parker running against a Gentleman named Hugh Vaughan, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was stricken into the Mouth at the first Course; so that his Tongue was bored to the hinder Part of his Head, in such Sort that he died presently upon the Place.

And now Maximilian having received back his Daughter from the King of France, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one James Contibald, to King Henry, requiring him to take his Part in a War against the French King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand Men with Pay for two Years: King Henry consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth Day of October, sailed to Calais; but sending his Almoner Christopher Urswike, and Sir John Resley to Maximilian, requiring his promised Forces, they found him altogether unprovided of either Men or Money; which brought King Henry into a great Streight what he should do. To proceed in the War with his own Forces alone, would be full of Hazard; to return home without doing any thing, would bring an Imputation upon him among his Subjects, as though he had used the Pretence of War but as a Trick to get Money: At last he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged Bologne, having in his Army, of chief Lords, Jasper Duke of Bedford, his Lieutenant General, Thomas Marques Dorset, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, Devonshire, and Ormond; sundry Barons, as D'Aubigny, Abergavenny, De la Ware, Zouch, Hastings, Cobham, and others. During his Siege of Bologne (in which there were but a few slain, and none of Note, but Sir John Savage, who riding to take View at what Place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain Frenchmen, and by them slain) King Henry was secretly dealt with by the Lord Cordes, Governour of Heynault, on the King of France's Behalf, to accept of certain Conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, and Giles Lord D'Aubigny to conclude them; which, amongst other Articles, were, That King Henry, without quitting his Claim to France, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kings Lives, receive in Present of Charles King of France, for his Charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Ducats, which in English Money amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns Yearly, towards the Expences he had been at before in aiding the Britains; which (by the English called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the King's Reign, and also to King Henry, his Son, afterward, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. There was also assigned by the French King, unto all K. Henry's principal Counsellors, great Pensions, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which, whether the King did permit, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Business that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted: For certainly, the King had no great Fancy to own this Peace; and there-

fore a little before it was concluded, he had A.D. 1491 Under-hand procured some of his best Captains and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their Hands in an earnest Manner, in the Nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some Allay to the Discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their Estates upon the Hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to Calais, where he stayed some Time, and the seventeenth of December following, came to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after his Return, he elected into the Order of the Garter, Alphonfus Duke of Calabria, Son and Heir to Ferdinand King of Naples; to whom Christopher Urswike, the King's Almoner, was sent to Naples to carry it; which as soon as Alphonfus had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great Assembly, indeed to shew what Favour he was in with the King of England.

There had been Disturbance in the Realm before by a counterfeit Son of the Duke of Clarence; but that Device had two main Imperfections; one, that the true Son of the Duke was forth-coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no Claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King Edward the Fourth were living: Now therefore a Device is found, by which those Imperfections were both of them amended; for now a Counterfeit was set on Foot, who pretended to be Richard the younger, Son of King Edward the Fourth; so that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King Edward could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This Device was first forged by Margaret Duchess of Burgundy; a Woman that could never be quiet in her Mind, as long as King Henry was quiet in his Kingdom; and by this Device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his Seat, yet foully at least to disturb him in it; and this was the Purpose of the Plot: But by what Instrument it was acted, by what Abettors fomented, and what Issue the Device had, are worthy all to be related. The Duchess having formerly given out, that Richard, the younger Son of King Edward, was not murdered, but in Compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his Fortune; and having, after long Search, gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good Time with her, in which Time she so thoroughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in Practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King Edward's Son, yet he was his God-son, and might perhaps have in him some base Blood of the House of York. This Perkin Warbeck (for so was the Youth's Name, called Perkin, as a Diminutive of Peter) when he so perfectly had learned his Lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage, she sent him into Portugal, that coming

1493. The Duchess of Burgundy sets up Perkin Warbeck, to take upon him to be Richard the younger Son of Edward, and how the Plot was carried on.

Q q q

from

King Henry is drawn into France to assist the Emperor, upon Promise, which the Emperor keeps not.

King Henry hath a great Sum of Money of the King of France, to agree to a Peace.



A.D. 1493 from a strange Country, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Country to another for Safe-guard of his Life; at least, that she of all other might not be suspected. From *Portugal* she caused him to pass into *Ireland*, where the House of *York* was specially respected, in respect of the great Love which *Richard Duke of York*, Father of King *Edward the Fourth*, had won amongst them; by Reason whereof this *Perkin*, as esteemed his Grand-child, was well entertained by them, and held in great Estimation. He had not been long in *Ireland* when the *French King* sent for him; for being at that Time at Variance with King *Henry*, he thought he might make good Use of *Perkin*, as a Pretender against King *Henry* for the Crown. *Perkin* being come to *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely Fashion; and for his more Honour, had a Guard assigned him, over which the Lord *Congreschal* was Captain. He had not been long at *Paris*, when there resorted to him Sir *George Nevil*, Bastard, Sir *John Taylour*, *Richard Robinson*, and about a hundred other *English*. Amongst the rest, one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henry's* Secretary for the *French Tongue*; but discontented, fled, and became a chief Instrument in *Perkin's* Proceedings. But this Float of *Perkin's* lasted not long; for as soon as Peace was concluded between the Two Kings, the King of *France* dismissed *Perkin*, and would keep him no longer. Then passed he secretly to his first Foundress, the Lady *Margaret*; who at his first coming, made a Shew of suspecting him to be a Counterfeit; but causing him in great Assemblies to be brought before her, as though she had never seen him before; and finding him to answer directly to all Questions she put unto him, she openly professed, That she was now satisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew; and thereupon assigned a Guard of thirty Persons, cloathed in Murry and Blue, and called him the White Rose of *England*. Upon Report hereof, many in *England* were enclined to take his Part; and Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *Robert Barclay* were sent into *Flanders*, to acquaint the *Duchess* with the People's Respect to *Perkin*; and indeed Sir *Robert Clifford*, upon Sight and Conference with him, wrote Letters into *England*, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King *Edward*, by his Face, and other Lineaments of his Body. King *Henry* hearing of these Things, sent certain Espials into *Flanders*, that should feign themselves to have fled to *Perkin*, and by that Means the better search out who were of the Conspiracy with him. Whose Names being returned unto the King, he caused them to be apprehended and brought to his Presence; the Chief of whom were *John Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, and Sir *Thomas Thwayts*, Knights, *William Dawbeny*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, *Thomas Cressenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*: Also certain Priests, *William Richford*, D.D. *Thomas Boyn*, D. *William Sutton*, *William Worfeley*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, *Robert Layborn*, and *Richard Lisley*, of whom some hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary; others were taken and condemned, as Sir *Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeny*, who were all three beheaded. The Lord

*Perkin* is entertained by the King of *France*.

*Perkin's* Assistants taken and put to Death.

*Fitzwater* being pardoned, was conveyed to A.D. 1493 *Calais*, and there laid in Hold; where seeking to make Escape by corrupting his Keeper, he lost his Head. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Clifford*, returning out of *Flanders* (not as some think, sent a Spy from the Beginning, but rather now at last, either discerning the Fraud, or won by Rewards) submitted himself to the King's Mercy; discovering unto him, as far as he knew, all that were either open or secret Abettors of the Conspiracy; amongst whom he accused Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain: His Accusation was this, That in Conference between them, Sir *William* had said, That if he certainly knew that the young Man named *Perkin* were the Son of King *Edward the Fourth*, he would never fight nor bear Arms against him. These Words being considered of by the Judges, seemed to express a ticklish Hold of Loyalty; for who could tell how soon he might be perswaded that he knew it? Besides, that the Uttering such an Expression was in it self upon the Matter, to be disloyal to King *Henry*; and withal it struck upon a String which had always sounded harsh in King *Henry's* Ears, as preferring the Title of *York* before that of *Lancaster*. Sir *William* being hereupon arraigned, whether trusting to the Greatness of his Favours, or the Smallness of his Fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon Confession was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the sixteenth Day of *February* was brought to the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded; after whose Death, *Giles*, Lord *Dawbeny*, was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley* who came in to rescue the Earl of *Richmond* when he was in Danger of his Life; who set the Crown upon his Head, and was the Cause of his being saluted King: And could it enter into his Breast to put him to Death, that had saved his Life, and done him so many great Services besides? But it may be said, It was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*; for certainly, in many Cases, a King is not at Liberty to shew Mercy, so much as a private Man may. Though there be that affirm, the Cause of his Death was not Words only, but real Acts, as giving Aid to *Perkin* underhand by Money. And it seems there was some Conflict in the Mind of King *Henry*, what he should do in this Case; for he stayed six Weeks after his Accusation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following the King went in Progress to *Latham*, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir *William Stanley*; perhaps to congratulate his own Safety; perhaps to condole with him his Brother's Death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any sinister Opinion of him; for to think that Sir *William's* suing to be Earl of *Chester* (an Honour appointed to the King's Son) or his great Wealth (for he left his Castle at *Holt* in ready Money forty thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels) were Causes that procured or set forward his Death, are Considerations very unworthy of so just a Prince, against a Servant of so great Deserving.

But, in this mean while, *Perkin* having gotten a Power of idle loose Fellows, took to Sea,

Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain, accused of partaking with *Perkin*.

Is convicted and beheaded.



A.D. 1495 Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Soldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty Persons were taken Prisoners, whereof Five were Captains; *Morford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gemyne*; the hundred and sixty Persons were brought to *London*, railed in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the Arraignment confessing their Offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoining to the Sea Coast. *Perkin* finding no Entertainment in *Kent*, sailed into *Ireland*, and having staid there a while, and finding them also, being a naked People, to be no competent Assistants for him, from thence he sailed into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair Words and coloured Pretext (made no doubt before by the Dukes of *Burgoyne*) that he received him in great State, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to persuade the World that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in Marriage the Lady *Katharine Gordon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his own near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin's* Quarrel entered with a puissant Army into *England*, making Proclamation, That whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kind of Cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: Whereat *Perkin*, at his Return, expressed much Grief, saying, It grieved him to the Heart, to see such Havock made of his People: To whom the King answered, Alas! alas! you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Country came in to his Succour. King *Henry*, incensed with this bold Attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the Necessity he had of a present War to revenge the Indignity offered him by the *Scots*, and thereupon requiring their Aid by Money, had a Subsidy of six score thousand Pounds readily granted him, and then in all Haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the Conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a Commotion begun in *Cornwall*, for Payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were *Thomas Flammock*, a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph*, a Smith; who laying the Blame of this Exaction upon *John Merton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Sir Reynold Bray*, as being Chief of the King's Council, exhorted the People to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peyrn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, appointed *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey* (after the Death of the Lord *Dinham* made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an Eye to the *Scots*, and if they made Invasion, to resist them. In the mean Time *James Twitchet*, Lord *Audley*, confederated himself with the Re-

bels of *Cornwall*, and took upon him to be their A.D. 1495 Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great Aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aburgain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Edmund Poynings*, *Sir Richard Guildford*, *Sir Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-beath*, four Miles distant from *London*, and there in a Plain, on the Top of a Hill, encamped themselves, whereof when the King had Knowledge, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier*, Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and *Sir Humfrey Stanley*, to environ the Hill on all Sides, that so all Hope of Flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in *St. George's Fields*; where for Encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next Day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the Morning, who first got the Bridge at *Deptford-Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be a full Cloth-yard in Length; but, notwithstanding, the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his Company, and the Earl's assailing them on every Side, they were soon overcome; in which Conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken Prisoners a very great Number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none, for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms, painted upon Paper, reversed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth Day of *June* was beheaded; *Thomas Flammock*, and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their Heads and Quarters, pitched upon Stakes, set up in *London*, and other Places. Of the King's Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what Comfort *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheered up himself at his going to Execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this, that his Name and Memory should be everlasting; so dear even to vulgar Spirits is Perpetuity of Name, though joined with Infamy; what is it then to noble Spirits, when it is joined with Glory!

In the mean Time, the King of *Scots* taking Advantage of these Troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, foraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Durham*, was Owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas*, Lord *Barns*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less than twenty thousand Men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise the Siege of *Norham-Castle*, but followed them also into *Scotland*; where he overthrew and defaced the Castle at *Caudstream*, the Tower of *Heten-Hall*, the Tower of *Haddington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by Composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and rased it to the Ground.

On

A hundred and sixty of *Perkin's* Followers executed.

*Perkin* received by the King of *Scots*, marries the Earl of *Huntley's* Daughter.

The King of *Scots* in *Perkin's* Quarrel enters and spoils *Northumberland*.

A Commotion in *Cornwall*, by the Instigation of *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph*, a Smith.

The Lord *Audley* confederates with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

The Lord *Audley* beheaded. *Flammock*, and *Joseph* the Smith, hanged and quartered.

The King of *Scots* invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.



A.D. 1496 On the Earl's being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* sent to him *Marchmont*, and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight with him in single Combat; upon Condition, that if the Victory fell to the *Scotish* King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransom the Town of *Berwick*: Whereunto the Earl made Answer, That the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Master's, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his Offer of single Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a Match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no Meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the Night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earl returned to *Berwick*. In the mean Time, one *Peter Hyalas*, a Man of great Learning and Policy, was sent Ambassador to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the Two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his Motion, found after, the King of *England* (who was never averse to Peace upon honourable Conditions) no less enclining to it; and so a Truce was concluded for certain Years; upon Condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be sent out of the *Scotish* Dominions.

A Truce between King Henry and the King of Scots.

About this Time, the Lord *Champhyre*, and others, sent from *Philip* Archduke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to K. *Henry* for a Conclusion of Amity, and to procure the *English* Merchants Resort again to his Country; for K. *Henry* some Time before, upon Displeasure with the *Flemings*, but specially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had banished all *Flemish* Wares and Merchandises out of his Dominions, but had also restrained all *English* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, causing the Mart for all *English* Commodities to be kept at *Calais*: But now, upon this Invitation, and having found it had been a great Hindrance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and thereupon some Insurrections had risen, he willingly condescended to their Request, and so the *English* resorted again to the Arch-duke's Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Procession; so glad was that Town of the *English* Mens Returns.

In the eleventh Year of this King's Reign, died *Cicely* Duchess of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Castle of *Berkhamstead*, being of extream Age; who had lived to see three Princes of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered. She was buried at *Foderinghay*, by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scotish* Dominions; who thereupon, with his Wife and Family, sailed into *Ireland*; where understanding that the *Cornish* Men were ready to renew the War again, he thought best not to let pass so fair an Occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and not above sixscore Men, he sailed into *Cornwal*, and there landed in the Month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair Words, and large Promi-

*Perkin* thrust out of *Scotland*, sailed into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwal*, and there gets Forces.

ses, he so prevailed with the People, that he had gotten to him above three thousand Persons to take his Part; and then made Proclamations in the Name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the Fourth; and, by the Advice of his three Counsellors, *John Heron*, a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton*, a Taylor, and *John Astley*, a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Exeter*; which with great Violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great Valiantness defended; whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their Rescue; but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *William*, his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William St. Maure*, with others, came to their Aid: Upon whose coming, *Perkin* left the Siege, and retired to *Taunton*, where he mustered his Men, as though he meant to prepare for Battel; but finding his Number to be much diminished (for of six thousand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they saw no great ones to take his Part) he began to distrust his Cause; and hearing withal, that the King with a great Power was at Hand, about Midnight, with threecore Horsemen in his Company, he posted away from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beaulieu* near to *Southampton*. When K. *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he sent after him to the Sea-side, to stop his Passage, and apprehend him: But the Messengers that were sent, when they came to *St. Michael's Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his Wife the Lady *Katharine Gordon*, whom they presently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady; to whom, in Honour of her Birth, and Commiseration of her Beauty, the King allowed a competent Maintenance, which she enjoyed during the King's Life, and many Years after. King *Henry*, being come to *Exeter*, stayed there a few Days, about the Examination of the Rebellion, and Execution of the chief Offenders; of whom there being a great Multitude, and all of them craving Pardon, the King caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of *St. Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their Shirts, and Halts about their Necks; whom the King viewing out of a Window made for the Purpose, after he had paused a while, made a Speech unto them, exhorting them to Obedience; and then in Hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects, he pardoneth them all; whereat they made a great Shout, crying all, *God save King Henry*! Though some of them afterward, like ungrateful Wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Followed by the King's Forces, he takes Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*.

King *Henry* pardons *Perkin's* Followers.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary; and the King, thinking himself in Danger as long as he was in Safety, set a Guard about the Place, to keep him from escaping; whereby *Perkin* was so restrained, that at last he submitted himself to the King's Mercy, and was thereupon sent to the Tower, to be there in safe Custody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas Lord Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Paulet*, and *Robert Sherburn*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to be Commissioners for

*Perkin* submits himself to K. *Henry*, and is sent to the Tower.



A.D. 1496 for making Enquiry of the Offenders, and for assessing their Fines, which they did with great Severity to some, with great Mildness to others; to all with Equity.

1499. It was now the fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Genouese's* Son, born at *Bristol*, persuaded the King to Man and Victual a Ship at *Bristol*, to search for an Island, which, he said, he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities; who setting forth with three other small Ships of *London* Merchants, returned home two Years after, when he had made a large Discovery Westward; as likewise six Years before, one *Christopher Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the first Discovery of *America*.

perkin makes Escape out of the Tower.

Submits himself again, and is again sent to the Tower.

Perkin attempting again to escape, is hanged at Tyburn.

Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, for plotting with Perkin, is beheaded.

Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, for plotting with Perkin, is beheaded.

Beast from another, and therefore could never know how to practise his Escape of himself, but by *Perkin's* Subtilty; for which Cause the King favoured him so far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Bissam* by his Ancestors. And thus ended the Designs of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King the Space of seven or eight Years, a great Part of the King's Reign.

But in the Time of *Perkin's* being in the *Tower*, another like Practice was set on Foot; for an *Augustine* Frier, called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Cordwainer's Son, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great Chance gotten out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived some light Credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all Men to assist him. But this Practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted, the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-Tuesday* at *St. Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetual Prison; for at that Time so much Reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest, though he had committed Treason against the King, yet had his Life spared: And this Practice was some Cause to exasperate the King against the Earl of *Warwick*, who, though innocent in himself, yet was nocent in Pretenders; and besides, King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this Time there was a Treaty for Marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain Terms, that he saw no Assurance of his Son's Succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: And thus all Things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his End.

Another Practice to set up one *Ralph Wilford* to be the Earl of *Warwick*.

But the Practice discovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

In the 15th Year of his Reign, partly to avoid the Danger of the Plague then reigning in *England*, but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne* about many important Busineses; the King and Queen sailed over to *Calais*, where, at an Interview between him and the Duke at *St. Peter's Church* without *Calais*, the Duke offered to hold the King's Stirrup at his Alighting, which the King by no Means would permit, but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great Affection; and after Communication between them, the King and Queen in the End of *June* returned into *England*.

1500.

King Henry fails to *Calais*, to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

In his 17th Year two great Marriages were solemnized; the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* was sent by her Father King *Ferdinand* with a puissant Armada of Ships into *England*, where she arrived at *Plymouth* the 2d Day of *October*, and on the 14th of *November* after was espoused openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white, he of the Age of fifteen Years, she of eighteen; at Night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that Night: When Morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for Drink, which before-time he had not used to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the Cause, he answered merrily, saying, I have been this Night in the midst of *Spain*, which is a hot Country, and

1502.

Prince *Arthur* espouseth the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, and all Night.



A.D. 1502 that makes me so dry: Though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in Bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Lady's Portion was two hundred thousand Ducats, her Jointure the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, *Cornwal*, and *Chester*. At this Marriage was great Solemnity and Royal Justings; during which Time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other noble Personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a Conclusion of Marriage, before treated of, between the Lady *Margaret*, the King's eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy, in the Name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady; which Contract was published at *St. Paul's Cross*, on the Day of the Conversion of *St. Paul*; for Joy whereof *Te Deum* was sung, and great Fires were made through the City of *London*: And if such Joy was shewn when the Match was made, what Joy should be shewn now at the Issue of the Match, when by the Union of those Persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms, and *England* and *Scotland* are but one *Great Britain*? The Lady's Portion was ten thousand Pounds, her Jointure two thousand Pounds a Year, after King *James's* Death, and in present one thousand. When this Match was propounded at the Council-Table, some Lords opposed it, objecting, that by this Means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the *Scotish* Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an Accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*. And this Answer of the King passed for an Oracle; and so the Match proceeded, and in *August* following was consummate at *Edenburgh*, and she conducted thither in great State by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Prince *Arthur*, after his Marriage, was sent again into *Wales* to keep that Country in good Order; to whom were appointed for Counsellors, Sir *Richard Pool*, his Kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Phillips*, Sir *William Udal*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleston*, *Henry Marton*, and Dr. *William Smith*, President of his Council; but within five Months after his Marriage, at his Castle at *Ludlow*, he deceased, and with great Solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry*, Duke of *York*, was stayed from the Title of Prince of *Wales* the Space of half a Year, till to Women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katharine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with Child or no. The Towardlines in Learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable, who dying before the Age of sixteen Years, was said to have read over all, or most of the *Latin* Authors, besides many other.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* left a young Widow, King *Henry*, loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some Reluctation, such as could be in those Years (for he was scarce twelve Years of Age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katharine* his Brother's Widow; for which Marriage a Dispensation, by Advice of the most learned Men at that Time in Christendom, was

by Pope *Julius* the Second, granted, and on the A.D. 1502 25th Day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* House in *Fleet-street*, the Marriage was solemnized.

A little before this Time *Edmund de la Pool*, *Edmund de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, Sister to King *Edward* IV. had in his Fury killed a mean Person, and was thereupon indicted of Murther; for which, although he had the King's Pardon, yet because he was brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a Blemish to his Honour, that in great Rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where, having stayed a while, when his Passion was over, he returned again. But after the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine*, whether it were that in that Solemnity he had run himself in Debt, or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second Time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some Doubt of his Intention; whereupon he had Recourse to his usual Course in such Cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson*, Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the Depth of their Intentions: And to take away all Suspicion of his Employment, the first Sunday of *November* he caused the said Earl and Sir *Robert Curson*, with five others, to be accursed openly at *St. Paul's Cross*, as Enemies to him and his Realm. In Conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the King with divers of that Faction; amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Pool*, Brother to the foresaid Earl of *Suffolk*, who were taken but upon Suspicion, yet held long in Prison: But Sir *James Tyrrel* (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the *Tower*) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traitors, were accordingly attainted, and on the 6th Day of *May* at the *Tower-hill* beheaded. Whereof, when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good Success, he wandered about all *Germany* and *France*, where, finding no Succour, he submitted himself at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to King *Henry* by this Occasion: *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof, named *Joan*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger, named *Katharine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *England*: And now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose Death the Kingdom of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife to this Duke *Philip*; they were sailed out of *Germany* into *Spain*, to take Possession of the Kingdom; but by Tempests and contrary Winds were driven upon the Coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where, desiring to refresh themselves a little on Shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principal Knight in that Country) to his House, who presently sent Word to the King of their Arrival. King *Henry*, glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon Hope of a Courtesy from him, which afterward he obtained, sent presently the Earl of *Arundel* to wait upon him, till himself might follow; and

The King of  
Scots marries  
the Lady  
Margaret K.  
Henry's eldest  
Daughter.

Prince *Ar-  
thur*, within  
five Months  
after his Mar-  
riage, dieth.

His Toward-  
lines in  
Learning.

Prince *Henry*,  
not above  
twelve Years  
old, is con-  
tracted to the  
Lady *Katha-  
rine* his Bro-  
ther's Wi-  
dow, by Dis-  
pensation  
from the  
Pope.

*Edmund de la  
Pool*, Earl of  
*Suffolk*, his  
Courses by  
which he of-  
fended King  
*Henry*, and  
what his End  
was.



A.D. 1506 and the Earl went to him in great Magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horse, and for more State came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though King Philip had many Reasons of Haste on his Journey; yet not to give King Henry Distaste, and withal, to give his Queen the Comfort of seeing the Lady Katharine, her Sister; he went with Speed to the Queen at Windsor, while his Queen followed by easy Journeys. After great Magnificence of Entertainment, King Henry taking a fit Opportunity, and drawing the King of Castile into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his Hand civilly upon his Arm, said unto him, Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours. The King of Castile asking him what he meant by that Speech? I mean it, saith the King, by that hare-brain'd Fellow, the Earl of Suffolk, who being my Subject, is protected in your Country, and begins to play the Fool when all others are weary of it. The King of Castile answered, I had thought, Sir, your Felicity had been above those Thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King Henry replied, that his Desire was to have him delivered to him: With this the King of Castile, a little confused, said, That can I not do with my Honour. Well then, said the King, the Matter is at an End. At last the King of Castile, who held K. Henry in great Estimation, composing his Countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his Life. I promise it upon my Honour, said King Henry: And he kept his Promise, for he was not put to Death during all his Reign; but yet he took such Order, that in the Reign of his Son, King Henry the Eighth, he had his Head cut off. During the King of Castile's being here, a Treaty was concluded, and bears Date at Windsor; which the Flemmings term *Intercursus malus*, for that the free Fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treaty of Undecimo, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now when King Henry had received the King of Castile into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son, Prince Henry, admitted to the Order of the Golden-Fleece; and that the Earl of Suffolk was brought over and committed to the Tower, the King of Castile departed home.

Two Calls of Serjeants at Law.

In this King's Time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law; one in his eleventh Year, in which were called nine Serjeants, *Mordant, Higham, Kingesmil, Conisbey, Butler, Taxely, Frowick, Oxenbridge, and Constable*; who kept their Feast at the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holbourn, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth Year, in which were called seven Serjeants, *Robert Bradnel, William Grevil, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, Lewis Pollard, Guy Palmes, and William Fairfax*, who kept their Feast at the Archbishop's House in Lambeth.

King Henry having gotten as much Honour as the Estimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive on getting of Wealth, wherein he quickly found Instruments fit for his Purpose; but especially two,

*Empson and Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer: *Dudley* of a goodly Family, but *Empson* the Son of a Sieve-maker. These two Persons being put in Authority, turned Law and Justice into Rapine. For first, their Manner was, to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then presently to commit them; and not produce them to their Answer, but suffer them to languish long in Prison, and by sundry artificial Devices and Terror, extort from them great Fines; which they termed Compositions and Mitigations. Neither did they, towards the End, observe so much as the half Face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictments; but sent forth their Precepts to attach Men, and convent them before themselves, and some others at their private Houses, and there used to shuffle up a summary Proceeding by Examination, without Trial of Jury; assuming to themselves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies Civil. Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the Subjects Lands with Tenures in *Capite*, by finding false Offices; refusing, upon divers Pretexts and Delays, to admit Men to traverse those false Offices, as by Law they might. Nay, the King's Wards, after they had accomplished their full Age, could not be suffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. When Men were out-lawed in personal Actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable Sums; standing upon the strict Point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives Forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the Half of Mens Lands and Rents during the Space of full two Years, for a Pain in Case of Outlawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, imprison, and fine them. These and many other Courses they had of preying upon the People; but their principal Working was upon Penal Statutes; wherein they considered not whether the Law was obsolete, or in Use; and had ever a Rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their Command, so as they could have any thing found, either for Fact or Valuation. There remaineth to this Day a Report, that K. Henry was on a Time entertained very sumptuously by the Earl of Oxford, at his Castle of Henningham: And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants stood in their Livery-coats with Cognizances, ranged on both Sides, to make the King a Lane. Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and said, My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than is spoken; these handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I see on both Sides of me, are sure your menial Servants! At which the Earl smiled, and said, It may please your Grace, That were not for mine Ease; they are most of them my Retainers, and are come to do me Service at such a Time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. Whereat the King started a little, and said, By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good Chear; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my Sight; my Attorney

A.D. 1506  
Empson and Dudley King Henry's Instruments for raising of Money, and by what unjust Courses.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of Oxford entertains King Henry to his Cost.



A.D. 1506 torney must speak with you about it. And it is Part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a Composition, fifteen thousand Marks. And to shew further the King's extream Diligence, I remember (saith Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, in his History) to have seen, long since, a Book of Accompt, of Empson's, that had the King's Hand almost to every Leaf, by way of signing; and was in some Places postilled in the Margent with the King's own Hand likewise, where was this Remembrance:

Item, Received of such a one five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not pass, the Money to be repaid, except the Party be some other Way satisfied. And over-against this Memorandum (of the King's own Hand) Otherwise satisfied. This, saith he, I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a Nearness, but yet with a kind of Justness.

1508.

In his three and twentieth Year there was a sharp Prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time, for Misgovernment in his Mayoralty: The great Matter was, that in some Payments he had taken Notice of false Moneys, and did not his Diligence to examine who were the Offenders; for which, and some other Things laid to his Charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand Pounds; whereof, being a Man of Stomach, he refused to pay a Farthing; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained until the King's Death. Knefworth likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for Abuses in their Offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon Payment of one thousand four hundred Pounds. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand Pounds; and Sir Lawrence, for refusing to pay it, was committed to Prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his Place. By these Courses he accumulated so great Store of Treasure, that he left at his Death most of it in secret Places, under his own Key, and keeping, at Richmond, as is reported, the Sum of near eighteen hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. But though by this Course he got great Store of Treasure, yet by it he lost the best Treasure (the Peoples Hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such Moneys as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

King Henry at his Death leaves eighteen hundred thousand Pounds.

It seems King Henry, after the Death of his Queen the Lady Elizabeth, had an Inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great Beauty and Virtue of the young Queen of Naples, the Widow of Ferdinando the younger, he sent three confident Persons, Francis Marfin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to make two Enquiries; one of her Person and Conditions, the other of her Estate: Who returning their Answer, that they found her Beauty and Virtues to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension, or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of Naples, as he expected; he then gave over any further meddling in that Matter. After this, another Treaty of Marriage was propounded to the King between him and the Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, only Daughter to

King Henry had concluded to marry the Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy; but protracted by reason of his Infirmary.

Maximilian, and Sister to the King of Castile, a A.D. 1508 Lady wife and of great Fame; in which Business was employed, for his first Piece, the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the End concluded, with ample Conditions for the King, but with the Promise *de futuro* only. Which Marriage was protracted from Time to Time, in respect of the Infirmary of the King; which held him by Fits till he died.

He left Executors, Richard Fox, Bishop of King Henry's Winchester, Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Treasurer of England, Edward Earl of Worcester, and Lord Chamberlain, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. A little before his Death he had concluded a Marriage (in which Negotiation Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was employed) between his younger Daughter, the Lady Mary, of the Age of ten Years, and Charles King of Castile, not much elder; but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to Lewis the French King.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his third Year there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in Britain, That every Man should pay the tenth Penny of his Goods; which Tax, though at first withstood in Yorkshire and Durham, yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh Year, towards his Wars in France, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great Sums of Money were collected of the richer Sort only. In his eleventh Year, a Subsidy of six Score thousand Pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his Wars with Scotland, which caused afterward the Insurrection in Cornwall. In his nineteenth Year a Subsidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth Year he raised great Sums of Money from Offenders against Penal Statutes: The greatest, but the unjustest Way for raising of Money that ever any King of England used; and not content with this, he required, and had at the same Time a Benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was employed Richard Fox, then Bishop of Winchester; who assembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their Contribution; but the Clergy being of two Sorts, rich and poor, made each of them several Excuses: The Rich, and such as had great Livings, said, they were at great Charges in keeping Hospitality, and maintaining their Families; and therefore desired to be spared. The poor Sort alledged, that their Means were small, and scarce able to find them Necessaries, and therefore desired to be forborn. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the Rich, It is true, you live at great Charges in Hospitality, in Apparel, and other Demonstrations of your Wealth; and seeing you have Store to spend in that Order, there is no Reason but for your Prince's Service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer Sort he said, Though your Livings

Bishop Fox's Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the King.



A.D. 1508 be small, yet your Frugality is great, and you spend not in House-keeping and Apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of the Guard when first ordained.

Fines to be final, ordained by this King.

THIS King was the first that ordained a Company of tall, strong Men (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the Person of the King, to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his Time the Authority of the Star-Chamber, which subsisted before by the Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain Cases by Act of Parliament. In his Time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth Fines should be final, and conclude all Strangers Rights. Another for Admission of poor Suitors, *in forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk. Another, that no Person that did assist by Arms, or otherwise, the King for the Time being, should afterward be impeached therefore, or attainted either by Course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none Effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the Sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by Course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left Hand, with the Letter *M*, and Thieves with the Letter *T*; so that if they offended the second Time, they should have no Mercy, but be put to Death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth Year it was ordained by Parliament, That the Mayors of London should have Conservation of the River of Thames, from the Bridge of Stanes to the Waters of Yeudale and Medway. In his seventeenth, Sir John Shaa, Mayor of London, caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the Water-side, when he went to Westminster to be presented in the Exchequer: He also caused the Kitchens and other Offices to be builded at the Guild-hall, where since that Time the Mayor's Feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth Year, King Henry being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, Richard III. Edward IV. Henry VI. Henry V. Henry IV. and Richard II. also of Dukes eleven, Earls twenty eight, Lords forty eight; he now gave the Name and Title of Merchant-Taylors, as a Name of Worship to endure for ever.

The Mayor's Feast when first kept at Guild-hall.

The Title of Merchant-Taylors when first given.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

The Privilege of Sanctuaries abated.

IN the tenth Year of his Reign, Joan Bough-ton Widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certain Opinions of John Wickliffe. In his seventh Year King Henry, finding great Inconvenience by the Privilege of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope Alexander, desiring him by his Authority to adjudge all English-men being fled to Sanctuary for the Offence of Treason, to be Enemies of the Christian Faith, and to prohibit the Privilege of Sanctuary to all such as once

had enjoyed it before. Which Request the A.D. 1508 Pope granted, to the great Contentment of the King, and Quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth Year, being the Year 1500, a Jubilee in Rome was celebrated, whereof Alexander, the then Pope, by his Messenger Gaspar Pons a Spaniard, gave Notice to the King, offering withal, that those who could not come to Rome should notwithstanding, at a certain Price, have Pardons, and as full a Benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came: And to the End the King should not hinder his Purpose, both offered Part of his Gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a War against the Turk; by which Course he gathered great Sums, for which he had other Use than to spend it so idly. In the 22d Year of this King, Pope Alexander VI. died of Poison, by this Accident: He went to Supper in a Vineyard near the Vatican, where his Son Valentinois meaning to poison Adrian, Cardinal of Cornetta, sent thither certain Flagons of Wine infected with Poison, and delivered them to a Servant of his, who knew nothing of the Matter, commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his Appointment. It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate Heat of the Season, called for Drink, his own Provision being not yet come: The Servant that had the poisoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son Valentinois came in and drank also of the same, whereby they were both poisoned; but the Pope only overcome of the Poison died: His Son, by the Strength of Youth, bore it out, though with long languishing.

Pope Alexander VI. poisoned, by what Chance.

Works of Piety and other Structures by him and others.

THIS King magnificently enlarged Greenwich, which Humfrey Duke of Gloucester had formerly builded, calling it Placentia. In his sixteenth Year he new builded his Manor of Sheen, and named it Richmond. He also new builded Baynards-Castle in London. In his two and twentieth Year he finished the goodly Hospital of the Savoy, near Charing-crofs, to which he gave Lands for the relieving of two hundred poor People. This was first called Savoy-place, built by Peter Earl of Savoy, Father to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, about the nine and twentieth Year of Henry III. who made the said Peter Earl of Richmond. The House belonged since to the Duke of Lancaster, and at this Time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first Name of the Savoy. In this King's Time, John Morton being Bishop of Ely, bestowed great Cost upon his House at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, now the House of the Right Honourable the Earl of Salisbury; and at Wisbich-Castle in Cambridgeshire, a House belonging to that See: All the Brick Building was of his Charge. Being afterward Bishop of Canterbury, he bestowed great Sums in repairing and augmenting his Houses at Maidstone, Alington-Park, Charing, Ford, Lambeth, and specially at Knoll in Kent, where he died. King Henry also builded three Houses of Franciscan Friars,

Greenwich enlarged by K. Henry.

Richmond new built.

The Savoy made an Hospital.



A.D. 1508 Friars, which are called *Observants*; one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three others of *Franciscan* Friars, which are called *Conventuals*; one at *Canterbury*, another at *Newcastle*, and a third at *Southampton*. And drawing near his End, he did these Works of Charity: He granted a general Pardon to all Men for any Offence committed against any of his Laws, Thieves and Murtherers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Goals in and about *London*, abiding there for that Cause only. He paid also the Debts of all such Persons as lay in the *Compters* or *Ludgate* for forty Shillings or under, and some also for ten Pounds. In his eighteenth Year the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the high Altar at *Westminster Church*, with a Tavern called the *White-Rose* near adjoining, was taken down; in which Place a most beautiful Chappel was then presently begun to be builded by King *Henry*; the Charges whereof amounted to the Sum of fourteen thousand Pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second Year the great Conduit in *Cheapside*, at the Charges of *Thomas Ilam*, Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Crofs also in *Cheapside* was new builded; towards the Charges whereof *Thomas Fisher*, Mercer, gave five hundred Marks. In his seventh Year the Conduit in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas Hill*, Grocer, late Mayor of *London*. Also this Year *Hugh Clapton*, Mayor of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford upon Avon*; as likewise a fair Chappel toward the South-end of that Town; and near to the same a pretty House of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his Life. He glazed also the Chancel of the Parish-Church in that Town, and made a Way of four Miles long, three Miles from *Ailesbury* towards *London*, and one Mile beyond *Ailesbury*. In his tenth Year *John Tate*, Mayor of *London*, builded the Church of *St. Anthony*, with a Free-School, and certain Alms-houses for poor Men. In his Time his Mother, the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, builded two Colleges in *Cambridge*, one called *Christ's College*, the other *St. John's*, and endowed them with large Possessions for the Maintenance of Learning. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, founded *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*; and *William Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-nose* College: He also builded at *Litchfield* an Hospital, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor Men; as likewise a Free-School, with a School-master, and an Usher. *Anne Aveling* gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cirencester*. In his Time also *John Alcock*, Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*: And in his two and twentieth Year *Thomas Knefworth*, Mayor of *London*, builded the Conduit at *Bishopsgate* at his own Charge; and gave to the Fishmongers certain Tenements, for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four Pounds a Year; also to poor People and Prisoners in *Ludgate* something Yearly. In his twentieth Year Sir *William Capel*, Mayor of *London*, caused all *Houndsditch* to be paved over, which till that Time had lain very noy-

ously to all Travellers that Way. In his fourteenth Year all the Gardens without *Moor-gate* (which had continued Time out of Mind) were destroyed; and of them was made a plain Field for Archers to shoot in. In this King's Time also, *Thomas Savage*, Archbishop of *Tork*, repaired the Castle of *Carwood*, and the Manor of *Scorby*, and founded the Chappel at *Macclesfield* in *Cheshire*, where he was born. Also in his Time Sir *Stephen Jenings*, Mayor of *London*, founded a Free Grammar-School at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, where he was born; and gave Lands sufficient for a Master and an Usher, leaving the Over-sight to the Merchant-Tailors in *London*. In this King's Time also, *John Colet*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, founded *St. Paul's School*, in the Church-yard there.

### Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his first Year happened the Sicknefs called the *Sweating-sicknefs*; which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands. And in his two and twentieth Year the like Sweating-sicknefs happened again; but, by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

In his second Year Wheat was sold for three Shillings the Quarter, Bay-Salt at the like Price. In his seventh Year Wheat was sold at *London* for twenty Pence the Bushel, which was counted a great Dearth. In his tenth Year Wheat was sold at *London* for six Pence the Bushel, Bay-Salt for three Pence half-penny, *Nantwich* Salt for six Pence, White Herrings nine Shillings the Barrel, Red Herrings three Shillings the Cade, Red Sprats six Pence the Cade, and *Gascoigne* Wines for six Pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth Year *Gascoigne* Wine was sold at *London* for forty Shillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four Shillings, and Bay-Salt four Pence the Bushel.

The 22d of *August*, 1485, the very Day that King *Henry* got the Victory of King *Richard*, a great Fire was in *Bread-street* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parson of *St. Mildred's*, and one other Man in the Parsonage there.

In his tenth Year, indigging a new Foundation in the Church of *St. Mary-Hill* in *London*, the Body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred seventy five Years before, was found whole of Skin, and the Joints of her Arms pliable; which Corpse was kept above Ground four Days, without Annoyance, and then again buried.

In his twelfth Year, on *St. Bartholomew Day*, at the Town of *St. Neots* in *Bedfordshire*, there fell Hail-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

In his thirteenth Year, on the 21st Day of *December*, suddenly in the Night brake out a Fire in the King's Lodgings, being then at his Manor of *Sheen*; by Violence whereof a great Part of the old Building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth Year the Town of *Braham* in *Norfolk* was burnt: Also this Year a great Plague happened, whereof many People died in many Places, but especially in *London*, where there died in that Year thirty thousand.

In

The Crofs in *Cheapside* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-street* builded.

*Christ's College*, and *St. John's* in *Cambridge* founded.

*Corpus Christi* College and *Brazen-nose* in *Oxford* founded.

*Jesus College* in *Cambridge* founded.

*Houndsditch* was first paved.

Two Sweating Sicknefs.

The Price of Corn and other things in his Time.

A dead Body found whole of Skin above a hundred Years after it was buried.

Hailstones 18 Inches about.



A.D. 1508 In his twentieth Year, Allum, which for many Years had been sold for six Shillings a Hundred, rose to five Nobles a Hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth Year the City of *Norwich* was well near consumed with Fire. Also in the same Year, in *July*, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an Hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no Man hurt.

The great Tempest which drove King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *St. Paul's*; and in the Fall, it fell upon a Sign of the Black Eagle, which was in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, in the Place where the School-house now standeth, and battered it, and broke it down. This the People interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House, as indeed it proved; for this King *Philip* being the Emperor's Son, arriving in *Spain*, sickned soon after; and being but thirty Years of Age, deceased; upon whose Decease, his Wife, Queen *Joan* (out of her tender Love to him) fell distracted of her Wits.

#### Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the Age of nineteen Years; whom two Years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned. She lived his Wife eighteen Years, and died in Child-bed in the *Tower of London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very Day on which she was born; and is buried at *Westminster*, in the magnificent Chappel and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: His eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth Day of *September*, in the second Year of his Reign, and died at *Ludlow*, at fifteen Years old and a half; and of this short Life some Cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth Month after Conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Mary's* in *Worcester*, where in the South-Side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any Remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth Day of *June*, in the seventh Year of his Father's Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth Year of his Father's Reign, and died at five Years of Age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lies buried at *St. Peter's* in *Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth Day of *November*, in the fifth Year of her Father's Reign; and at fourteen Years of Age was married to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the Fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter; which three last died all of them young; and after the Death of her Husband, King *James* (slain at *Flodden-field* in Fight against the *English*) she was re-married to *Archibald Dowglas*, Earl of *Angus*, in the Year 1514, to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the Age of nine

Queen Elizabeth died the very Day on which she was born.

Births in the eighth Month not long liv'd.

Margaret Queen of Scots, her Issue.

Months, and lieth interred in the upper End of A.D. 1508 the Chancel in the Parish-Church of *Stepney*, near *London*. Her second Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for Personage the goodliest Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch *James* the First, King of *Great Britain*. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henry's* second Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, was born in the Year 1492; at three Years of Age died, and was buried at *Westminster*. His third Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three Months after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katharine*, was born in the Year 1503, in the eighteenth Year of her Father's Reign, and died an Infant.

The Lady Arbella's Parentage.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great Strength; of Stature somewhat higher than the common Sort; his Eyes grey, his Hair thin; of a fair Complexion, and pleasing Countenance. Concerning his Conditions: He had in him the Virtue of a Prince, and of a private Man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was politick, if not rather that he was wise; for though he used Tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of Necessity; always Peace, but with Conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was less addicted to bodily Pleasures of any Kind than he. Three Pleasures he had, but in three Cases; one for Safety, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth; in all which he attained his End. His great Respect of the Church was seen by his great Employment of Church-men; for through the Hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Ursuicke*, the greatest Part of all his Negotiations passed. He was frugal from his Youth, not covetous, till antient and sickly; and therefore what Defect he had in that Kind, must be attributed to Age and Weakness. The City of *London* was his Paradise; for what good Fortune soever befel him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all Matters of Importance he would ask their Advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their Hands. He was no great Lover of Women; yet all his great Fortune, both precedent and subsequent, came by Women: His own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his Transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himself, King of *England*, and married to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; by Means whereof, as he was the Prince that joined two Roses in one, so he was the Founder of joining the two Kingdoms in one. And lastly, it may be said of him



A.D. 1508 him, as was said by one, of *Augustus Caesar* — *Hic Vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti sapius audis:* For *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred Years before had prophesied of him; and of later Time King *Henry* the sixth plainly foreshewed him.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

IN the two and twentieth Year of his Reign he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a Defluxion also taking into his Breast, wasted his Lungs, so that thrice in a Year, and specially in the Spring, he had great Fits and Labours of the Ptfick, which brought him to his End, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth Day of *April*, in the Year 1508, when he had lived two and fifty Years, reigned three and twenty and eight Months: Being dead, and all Things necessary for his Funeral prepared, his Corpse was brought out of his privy Chamber into the great Chamber, where it rested three Days, and every Day had there a Dirge and Mass sung by a Prelate Mitred; and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained also three Days, and had a like Service there, and so three Days in the Chappel. Upon *Wednesday* the ninth of *May*, the Corpse was put into a Chariot, and over the Corpse was a Picture of the late King laid on Cushions of Gold; and the Picture was apparelled in the King's rich Robes, with a Crown on the Head, and a Ball and Scepter in the Hands: When the Chariot was thus ordered, the King's Chaplain and a great Number of Prelates set forward, praying: Then followed all the King's Servants in Black: Then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every Side were carried Torches, to the Number of six hundred: And in this Order they came from *Richmond* to *St. George's Field*; where there met with it all the Priests and religious Men within the City and without; the Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all cloathed in Black, met with the Corpse at *London-Bridge*, and so the Chariot was brought throughout the City, to the Cathedral of *St. Paul*; where the Body was taken out, and carried into the Choir, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where, after a solemn Mass, was preached a Sermon by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*. The next Day the Corpse in like Manner was removed to *Westminster*, Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the King's Banner. In *Westminster* was a curious Hearse full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corpse; and then was the Corpse taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double railed. When the Mourners were set, *Garſter*, King at Arms, cried, *For the Soul of the noble*

*Prince Henry the Seventh, late King of this* A.D. 1508 *Realm*. The next Day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops; and after the Masses was offered the King's Banner and Courſer, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm; and at the End of the Mass, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin; and when the Choir sung *Libera me*, the Body was put into the Earth: Then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the King's Household, brake their Staves, and cast them into the Grave. Then *Garſter* cried with a loud Voice, *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieme, Roy d'Angleterre & de France, Syre d'Irlande*: And thus ended the Funeral.

#### Of Men of Note in his Time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be seen in the History of this King's Reign. For Men of Letters in his Time, of Forreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus*, a great *Hebrician*; *Leonicens*, *Gattamaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus*, Physicians; *Augustinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulensis* and *Pigbius*, Philosophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who restored again the Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue. Of our own Country there lived in his Time, *George Ripley*, a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, who wrote divers Treatises in the *Mathematicks*; and after his Death was accounted a Necromancer. *John Erghom*, born in *York*, a Black-Frier, studious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the Works he wrote, may appear; *Thomas Mallorie*, a *Welsh-man*, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round-Table; *John Rouſe*, born in *Warwickſhire*, a diligent Searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatises of Historical Argument; *Thomas Scroop*, surnamed *Bradley*, of the noble Family of the *Scroops*, entered into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himself to his House, where for twenty Years he lived the Life of an *Ancho-ret*; and after, coming abroad again, was made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambassage; from whence being returned, he went bare-footed up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the Ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred Years old; *John Tonneys*, an Augustine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other Things, printed by *Richard Pinſon*; *Robert Fabian*, a Sheriff of *London*, and an Historiographer; *Edmund Dudley*, the same Man whom King *Henry* used to take the Forfeitures of Penal Statutes, who wrote a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*; *John Bockingham*, an excellent School-man; and *William Blackney*, a Carmelite Frier, Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian lived at this Time.



The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's Reign.

A.D. 1485

In his first Year,  
SIR Hugh Brice was Mayor.  
John Tate, John Swan, or Swans, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
Sir Henry Collet was Mayor.  
John Percival, Hugh Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
Sir William Horne was Mayor.  
John Fenkel, William Remington, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
Sir Robert Tate was Mayor.  
William Isaac, Raphe Tilney, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
Sir William White was Mayor.  
William Capell, John Brooke, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
John Mather was Mayor.  
Henry Cote, or Coote, Robert Revell, and he  
dying, Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh Year,  
Sir Hugh Clopton was Mayor.  
Thomas Wood, William Browne, Sheriffs.

In his eighth Year,  
Sir William Martin was Mayor.  
William Purchase, William Welbeck, Sheriffs.

In his ninth Year,  
Raphe Ostrich, or Astrie, was Mayor.  
Robert Fabian, John Winger, Sheriffs.

In his tenth Year,  
Sir Richard Chawrie was Mayor.  
Nicolas Alwin, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh Year,  
Sir Henry Colet was Mayor.  
Thomas Knefworth, Henry Somer, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth Year,  
John Tate was Mayor.  
Sir John Shaa, Sir Richard Haddon, Sheriffs.

A.D. 1497

In his thirteenth Year,  
William Purchase was Mayor.  
Bartlemew Rede, Thomas Window, or Windout,  
Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth Year,  
Sir John Percival was Mayor.  
Thomas Bradbury, Stephen Jenings, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth Year,  
Sir Nicolas Alwin was Mayor.  
James Wilford, Thomas, or Richard Brond,  
Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth Year,  
Sir William Rennington was Mayor.  
John Hawes, William Steed, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth Year,  
Sir John Shaa was Mayor.  
Laurence Aylmer, Henry Hede, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth Year,  
Sir Bartlemew Reed was Mayor.  
Henry Keble, Nicolas Nives, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth Year,  
Sir William Capell was Mayor.  
Christopher Hawes, Robert Wats, and Thomas  
Granger, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth Year,  
Sir John Winger was Mayor.  
Roger Acheley, William Browne, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first Year,  
Sir Thomas Knefworth was Mayor.  
Richard Shoare, Roger Grove, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second Year,  
Sir Richard Haddon was Mayor.  
William Copinger, Thomas Johnson, William  
Fitz-Williams, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third Year,  
William Browne was Mayor.  
William Butler, John Kyrkeby, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth Year,  
Sir Stephen Jenings was Mayor.  
Thomas Exmewe, Richard Smith, Sheriffs.



THE

LIFE and REIGN of

## King HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1509

**K**ING Henry the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince Henry, Heir by his Father of the House of Lancaster, and by his Mother of the House of York, by unquestionable Right succeeded in the Crown, at the Age of eighteen Years, on the two and twentieth of April, in the Year 1509; who having been trained up in the Study of good Letters all his Father's Time, he governed at first as a Man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book, in so regular and fair a Manner, that as of Nero's Government there was said to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; so of this King's there might as justly be said, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps Double so long a Time, comparable with so much Time of any King's Reign that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a Degree of Change as he did, we shall then have a fit Place to shew when we come to the Time of his Alteration. King Henry having learned by Books, that the Weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one Man's Shoulders, if it be not supported by able Counsellors, made it his first Care to make Choice of an able Council; to which he called William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England; Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Treasurer of England, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Steward of his Household, Charles Somerset, Lord Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Henry Wyatt, Doctor Thomas Ruthal, and Sir Edward Poynings. By Advice of these Counsellors, his first Act, after the Care of his Father's Funeral, was the Care to perform his Father's Will, in marrying the Lady Katharine of Spain, the Relict of his Brother Prince Arthur; to which perhaps, but in respect of filial Piety, he had not the greatest Devotion; and for relinquishing whereof, he might, no doubt, more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, than his Father had done, for getting it to be allowed; but Obsequiousness to his Father's Desire, and Respect to his Council's Advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both; and so on the third Day of June following, he married the said Lady at the Bishop of Salisbury's House in Fleet-street; where, of many great Solemnities, I will remember but this One; that though the Bride were

His Choice  
of good  
Counsellors.

He marries  
the Lady Katharine,  
the Relict of his  
Brother Arthur.

a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin-widow, A.D. 1509 she was attired all in White, and had the Hair of her Head hanging down behind at the full Length; and then (having made in the Tower tour and twenty Knights of the Bath) two Days after, being Midsummer-day, he was Crowned at Westminster, together with his Queen, by the Hands of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Circumstances of State in such Cases usual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the People being asked whether they would receive him for their King? They all with one Voice cried, *Yea! Yea!*

This done, his next Act was another Part of performing his Father's Will, which was to proclaim Pardon for all Offences (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have Restitution made of all Goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such Injustice are always most odious; and nothing gives the People so much Contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished: He therefore caused Empson and Dudley, the Two chief Actors of the late unjust Proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferior Agents, called Promoters, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wight, Simpson and Stockton, to be set on the Pillory in Cornhill, with Papers on their Heads, and then to ride through the City with their Faces to the Horse-tails; with the Shame whereof, in seven Days after, they all died in Newgate. Shortly after, a Parliament was called, whereof Sir Thomas Ingleby was chosen Speaker; and therein Empson and Dudley were attainted of High-Treason, and after arraigned. Edmund Dudley in the Guild-hall, on the seventeenth of July, and Sir Richard Empson at Northampton in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the Year following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower-hill, and their Bodies and Heads buried, the one at White-Friers, the other at the Black.

Empson and  
Dudley committed to the  
Tower.

1510.  
Both of them  
beheaded.

On Midsummer-Eve, at Night, King Henry came privily into Cheap-side, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: And this first Year King Henry spent in Justs and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence always, and sometimes with great Acts of Valour, on the King's Part especially.

In February the same Year, Ambassadors came from the King's Father in Law, the King of



A.D. 1510 of Arragon, requiring Aid against the Moors, in which Service the Lord Thomas Darcey, a Knight of the Garter, making Suit to be employed, he was sent thither, and with him the Lord Anthony Gray, Brother to the Marquess Dorset, Henry Guildford, Wolstan Browne, and William Sidney, Esquires, of the King's House, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Roger Hastings, Sir Ralph Elderton, and others; who, on the Monday in the Rogation-week, departed out of Plymouth-Haven with four Ships Royal; and on the first of June arrived at the Port of Cadiz in South-Spain; of whose coming the King of Arragon hearing, sent to bid them Welcome; but advertising them withal, that he had now, by Reason of new Troubles with France, taken Truce with the Moors, and therefore they might return again to their own Country; to whom yet he allowed Wages for all his Soldiers. Whereupon the Lord Darcey and all his Men went aboard their Ships; but Henry Guildford, Wolstan Browne, and William Sidney, desirous to see the Court of Spain, went thither, and were honourably entertained. Henry Guildford, and Wolstan Browne were made Knights by the King; who gave to Sir Henry Guildford a Canton of Granado; and to Sir Wolstan Browne, an Eagle of Sicily on a Chief, to the Augmentation of their Arms: William Sidney so excused himself, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into England.

Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Wolstan Browne, Honours done them in Spain.

Sir Edward Poynings sent to aid the Duchesse of Savoy.

During the Time that the Lord Darcey was in Spain, the Lady Margaret, Duchesse of Savoy, Daughter unto Maximilian the Emperor, and Governesse of Flanders, and other the Low-Countries, pertaining to Charles the young Prince of Castile, sent to King Henry for fifteen hundred Archers, to aid her against the Duke of Gelders, which the King granted; and thereupon Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's House, is appointed to go, accompanied with his Son in Law the Lord Clinton, Sir Matthew Browne, Sir John Digby, John Werton, Richard Witherill, and others, to the Number of fifteen hundred, took Shipping at Sandwich, and passing over to the said Lady-Regent, did her there great Service; for which John Norton, John Fogge, John Scot, and Thomas Linde were Knighted; and then with many Thanks and Rewards returned, not having lost in all the Journey, by War or Sicknes, above an hundred Men.

Sir Edward Howard, Admiral, representeth Andrew Barton, a Scottish Pirate.

In the third Year of King Henry's Reign, one Andrew Barton, a Scottish Pirate, was grown so bold, that he robbed English-men no less than other Nations, till the King sent his Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, to repress him; who in a Fight so wounded the said Barton, that he died; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the Men Prisoners to London; and though their Offence deserved no less than Death, yet the King was so merciful as to pardon them all, provided they departed the Realm within twenty Days. The King of Scots hearing of the Death of Barton, and taking of his Ships, sent to King Henry, requiring Reitution; but King Henry answered his Herald, That he rather looked for Thanks for sparing their Lives, who so justly had deserved Death.

In the third Year also of K. Henry's Reign, A.D. 1512 the French King made sharp War against Pope Julius the Second: Whereupon King Henry wrote to the French King, requiring him to desist from his War against the Pope, being his Friend and Confederate. But when the King of France little regarded his Request, he then sent him Word to deliver his Inheritance of the Duchy of Normandy and Guyen, and the Countries of Anjou and Mayne; as also his Crown of France, or else he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of France was not moved with this Threatning neither, King Henry then joining in League with the Emperor Maximilian, with Ferdinand King of Spain, and with divers other Princes, resolved by Advice of his Council to make War on the King of France; and to that End made Preparation both by Sea and Land.

King Henry makes Preparation for War with France.

This Year the King kept his Christmas at Greenwich, in a most magnificent Manner. On New-Year's-Day was presented one of his jovial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what his Shews at other Times were, I think fit to set down at large. In the Hall was made a Castle, garnished with Artillery and Weapons, in a most Warlike Fashion; and on the Front of the Castle was written, *La Fortresse Dangereuse*: Within the Castle were six Ladies cloathed in Russel-Satin, laid all over with Leaves of Gold; on their Heads Coifs and Caps of Gold. After this Castle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it, in came the King with five others, apparelled in Coats, one Half of Russel-Satin, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other Half of rich Cloth of Gold; on their Heads Caps of Russel-Satin, embroidered with Works of fine Gold. These six assaulted the Castle, whom the Ladies seeing so lusty and couragious, they were contented to solace with them; and upon further Communication, to yield the Castle; and so they came down and danced a long Space: After that, the Ladies led the Knights into the Castle, and then the Castle suddenly vanished out of their Sights. On the Twelfth-day, at Night, the King with eleven more were disguised, after the Manner of Italy, called a Mask; a Thing not seen before in England. They were apparelled in Garments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Visors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done, these Maskers came in, with six Gentlemen disguised in Silk, bearing Staff-Torches, and desired the Ladies to dance; and after they had danced and communed together, took their Leave and departed.

One of King Henry's jovial Devices.

The five and twentieth of January began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir Robert Sheffield, Knight, where the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed the Wrong which the King of France did to the King of England, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that War should be made on the French King and his Dominions.

The War with France concluded by Parliament.

At this Time King Ferdinand of Spain, having War with the French King, wrote to his Son in Law King Henry, that if he would send over an Army into Biscay, and invade France on that Side, he would aid them with Ordnance, Horses, and



A.D. 1512 and all other Things necessary: Whereupon Thomas Gray, Marquess Dorset, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord Howard, Son and Heir to the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Brook, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Ferrers, the Lords John, Anthony, and Leonard Gray, all Brothers to the Marquess; Sir Griffith ap Rice, Sir Maurice Barkley, Sir William Sands, the Baron of Burford, and Sir Richard Cornwall his Brother; William Hufsey, John Melton, William Kingstone, Esquires, and Sir Henry Willoughby, with divers others, to the Number of ten thousand; who taking Ship at Southampton, on the sixteenth of May, the third of June they landed on the Coast of Biscay; whither, within three Days after their Arrival, came from the King a Marquess and an Earl to welcome them; but of such Necessaries as were promised, there came none; so as the English being in some Want of Victuals, the King of Navarre offered to supply them, which they accepted; and promised thereupon not to molest his Territories. After the Army had lain thirty Days, looking for Aid and Provision from the King of Spain, at last a Bishop came from the King, desiring them to have Patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full Contentment. In the mean Time the English-men, forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into such Sicknes, that many of them died, at least eighteen hundred Persons; which the Lord Marquess seeing, he sent to the King to know his Pleasure; who sent him Answer, that very shortly the Duke of Alva should come with a great Power, and join with him; and indeed the Duke of Alva came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to join with him, as was promised; but being come within a Day's Journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of Navarre; and entering the same, chased out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of Spain's Use. This Spanish Policy pleased not the English, who finding nothing but Words from the King of Spain, and being weary of lying so long idle, they fell upon some small Towns in the Borders of Guyen; but, for want of Horses, as well for Service as Draught, were unable to perform any great Matter. At which Time, being now October, the Lord Marquess fell sick, and the Lord Howard supplied his Place of General: To whom the King of Spain once again sent, excusing his present coming, and requiring him, seeing the Time of Year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and disperse his Companies into Towns thereabouts, till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his Promises. Hereupon the Lord Howard and his Company went to Rendre, the Lord Willoughby to Gorfchange, and Sir William Sands, with many other Captains, to Fontarabia. K. Henry in the mean Time hearing what the King of Spain's Intention was, sent his Herald Windsor with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very shortly he meant to send them a new Supply of Forces, under the Conduct of the Lord Herbert his Chamberlain; but this Message so incensed the Soldiers, that in a great Fury they had slain the Lord Howard, if he had not yielded presently to return Home; who thereupon was forced to

hire Ships, and in the Beginning of December A.D. 1512 they landed in England, being taught, by this Experience, what Truith is to be given to Spanish Promises.

About the same Time that the Marquess went into Spain, Sir Edward Howard, Lord Admiral of England, with twenty great Ships, made forth towards Britain; where, setting his Men on Land, he burned and wasted divers Towns and Villages; and being threatened by the Lords of Britain to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir Edward Brook, Brother to the Lord Cobham; Sir Griffith Down, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Burdet, Sir William Pirton, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Bull. The Britains were ten thousand, the English but five and twenty hundred; yet the Britains, not contented with this Advantage of Number, would needs use Policy besides: For, by the Advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his Men, that as soon as the Battels were joined, they should retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the English into some Disadvantage: But the common Soldiers not knowing their General's Purpose, and supposing he had seen some present Danger, instead of retiring, took their Heels and fled; so giving the English by their British Policy, if not a Victory, at least a Safety to return to their Ships. After which the Britains sued for Truce, and could not obtain it; for the English Admiral pursued his Foraging the Country, till fearing there were many French Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of Wight. King Henry in the mean Time followed his Pleasures, and in June kept a solemn Just at Greenwich, where he and Sir Charles Brandon took up all Comers; and the King shewed himself no less a King at Arms than in Estate.

After this, King Henry having prepared Men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Government of Sir Anthony Oughtred, Sir Edmund Ichingham, William Sidney, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Isle of Wight, there to join with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair Ships; and to Portsmouth he went himself to see them; where he appointed Captains for one of his chiefest Ships called *The Regent*, Sir Thomas Knevet, Master of his Horse, and Sir John Carew of Devonshire; and to another principal Ship called *The Sovereign*, he appointed for Captains Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guildford; and then making them a Banquet, sent them going. The French King likewise had prepared a Navy of nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of Brest, whereof the Chief was a great Carrick, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of Britain, and there entred a terrible Fight; the Lord Admiral made with the great Ship of *Deep*, and chased her; Sir Charles Brandon and Sir Henry Guildford being in the *Sovereign*, made with the great Carrick of Brest, and laid Stem to Stem to her; but whether by Negligence of the Master, or by reason of the Smoak from the Ordnance, the *Sovereign* was cast at the Stern of the Carrick; whereat the French-men shouted

An. Reg. 5.  
1514.

The two  
Fleets of the  
French and  
English have  
a terrible  
Fight.



A.D. 1514  
Sir Thomas Knevet, in the King's Ship called the Regent, drowned.

King Henry builds the great Ship called Henry Grace de Dieu.

It is concluded in Parliament that King Henry in Person should invade France.

Edmund de la Pool Earl of Suffolk put to Death.

Sir Charles Brandon is created Viscount Lisle.

shouted for Joy; which Sir Thomas Knevet seeing, suddenly he caused the *Regent*, in which he was, to make to the *Carrick*, and to grapple with her a long Board; and when they of the *Carrick* perceived they could not get asunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the Stream the Ships turned, and the *Carrick* was on the Weather-side, and the *Regent* on the Lee-side; at which Time a cruel Fight passed between these two Ships: But in Conclusion the *English-men* entred the *Carrick*; which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set on Fire the Gunpowder, as some say; though others affirmed, that Sir Anthony Oughtred followed the *Regent* at the Stern, bouged her on divers Places, and set her Powder on Fire; but howsoever it chanced, the *Carrick* and the *Regent* both were consumed by Fire. In the *Carrick* was Sir Piers Morgan, and with him nine hundred Men: In the *Regent* were Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir John Carew, and with him seven hundred Men, all drowned and burnt. King Henry, to repair the Loss of the *Regent*, caused a great Ship to be built, such a one as had never been seen in England, and named it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Though King Henry had hitherto followed his Pleasures, as well agreeing with his Youth and Constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer Studies; for he frequented daily his Council-table, and no Matter of Importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed; as was now a War with France, which he would not enter into upon his own Head, nor yet upon Advice of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament: Whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, That himself in Person, with a Royal Army, should invade France, and towards the Charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

On May Even this Year, Edmund de la Pool Earl of Suffolk was beheaded on the Tower-hill. This was that Earl of Suffolk whom King Philip, Duke of Austria, had delivered up into the Hands of King Henry VII. upon his Promise that he would not put him to Death; which indeed he performed; but his Son King Henry VIII. was not bound by that Promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his Place, Sir Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle.

For all the great Preparation for France, King Henry forbore not his Course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at Greenwich, with divers curious Devices, in a most magnificent Manner. In March following, the King's Navy Royal, to the Number of two and forty Ships, was set forth under the Conduct of Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, Sir Woolstan Brown, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir Anthony Poinings, Sir John Wallope, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz-Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney, Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sailing to Britain, came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anchor in Sight of the French Navy, whereof one Prior John was Admiral; who keeping himself close in the Haven of Brest, the English Admiral in-

tended to assail him in the Haven; but because A.D. 1514 his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toll out the French; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail Prior John and his Gallies, lying in Whitland-Bay, and after set upon the rest of the French Fleet in the Haven of Brest: And it was further appointed, that the Lord Ferrers, Sir Stephen Bull, and others, should go on Land, with a convenient Number, to assault the Bulwarks which the French had there made; while the Admiral with Row-barges, and little Gallies, entred into the Bay, that so the French-men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a Trick by himself; for by the Advice of a Spanish Knight, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little Danger, he called to him William Fitz-Williams, William Cook, John Colley, and Sir Woolstan Brown, as his most trusty Friends, making them privy to his Intent, which was to take on him the whole Enterprize with their Assistance only; and so confident he was of Success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in Person, to have the Honour of the Enterprize himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon, on Saint Mark's Day, the Admiral put himself in a small Row-barge, and appointed three other small Row-ships, and his own Ship-boat to attend him, therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where Prior John had moored up his Gallies just to the Ground; which Gallies, with the Bulwarks on the Land, shot most cruelly; yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the French-men: The Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the French-men perceiving, they entered the Gallies again with Morris-Pikes, and began a new Fight: Whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row-barge, which by Violence of the Tide was driven down the Stream, with a Pike was thrown over-board and drowned; the just Issue of his Head-strong Enterprize; the forenamed Alphonso was there also slain: Upon which sorrowful Accident, the Lord Ferrers with the rest returned into England. After whose Departure Prior John came forth with his Gallies, and coasting over the Borders of Suffex, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord Thomas Howard, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of Surrey; who so scowered the Seas, that the French were no more to be seen on any Coast of England.

King Henry had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great Magnificence: He will not perform them with less, being now in Earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: And therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War in France himself in Person, he sent before to prepare the Way for him, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury High Steward of his

U u u

Household,

Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, following his own Head. strong Device is drowned.



A.D. 1514 Household, accompanied with the Lord Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, the Lord Dowckerey Prior of St. John's, Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Cobham, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Thomas Cornwall and others, to the Number of eight thousand, who arrived at Calais about the Middle of May: After him, in the End of May, followed Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Gray Earl of Kent, the Lord Stafford Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, Sir Edward Hufsey, Sir Edward Dimmock, Sir David Owen, with others to the Number of six thousand. These Generals joining together,

An Army of King Henry's fits down before Terouin.

The King comes thither himself, and has his Army marshalled.

The Number of the French Army.

issued out of Calais, and on the two and twentieth Day of June sat down before the strong Town of Terouin, which City was strongly fortified; and in it was Governor the Lord Poul-treny, who had with him six hundred Horsemen, and five and twenty hundred Almaines, besides the Inhabitants. Here at the very first happened two Disasters to the English; one, that the Baron Carew was slain with a Shot from the Town; the other, that Sir Nicholas Vaux, and Sir Edward Belknappe coming from Guisnes with four and twenty Carts of Provision, were set upon by the Duke of Vendosme, Lieutenant of Picardy, and many of the English slain, and the Provision taken. In this State was the English Camp at Terouin, when King Henry the last Day of June, came himself to Calais, and on the one and twentieth of July took the Field, having in his Army of fighting Men not above nine thousand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thousand and three hundred Men: His forward was led by Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle, his main Battel by himself, and Sir Henry Guildford carried his Standard; and in this Order he marched forward to the Siege of Terouin, entring upon the French Ground the five and twentieth of July. On the Morrow after, by Negligence of the Carters, that mistook the Way, a great Gun called the John Evangelist, was overthrown in a deep Pond of Water, and could not at that Time be recovered; but a few Days after, the Master Carpenter taking with him a hundred Labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was set upon by eight hundred French, and the most of his Company slain: The Gun was taken by the French, and carried to Boulogne. In the French Army were to the Number of eleven thousand Foot-men, and four thousand Horse; whereof were Captains, the Lord de la Palyce, the Lord de Priennes, the Duke de Longueville, the Earl of St. Paul, and the Lord of Floringes, the Lord of Clermont, and Richard de la Pool, an English-man, Son to John Duke of Suffolk. The Armies were come within two Miles of one another, and some light Skirmishes passed between them, specially one on a Day called The dry Wednesday, for the Day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army stood in Order of Battel, from six o' Clock in the Morning till three in the Afternoon: After this, the King removed towards Terouin; and as the Army marched, another of the King's Bombards of Iron, called

the Red Gun, was overthrown in a Lane, and there left; which the French understanding, went with a great Power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord Berners, Captain of the English Pioneers, prevented them; and though set upon by the French to the Number of nine or ten thousand, yet by the Valour of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with the bold Adventures of Sir William Tyler, and Sir John Sharp, they recovered it, and brought it safe to the Camp. On the fourth of August King Henry came before the City of Terouin, where he strongly fortified himself with Ordnance, and other warlike Defences. In which mean time, the Captain of Boulogne, knowing that many of the Garrison of Calais were gone with the King, thought to take Advantage of their Absence, and do some great Exploit upon Calais; and thereupon, with a thousand Men, came to Newnham Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward some of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming so near the Walls of Calais, that they were descried; about six Score Coopers and other Artificers issued forth, and driving them back, recovered again Newnham Bridge, and took divers of them Prisoners; especially when the Gate of Calais, called Boulogne Gate, was opened, and that Colepeper the under Marshal, with two hundred Archers issued forth, and joined with them. The French Prisoners were brought to Calais, and there sold in open Market; amongst others, a Cooper of the Town of Calais, bought a Prisoner that dwelt in Boulogne, and had of the Prisoner for his Ransom, a hundred Crowns. When the Money was paid, the French-man prayed the Cooper to see him safe delivered, and to conduct him out of Danger; the Cooper was content, and went himself alone with the French-man, till he came beyond the Cawsley, and there would have departed; but the French-man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no Rescue was nigh, by Force took the Cooper Prisoner, and carried him to Boulogne, making him pay two hundred Crowns before he was delivered.

Calais defended by Coopers and other Artificers.

A foolish Soldier well served.

Whilst King Henry lay thus at the Siege of Terouin, on the eleventh of August the Emperor Maximilian was come to Ayre; which King Henry understanding, went and met him between Ayre and the Camp, where with great Complements they saluted each other; but their Complements were broken off by the extream foul Weather which happened that Day: The Morrow after, the Emperor Maximilian came from Ayre to the King's Camp, wearing a Cross of St. George, as the King's Soldier; and receiving Wages of him for Service, an hundred Crowns a Day: An Honour never done to any King of England before; and yet was no Disparagement to the Emperor; for he was Royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperor before had ever been a Soldier to a King, so no Soldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this Time the City of Terouin being in some Distress for want of Victuals, the French King appointed all his Horsemen, to the Number of eight thousand,

The Emperor Maximilian takes Pay of King Henry as his Soldier.



A.D. 1514

The English defeat the French in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

Terouin is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry lays Siege to Tournay.

land, to see Victuals by any Means convoyed into it; the Charge of which Convoy was committed to Monsieur De Priennes: But King Henry, by Advice of the Emperor Maximilian, had made Bridges to pass his Men over the River to the other Side of the Town, where was easiest Access; in such sort, that when the French Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entered the Town, they found an English Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them: But in Conclusion the French were put to Flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs; for that they used more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of Longueville, the Lord of Cleremont, Captain Baynard, and others, to the Number of twelve score, were taken Prisoners, and all brought to the King's Presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir John Pechye Banneret, and John Carre Knight, who had both of them done great Service in this Encounter. King Henry having obtained this Victory against the French Horlemen, and hindred the Town of Terouin from Relief of Victuals, and withal plying his Battery more fiercely than before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire Composition, and upon Condition, that the Soldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the King's Hands. This was done on the eighteenth of August, and the Earl of Shrewsbury entered the Town the same Night, and set up the Banner of St. George in the highest Place of it, in Sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of England. The four and twentieth of August, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishop's Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of Terouin should be rased, and the Town burnt, all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace: All the Ordnance was sent to Ayre, to be kept there to the King's Use.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay Siege to the City of Tournay: Whereupon he set forward in three Battels; the Earl of Shrewsbury led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this Order the King's Army marched forwards towards Tournay; by the Way, he went and visited the young Prince of Castile, and the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Prince, in the Town of Lisle, where, with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three Days he took his Leave, and being gone a Mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no Man there could tell the Way, and Guide they had none, the Night was so dark and misty: By Chance at last they met with a Victualler coming from the Camp, who was their Guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what Distress a great Prince might be brought by a little Oversight.

On the one and twentieth Day of September, the King removed his Camp towards Tournay, and being come within three Miles of the

Town, he sent Garter King of Arms to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few Men of War amongst them, yet stood upon their Guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all Sides, and made such fierce Batteries upon it, that though it were written on the Gates of the Town, graven in Stone, *Jamais tu n'as perdu ton Pucelage*; thou has never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: And in Conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for Mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand Pounds Sterling besides, for Redemption of their Liberties: And then Master Thomas Wolsey, the King's Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of England; the Number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done the King entred into Tournay, and calling into his Presence Edward Guildford, William Fitz-William, John Dansie, William Tyler, John Sharp, William Hussey, John Savage, Christopher Garnish, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knighthood. And then remembring the great Entertainment the Prince of Castile and the Lady Margaret had given him at Lisle, he would not be behind them in such Courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of Tournay, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great Triumph: During their Abode in Tournay, amongst other Complements of Entertainment, there was had a Just, where the King and the Lord Lisle answered all Comers. After the Justs, was a sumptuous Banquet: After the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, and richly apparelled with Bonnets of Gold: And when they had passed the Time at their Pleasures, the Garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, take them that could. This was King Henry's Disposition, that he could not forbear reviling in the Midst of his Arms, and Ladies must be entertained as well as Soldiers. And here Maximilian the Emperor finding the French Forces to be but weak, persuades King Henry to proceed on and pursue his Victories; but he being young, and of a quiet Disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the War for any Cause of his own, but to revenge the Injuries done to the Pope; and thinking by this already done the French sufficiently lessoned to acknowledge their Error, and the rather for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this End to the War: And so taking his Leave of the Emperor, and leaving Sir Edward Poynings Governor of Tournay, he returned to Calais, and from thence into England, then rode in Post to the Queen at Richmond.

Whilst King Henry was thus busied in his War with France, the King of Scots, though his Brother in Law, yet instigated by the French King, and taking Advantage of King Henry's Absence, assembled his People to invade England; but before his whole Power could come together, the Lord Humes his Chamberlain, with seven or eight thousand Men entred the Borders; but as he was returning with a great Booty of Cattel,

A.D. 1514

Tournay is delivered unto King Henry.

King Henry makes a solemn Just in Tournay.

The King of Scots invades the English Borders, but is repelled.



A.D. 1514 Cattel, in a Field over-grown with Broom, called *Mill-field*, he was encountered by Sir Edward Bulmer, having with him not above a thousand Men; who lying in that Field in Ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to Flight with the Slaughter of five or six hundred of his Company, and four hundred taken Prisoners. The Lord Humes himself escaped by Flight, but his Banner was taken: And this by the Scots was called, *The ill Rode*. In the mean time the whole Power of Scotland was assembled, no fewer than one hundred thousand Men; though Buchanan, in Favour of his Country, saith, not the fifth Part of that Number: And with these King James approaching the Borders, and coming to *Norham-Castle*, laid Siege unto it; which, for want of Powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this Time the Earl of Surrey, Lieutenant of the North-parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand Men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Soldiers, came and joined: And now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their Station; and then was informed, that King James being removed six Miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impossible to come near him but with great Disadvantage; for at the Foot of the Hill, on the Left-hand, was a great Marsh-ground full of Reeds and Water; on the Right-hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep, that it was not passable; on the Back-side were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that Part; the Fore-part of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordnance. Being in such a Hold, the Earl of Surrey found there was no Possibility of a Battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: Whereupon he called a Council, by which it was determined to send *Rouge-Crofs*, Pursuivant at Arms, with a Trumpet to the King of Scots, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it: Whereunto the King of Scots, by his Pursuivant *Ilay*, made Answer, that at the Day prefixed he should find him ready for Battel as he desired; that he would willingly have come to such a Match if he had been at *Edenburgh*: But though he made this Answer, yet he would not leave the strong Hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill. At last *Thomas Lord Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of Surrey, having viewed the Country round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small Compass, and come with his Army on the Back of his Enemies, he should enforce the Scottish King to come down out of his Strength, or else stop him from receiving of Victuals or any other Thing out of Scotland. This Counsel of the Lord Howard, his Father followed; and King James perceiving what their Meaning was, thought it stood not with his Honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm; and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other; which the Earl of Surrey perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the Scots, before they should have Leisure to fortifie their Camp: And herewith making A.D. 1514 a short Speech for Encouragement of his Soldiers, he divided his Army into Battels: The Vanguard was led by the Lord Howard, to whom was joined as a Wing, Sir Edward Howard; the Middle-ward was led by the Earl himself; and the Rere-ward was led by Sir Edward Stanley; the Lord Dacres with a Number of Horsemen, were set apart by himself, to succour where Need should be; the Ordnance was placed in the Front, and in other Places, as was thought most convenient: And in this Order they march forwards towards the Scots. On the other Side King James reckoning upon the Benefit of the Hill, thought the English half mad, to venture a Battel upon such Disadvantage; and thereupon making a Speech to encourage his Soldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this Manner: The main Battel he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the Right led by the Earls of Huntley, Crawford, and Montrose; the Left by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, together with the Lord Humes, L. Chamberlain: And so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after, all the Lords and meaner Men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which Confidence was afterward their undoing: For when the Battel being joined, Sir Edward Howard, in getting up the Hill, was assaulted by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest Peril to be slain: In comes the Lord Dacres with his Horsemen, and trod under Foot the Scottish Battel of Spears on Foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this Part of the Scottish Army being led by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to Flight. In another Part also Sir Edward Stanley did the like upon the Battel led by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, putting it to Flight with the Slaughter also of these two Earls. King James notwithstanding, maintained a Fight still with great Resolution, till Sir Adam Forman his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of Success, he rushed into the thickest of his Enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his Death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was Alexander Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the King's base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords; of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken Prisoners (as Paulus Jovius saith) amongst whom was Sir William Scot, Chancellor to the said King, and Sir George Forman his Serjeant Porter; the Lord Humes and the Lord Huntley got Horses and escaped. Neither was the Battel without Blood to the English; for there was slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken Prisoners; for many in pursuing the Scots went rashly so far, that they knew not which Way to return; and by Bands of Scots that had not fought that Day, were set upon and taken. When the Field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords

The Battel  
called *Flod-*  
*don* Field.

How the Eng-  
lish Army was  
marshalled.

How the Sco-  
tish Army was  
marshalled.

The King of  
Scots slain.



A.D. 1514 Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights; as Sir Edward Howard his Son, the Lord Scroop, Sir William Piercy, Sir Edward George, and others. This Battel was fought on Friday the ninth of September, in the Year 1513, called by some Brampston, by some Floddon Field. King James here slain was the same that had married the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of King Henry VII. and Sister to the present King Henry, and might have enjoyed many happy Days, if he had kept himself firm to his Alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate Spleen between the two Nations, and Propension to France, he ended his Life, though honourably, yet miserably, under many Wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible Thing, which (from the Mouth of a very credible Person who saw it) George Buchanan relates concerning this King; That intending to make a War with England, a certain old Man, of venerable Aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sat, said, I am sent to thee, O King, to give thee Warning, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy Ruin: And having so said, he pressed through the Company, and vanished out of Sight; for by no Enquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frightened with Phantasms, and no Warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The Day after the Battel, his Body, though disfigured with Wounds, was known by the Lord D'acres and others to be his; and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in Lead, was brought to the Monastery of Sheen in Surrey, and there interred; but at the Dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a waste Room amongst Timber and Stone; which John Stow saith he so saw; and farther relateth, that the Servants of Lancelot Young, Glasier to Queen Elizabeth, being at Sheen, in new glazing the Windows, either upon a foolish Pleasure, or Desire of the Lead, cut the Head from the rest; but smelling the sweet Perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the Lead, found therein the Head of a Man, retaining Favour, though the Moisture were clean dried up, whose Hair both of Head and Beard was red; which afterward he caused to be buried at St. Michael's Church in Woodstreet, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this Relation of Stow, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord Bauchard slain in that Battel: Buchanan saith, of Alexander Elfinston, who in Countenance and Stature was like the King; and that King James was seen alive the same Night at Kelfo, whence he passed to Jerusalem, and there spent the rest of his Days in holy Contemplation: But howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in Scotland.

King Henry being now returned from Tourney into England, and finding the great Services done in his Absence against the Scots; on the Day of the Purification of our Lady, at Lambeth he created the Earl of Surrey Duke of Norfolk, with an Augmentation of the Arms of

Scotland; Sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle, he A.D. 1514 created Duke of Suffolk; the Lord Howard, High Admiral, he made Earl of Surrey; Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, his chief Chamberlain, Earl of Worcester; and shortly after Sir Edward Stanley he made Lord Monteagle; and in March following, Master Thomas Wolsey his Almoner, was made Bishop of Lincoln. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this Man, that he be not a Rub afterward in the Way of the Story: He was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, the Son of a Butcher, sent to Oxford by reason of his Pregnancy of Wit, so soon, that taking there the first Degree of Art, he was called the Boy Batchelor; proceeding in Learning, he was made Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterward School-master of the School there, at which Time the Marquess Dorset committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his Gift, sent for him one Christmas, and bestowed it upon him; whereof Wolsey going to take Possession, at his being there, for what Misdemeanor is not delivered, he was by Sir Amyas Paulet set by the Heels, which afterwards he remembered to Sir James his no small Trouble, for he made him attend his Pleasure five or six Years; all which Time he lay in the Middle-Temple, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the Street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinal's Arms upon it, to appease him. After this Disgrace he went over Sea, where he fell in Acquaintance with Sir John Naphant, Treasurer of Calais, and by him was preferred to be King Henry the Seventh's Chaplain: And now being by this Means in the King's Eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the King's Heart. One Time it happened, the King had Occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperor Maximilian, about a Business that required Haste; for which Employment no Man was thought more fit than Wolsey; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all Speed he could, Wolsey departed from the King at Richmond about Noon, and by the next Morning was got to Dover, and from thence by Noon that Day was come to Calais, and by Night was with the Emperor; to whom declaring his Message, and having a present Dispatch, he rode that Night back to Calais, and the Night following came to the Court at Richmond. The next Morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the Matter requiring Haste; to whom Wolsey answered, that he had been with the Emperor, and had dispatched the Business, and for Proof shewed the Emperor's Lines: The King wondered much at his Speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special Matter he had forgotten: Whereto Wolsey answered, May it please your Grace, I met him Yesterday upon the Way, but that Business I had dispatched before, taking the Boldness so to do without Commission, as knowing it to be of special Consequence; for which Boldness I humbly entreat your Grace's Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of Lincoln, and

Thomas Wolsey, his Parentage, Education, and Rising.

The same that had married the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of K. Henry VII.

A Vision that appeared to King James, deborting him from the Battel.

Dukes and Earls created.

X x x

soon



A.D. 1514 soon after made him his Almoner. In this State K. Henry the Eighth found him, with whom also he grew into such Favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won *Tournay*, made him Bishop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the Death of Doctor *Smith*, made him Bishop of that Diocese. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but soon after he was raised higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbishop of *York* dying, he was translated from *Lincoln* to that See: And that he might not be inferior to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legate à *Latere*; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of *England*: And being come to his Height of Dignity, he so carried himself in Expences of Household, in Number of Retinue, and in all Circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since hath in any Degree come near him: And, if we may say it, he was the first Debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the End he might have the managing of all Matters himself, he perswaded the King that he should not need trouble himself with frequenting the Council-Table as he did, but take his Pleasure, and leave those Things to his Council, whereof himself would always give him true Information. This was plausible Counsel, and no Marvel if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the Mouth of so great a Prelate.

The Fields about *Islington*, *Hoxton*, and *Shoreditch*, laid open.

In this fifth Year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themselves grieved with the Inclosures of the common Fields about *Islington*, *Hoxton*, and *Shoreditch*, and other Places adjoining, went one Morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat, though the King's Council were at first offended, yet the Mayor and City shewed them such Reasons, that they rested satisfied, and the Fields were never since hedged.

The Pope gives King Henry the Title of *Christianissimo*.

On the nineteenth of *May* this Year, Pope *Julius* the Second sent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *Christianissimo* from him upon King *Henry*, which with great Solemnity was published the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*; but this Solemnity must not pass without Revelling, Masques, and Jufts; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were Defendants against all Comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville* and the Lord of *Clermont* to be Spectators, spread the Fame of their Chivalry into foreign Nations.

And now the great Love that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemmings*, began to abate upon this Occasion: King *Henry* the Seventh had concluded a Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*; but by reason of her young Years, and for want of Assurance of Jointure, the Match was deferred during his Time, but now King *Henry* the Eighth seeing his Sister of convenient Years, began to call upon it, and signify so much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other Ends, or out of *Spanish* Delays, put him off with Excuses, and at last sent him Word plainly, they could do nothing in it that

Year. The King of *France* had soon Intelligence how much King *Henry* distasted these *Spanish* Dealings, and meant to make some good Use of it, for the Ends he began to propose to himself; which were to get the Lady *Mary* for himself, and thereby procure Peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this Purpose he got the new Pope *Leo* the Tenth to be his Mediator, and both of them sent Ambassadors to King *Henry*; the Pope to perswade him to have Peace with *France*, the French King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, upon whose Ambassages King *Henry*, partly to satisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Sister, did not unwillingly hearken to the Motions: But while this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of these Intentions) began again to play his Pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the Coast of *Sussex*, burnt *Bright-helmstead*, and took away the Goods he found in the Village: Whereupon the Lord Admiral sent Sir *John Wallope* to Sea, with divers Ships, and eight hundred Men, who for one Village that *Prior John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great Honour of himself and his Country.

And now King *Henry*, by Advice of his Council, and specially of *Wolsey*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Sister the Lady *Mary* with the French King; but yet it stuck a while upon some Differences, King *Henry* demanding *Boulogne*, and the King of *France* *Tournay*: In Conclusion these Demands were waved, and the principal Conditions were, first, concerning the Lady's Jointure; that she should have two and thirty thousand Crowns of Yearly Revenues, if she survived the King; and then concerning this Peace, that the French King should pay Yearly to King *Henry*, for five Years, one hundred thousand Crowns, and the Peace to continue between them during their Lives, and a Year after, and bound reciprocally to assist each other with ten thousand Foot, if the War were by Land; with six thousand, if by Sea. All Things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen; and on the second of *October* taking Shipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *John Peckye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyne*, Sir *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not past half way over the Sea, their Ships by Tempest were dispersed, and the Lady, with some Jeopardy, landed at *Boulogne*, where Sir *Christopher Garnish* was fain to stand in the Water, and take her in his Arms, and so set her on Shore; and there the Duke of *Vendosme*, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From *Boulogne* the eighth of *October* she came to *Abbeville*, where the Dauphin received her: On the Morrow being Saint *Dennis's* Day, she came to Saint *Dennis*, where the Marriage between the King of *France* and her was solemnized (though some write it had been solemnized before at *Abbeville*.) The fifth of *November* she was Crowned Queen of *France*; at which Time the Dauphin held the Crown

A Peace is concluded with *France*; and the King of *France* marries the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry's* younger Sister.

1515.

The She is Crowned Queen of *France*.



A.D. 1515 Crown over her Head, as being too maffy for her to wear; and the Day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent Manner. In Honour of whose Marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* ordered a solemn Just to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the 7th of *November*. Upon Report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheyney*, and others, obtained Leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great Valour, but specially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose Glory the *Dauphin* so much envied, that he got a *Dutchman*, the tallest and strongest Man in all the Court of *France*, secretly as another Person to encounter him, with a Purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater Honour; for he foiled the *Dutchman* in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main Strength took him about the Neck, and so pommelled him about the Head, that he made the Blood issue out at his Nose: Many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three Days the Justs ended.

A Just proclaimed in Paris by the Dauphin.

Where Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, won great Honour.

King *Henry* was not long behind to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the *Christmas* following, on *New-Years* Night, and *Twelfth* Night, he presented such strange and magnificent Devices as had seldom been seen; and the third of *February* following, he held a solemn Just, where he and the Marquess *Dorset* answered all Comers; at which Time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the Ground one that encountred him both Man and Horse.

The King of France, 82 Days after his Marriage, dies.

Anno Reg. 7. 1516.

The Duke of Suffolk sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of France, marries her.

At this Time Preparation was making for King *Henry* in Person to go to *Calais*, there to meet with the *French* King and Queen, but Death hindered the Design; for before the next Spring, the first of *January*, the *French* King died at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two Days after his Marriage; teaching others by his Example, what it is for an old Man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* King's Death, sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Dr. *West*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who, obtaining her Good-will to be her Husband (which was no hard Matter, that had been her first Love) wrote to the King her Brother for his Consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then married at his Return; but the Duke for more Surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to *Calais*, and there openly married her with great Solemnity. At their coming into *England*, King *Henry*, to shew his Contentment with the Marriage, in the Company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, all richly apparelled, held a new kind of Justs, and running Courses on Horseback in Manner volant, as fast as one could follow another, to the great Delight of the Beholders.

A new kind of Justs used by K. Henry.

This Year the King being at his Manor of *A.D. 1516* *Okings*, *Wolsey*, Archbishop of *York*, came and shewed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal; but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: After which Dr. *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, finding *Wolsey*, being no Cardinal, to meddle more in his Office of Chancellorship than he could well suffer, resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Wolsey*. About this Time Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to sollicit him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Wolsey* was joined in Commission; who, hearing of the ragged Retinue of his Fellow-Cardinal, sent Store of red Cloth to *Calais* to make them fit Followers of so great a Lord: And when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Wolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Blackbeath*; where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinal Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with Necessaries; but *Wolsey* not thinking them enough for his Honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the Shame of Pride; for in *Cheapside* his Mules, by some Mischance, overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the Ground, whose Lids flying open, shewed the World what Treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shoes, broken Meat, Marrow-bones, and Crusts of Bread, exposing him to the Laughter of all the People; yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Ax and Mace, unto *St. Paul's* Church; and by the Way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in the Name of the City, and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to *Bath Place*, where he was lodged: For his own Particular, he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*: But the Errand he came about, which was to have Aid by Money for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a Device to get Money, without any Intention of what was pretended.

Wolsey is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellor.

In his seventh Year King *Henry* kept his *Christmas* at his Manor of *Eltham*, where, on *Twelfth-night*, according to his Custom, was a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dancing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

Anno Reg. 7.

It was now the eighth Year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the new League between him and the *French* King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: And this Year *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, eldest Sister to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*, by reason of Diffension amongst the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to fly into *England*, and to seek Succour at her Brother's Hands, who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* to reside in, where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon

Margaret Queen of Scots, King Henry's Sister, comes into England.



A.D. 1517 upon the third of May, Queen Margaret riding on a white Palfrey, which the Queen of England had sent her, behind Sir Thomas Parre, came through London to Baynard's Castle, and from thence went to Greenwich: But her Husband the Earl of Angus was secretly before departed into Scotland; which when King Henry heard, he only said it was done like a Scot. And now in Honour of his Sister's coming, King Henry the nine and twentieth of May appointed two solemn Days of Jufts, where the King, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew, Esq; took upon them to answer all Comers; amongst others, the King and Sir William Kingston ran together, which Sir William, though a strong and valorous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the Ground: All the rest was performed with no less Valour than Magnificence. This Year died the King of Arragon, Father to the Queen of England; for whom was kept a solemn Obsequy in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and Queen Margaret, after she had been a Year in England, returned into Scotland.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons sent to build a Castle at Tournay. Cardinal Wolsey erects divers new Courts.

In this Year were sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of Tournay, to build a Castle there, to keep the City in Awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing so many Causes himself, as were daily brought before him, ordained by the King's Commission, after the Pattern of Moses, divers Under-courts to hear Complaints of Suitors; whereof one was kept in Whitehall, another before the King's Almoner, Dr. Stokesley, a third in the Lord Treasurer's Lodging near the Star-Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls, in the Afternoon. These Courts for a Time were much frequented; but at last the People perceiving that much Delay was used in them, and that Sentence given by them bound no Man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and resorted to the Common Law. By Occasion of this Government of the Cardinal, who, under Colour of Justice, did what he pleased, many great Men withdrew themselves from the Court; as first the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, who went and lived in their Dioceses; then the Duke of Norfolk, and at length the Duke of Suffolk, being run deep into the King's Debt, by reason of his many Employments into France, and his great House-keeping since his Marriage with the King's Sister, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would, no doubt, have done it, but that the Cardinal opposed it, to the End the Duke should be the more at his Command.

In October this Year, Matthew, Bishop of Sion, commonly called the Cardinal of the Swissers, came into England from the Emperor Maximilian; by whose soliciting, and Cardinal Wolsey's Perswasion, the King lent the Emperor a great Sum of Money; for Wolsey being angry with the King of France for detaining the Revenues of his Bishoprick of Tournay, persuaded King Henry, that the best Way to abate the French King's Power, was to furnish the Emperor with Money, the better to maintain War against him; and what Wolsey said, was in those Days to King Henry an Oracle.

This Year the King kept his Christmas at his A.D. 1517 Manor of Greenwich, where, on Twelfth-night, according to his Custom, rare Devices with great Magnificence were presented; after which King Henry Time the King exercised himself much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good Sport to him; for one Time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, so that if one Edmund Mody a Foot-man had not leaped into the Water, and lift up his Head, which was fast in the Clay, he had been drowned.

In this Year also there happened in the City of London an Insurrection against Strangers, specially Artificers, complaining that Strangers were permitted to resort hither with their Wares, and to exercise Handy-crafts, to the great Hindrance and Impoverishing the King's own Subjects; and not only so, but that they were born out in many great Insolencies and Wrongs they offered to the English; as one Time it happened, a Carpenter in London, called Williamson, had bought two Pigeons in Cheapside, and was about to pay for them, when a French-man took them out of his Hand, saying, They were no Meat for a Carpenter: Well, said Williamson, I have bought them, and I will have them: Nay, said the French-man, I will have them for my Lord Ambassador: Hereupon they grew to Words, and Complaint was made to the French Ambassador, who so aggravated the Matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was sent to Prison; and when Sir John Baker sued to the Ambassador for him, he answered, By the Body of God, the English Knave was worthy to lose his Life for denying any thing to a French-man; and other Answer he could have none. Many like and worse Insolencies were offered by Strangers, which one John Lincoln a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Dr. Beale, Preacher on Easter-Tuesday at the Spittle, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which so stirred up many, that Strangers could hardly pass the Streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beat down. At last, one Evening, many Apprentices and others assembling, rifled some Strangers Houses, and much Mischief was like to be done; but by the Care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the Industry of Robert Brook Recorder, and Sir Thomas More, that had been Under-Sheriff of London, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the Disturbers were sent to Prison, whereof Lincoln and twelve others were hanged, four hundred more in their Shirts, bound in Ropes, and Halters about their Necks (and thereupon called The Black Waggon) were brought to Westminster, where the King himself sat that Day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the Greatness of their Offence, they all cried, Mercy, Mercy: And then the King, by the Mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which Clemency purchased the King no small Love amongst the People.

In his ninth Year, in June, King Henry had many Ambassadors at his Court; for whose Anno Reg. 9. 1518. Entertainment he prepared a costly Just, himself and twelve more against the Duke of Suffolk and other twelve. The King had on his Head a Lady's Sleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps



A.D. 1518 perhaps something else of the Lady's in his Heart, which made him perform his Courses with the Applause of all Beholders. This Year, by reason of a Sweating-sickness, Michaelmas Term was adjourned: And the Year following Trinity Term was held one Day at Oxford, and then adjourned again to Westminster.

About this Time Cardinal Wolsey obtained of Pope Leo Authority to dispense with all Offences against the Spiritual Laws; by Virtue whereof he set up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legate*, in the which he proved Testaments, and heard Causes, to the great Hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm, and to the debauching of Priests and religious Persons, who, relying upon his Greatness, took such a Liberty of Licentiousness to themselves, that none were more disorderly than those that were in Orders; and supposing, perhaps, they might lawfully commit such Sins themselves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinal's Carriage exceeded all Bounds of Moderation; for when he said Mass, he made Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, with a Say taken, and to hold the Basin at the Lavatory: And when the Archbishop of Canterbury, writing a Letter to him, subscribed, Your Brother William of Canterbury, he took it in great Dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal Wolsey makes Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Basin at the Lavatory.

An. Reg. 10. 1519.

A Treaty between the Kings of France and England to have Tournay delivered back, and upon what Conditions.

It was now the tenth Year of King Henry's Reign, when the King of France, longing much to have Tournay restored to him, by great Gifts, and greater Promises, won the Cardinal Wolsey to move the King in it; who, upon his Persuasions, was contented to be treated withal about it: To which the King of France sent the Lord Bonquet, High Admiral of France, and the Bishop of Paris, who, in their Attendance, having above fourscore Gentlemen, and, with their Servants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in England, and on Monday the seven and twentieth of September, were met at Blackheath by the Earl of Surrey, High Admiral of England, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to London, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors-Hall. The last of September the Ambassadors went to the King at Greenwich, where, after long Communication, an Agreement was at last concluded under Pretence of a Marriage to be had between the Dauphin of France and the Lady Mary, Daughter to the King of England; that in Name of her Marriage-Money, Tournay should be delivered to the French King, he paying to the King of England, for the Castle he had made in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve Years, but fifty thousand Crowns Yearly: And if the Marriage should chance not to take Effect, then that Tournay should be again restored to the King of England; for Performance of which Articles Hostages should be delivered; namely, Monsieur de Momorancie, Monsieur de Monpesac, Monsieur de Moy, and Monsieur Morret; and moreover, the French King should pay to the Cardinal of England a thousand Marks Yearly, in Recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Bishoprick of Tournay. All Things thus concluded, the Cardinal made for the Ambassador a solemn Banquet, and afterward pre-

sented them with a stately Mummary. The A.D. 1519 eighth of October the King feasted them at Greenwich, and at Night presented a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare Devices and great Magnificence: The next Day Sir Thomas Exmew, Mayor of London, feasted them at Goldsmiths-Hall, and then, delivering their four Hostages, they took their Leave. At whose Departure the King gave to the Admiral of France a Garnish of gilt Vessel, a Pair of covered Basons gilt, twelve great gilt Bowls, four Pair of great gilt Pots, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Pearls; and to some other he gave Plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to some rich Apparel, to the great Commendation of his Liberality. Shortly after their Departure, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir John Pechy, and Sir Thomas Bullen, as Ambassadors from the King of England, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the Number of above four hundred, passed over to Calais, and from thence went to Paris; where, after Royal Entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and stately Shews, they took their Leaves and rode to Tournay, to see the City delivered to the French-men, on the eighth of February, to the great Grief of the English Garrison. After the English Ambassadors were returned, King Henry, to cheer up the four French Hostages left here for Performance of Covenants, on the seventh of May, presented a solemn and stately Mask, wherein himself, the Duke of Suffolk, and the French Queen were Actors: And on the eighth of March following was a solemn Just holden, and with great Magnificence performed.

In the eleventh Year of King Henry's Reign died the Emperor Maximilian, for whom the King caused a solemn Obsequy to be kept in St. Paul's Church. After whose Death the French King and the King of Spain endeavoured, by sundry Plots, each of them to get the Empire; but in Conclusion, Charles King of Castile (afterwards called Charles V.) was elected Emperor; for Joy whereof a solemn Mass was sung at St. Paul's the seventh of July, at which were present the Cardinal Campejus, the Cardinal of York, the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, France, Venice, and Scotland: And this Year the King kept St. George's Feast at Windsor with great Solemnity.

An. Reg. 11. 1520. The Emperor Maximilian dieth; Charles, King of Castile, is elected in his Place, called Charles V.

At this Time divers young Gentlemen that had been in France, after the Manner of that Country, carried themselves so familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a Disparagement to him; and thereupon, with his Leave first obtained, they banished them the Court; and in their Places brought in more stayed and graver Men, namely, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Richard Feringham, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston.

Young Gentlemen, after the French Fashion, being over-familiar with the King, are banished the Court.

In the Summer of this Year, the Queen, lying at her Manor of Havering in Essex, desired the King to bring thither the four Hostages of France, to whom she made a Royal Banquet, and in September following, the King lying at his Manor of New-hall in Essex, otherwile called

Y y y

Beaulieu,



A.D. 1520 *Beaulieu*, where he had newly built a stately Mansion, invited the Queen and the French Hostages thither; where, after a sumptuous Banquet, he presented them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Maskers were the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Essex*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Richard Weston*, and Sir *William Kingston*; the youngest of whom was fifty Years old at least, that the Ladies might see what Force they had to make Age young again.

A Mask of all Lords.

An Interview agreed upon between the two Kings of France and England.

At this Time the French King was very desirous to see the King of England, with whom he had entered into such a League of Alliance, and to that End made Means to the Cardinal, that there might be an Interview between them at some convenient Place: To which the Cardinal, not so much to satisfy the French King, as to shew his own Greatness in France, easily condescended; and thereupon persuaded King Henry how necessary it was, that such an Interview should be: And then there were sent to *Guynes*, under the Rule of Sir *Edward Belknappe*, some say three thousand, but *Godwin* saith eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Masons, six hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaziers, and other Artificers, who spent two Months in erecting the Building builded on the Plain before the Castle of *Guynes*, a most stately Palace of Timber, curiously garnished without and within: Whither both the Kings in June next following, agreeing to come, and to answer all Comers at the Tilt, Tournies, and Barriers; whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of England, by *Orleans* King of Arms of France, and in the Court of France by *Clarenceux* King of Arms in England: Whilst these Things were preparing on *Candlemas-Even*, as the King and Queen were come from *Even-song*, at their Manor of *Greenwich*; suddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queen's Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Waggon, in which sat a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen there present, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to answer all Comers at the Tilts, on a Day by the King to be appointed; which Day was thereupon appointed on *Shrove-Tuesday* next ensuing, where they all behaved themselves with great Valour, to the great Delight of the King and Queen.

The Emperor Charles comes into England.

By this Time King Henry was ready for his Journey into France, and so removing from his Manor of *Greenwich*, on Friday the five and twentieth of May, he with his Queen arrived at *Canterbury*, where he meant to keep his *Whitsuntide*. At which Time the Emperor *Charles*, returning out of *Spain*, arrived on the Coast of *Kent*, where, by the Vice-Admiral of England, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he was conducted to Land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great State. After which the King himself rode to *Dover*, to welcome him; and on *Whitsunday* early in the Morning, conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they spent all the *Whitsuntide* in great Joy and Solace. The chief Cause that moved the Emperor at this Time to come on Land, was to have dissuaded the King from any Interview with the French King; but

when he saw him so forward in that Journey, he then only endeavoured to persuade him, that he should put no Truth in the French King's Words, and with great Gifts and Promises, prevailed with the Cardinal to join with him in this Persuasion. The last of May the Emperor took his Leave, and the same Day the King made sail from *Dover* and landed at *Calais*, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of June the King and Queen removed from *Calais* to his Princely Lodging beside the Town of *Guynes*, the most Royal Building that ever was seen: Likewise Francis the French King had his Lodging prepared close to the Town of *Ard*, in a strange, but most magnificent Fashion. Both Kings had given Power and Authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind, whatsoever should be in Difference between them; no less an Honour to the Cardinal than a Confidence in the King. On Thursday the seventh of June, the Kings met in the Vale of *Audran* so magnificently attired, both themselves and all their Followers, that from thence it was called the *Camp of Cloth of Gold*. Here they spent that Day in loving Complements, and at Night departed, the one to *Guynes*, the other to *Ard*. On Saturday the ninth of June, were set up in a Place, within the English Pale, two Trees of Honour, with stately Rooms and Stages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, most Royally accompanied; where in most magnificent Manner they performed Acts of Valour, both on Foot and Horseback; and after them, all the great Lords both of France and England did the like. This Solemnity of Jufts and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth Day of June; at which Time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: The French King and Queen removed to *Ard*, the King and Queen of England to *Calais*, where he remained till the tenth of July, and then riding toward *Graveling*, was by the Way met by the Emperor, and by him conducted thither, and there in most Royal Manner entertained; whereof when the French King heard, he began from that Day forward to have King Henry in a kind of Jealousy, as though to love him and the Emperor both were inconsistent, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of July, the Emperor, and his Aunt, the Lady *Margaret* Duchess of *Savoy*, came with the King of England to the Town of *Calais*, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of July. In which Time, all the Articles of the League Tripartite, between the Emperor and the Kings of England and France were reviewed; to which the King of France had so fully condescended, that he had sent Monsieur *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of Credence; that on the Word of a Prince he would inviolably observe and keep them all: All which, notwithstanding, he dispensed with his Conscience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday, July 14, the Emperor took his Leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his Queen returned into England.

It was now the twelfth Year of King Henry's Reign, when being returned from *Calais*, he kept his Christmas at *Greenwich* with great Magnificence;

The two Kings meet in so magnificent a Manner, that the Place was called the *Camp of Cloth of Gold*.

The King of France is jealous of King Henry's Kindness to the Emperor.

Articles of League between the Emperor and the two Kings of England and France, broken by the King of France.



A.D. 1520 nificence; and on *Twelfth-day*, he and the Earl of *Devonshire* maintained a solemn Just against all Comers.

The Cardinal had long born a Spleen against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and now finds Means to work his Will.

The Cardinal had long bore a Grudge against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for speaking certain Words in his Disgrace, and now hath made his Way for Revenge. It is said, that the Duke once holding the Balon to the King, the Cardinal, when the King had done, presently dipped his Hands in the same Water; which the Duke disdaining, shed the Water in his Shoes; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatened him, that he would sit upon his Skirts. The Duke, to shew that the King might take Notice of the Cardinal's Malice, came the next Day to Court richly apparelled, but without Skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, What he meant by that strange Fashion? He answered readily, that it was done by Way of Prevention; for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his Skirts. But this Jest did the Duke no good, for the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Admiral, who had married the Duke's Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Duke's special Friend, he had caused upon certain suggested Crimes to be imprisoned; so as the Duke having his Friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to Accusations, and Accusations shall not be wanting; for the Duke having, some Time before, put from him in Displeasure one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him; him the Cardinal gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of Desire of Revenge, or out of Hope of Reward, or that the Matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinal, that this Duke had once fully determined to make away the King; being brought into a Hope to be King himself, by a vain Prophecy, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monk of a House of the *Charter Order*, besides *Bristol*, called *Henton*) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold Mis-doings. And now had the Cardinal Matter enough for Accusation, which he aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the Tower by Sir *Henry Morney*, Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guild-hall*, before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers Points of High-Treason; the Substance whereof was, that in the second Year of the King's Reign, and at divers Times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the King's Death at *London*, and at *Thornbury* in *Gloucestershire*; and that in the sixth Year of the King's Reign, he went in Person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had Conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord *Abergavenny*, who had married his Daughter, that if King *Henry* died without Issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these Points he was arraigned in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as High-Steward of *England*,

the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the A.D. 1520 Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Derby*; the Lord of *St. John*, *De la Ware*, *Fitz-Water*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham*, *Herbert*, and *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all booted not; for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on *Friday* the seventeenth of *May*, was led by *John Keyme*, and *John Skevington*, Sheriffs of *London*, to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. The *Augustine-Friers* took his Body and Head, and buried them. This *Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, was the last Hereditary High-Constable of *England* (the greatest Place in the Kingdom) whose Power extended to restrain some Actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hereford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton*: He married *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and had Issue *Henry*, Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three Daughters, *Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*; *Katharine*, married to *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Westmorland*, and *Mary*, married to *George Nevil*, Lord of *Abergavenny*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is beheaded. His Honours and Issue.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*; for composing whereof, the Cardinal of *York* was sent attended with the Earls of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of *St. Johns*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Pechy*, Sir *John Hufsey*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Doctors. On the twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Calais*, whither came to him the Chancellor of *France*, and the Count *de Palice*, attended with four hundred Horse, as Ambassadors from the *French King*; and from the Emperor the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a Party also in their League; but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to *Rome* about it, and in mean Time till Answer might be had, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to speak with the Emperor, with whom having stayed thirteen Days, after most Royal Entertainment, he returned back to *Calais*; and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace with the *French Commissioners*, but was colder in the Matter than he was before, as having had his Edge taken off by some Dealings with the Emperor, so as nothing was concluded; but that these Fishermen of both the Princes might freely fish on the Seas without Disturbance, till the End of *February* following, whereof he sent Advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperor by the Lord of *Saint Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*; to the *French King* by the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Bishop of *Ely*. During all which Time of the Cardinal's Stay in *Calais*, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriff could be chosen for lack of his Presence, having the great Seal there with him, and full Power in Things, as if the King had been there in Person. Before he returned, he made a new it.

The Cardinal is sent to make a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, but deals not fair.

The Cardinal carries the Great Seal over with him, and the Inconveniences by new it.



A.D. 1520 new League with the Emperor, and intimated to the *French King*, that he doubted the King of *England* would not hereafter be so much his Friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of *France* were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of *England's* Friend as much as ever; only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a Man of no Truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some *English*. Presently upon this, was *Tournay* besieged by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada*, a *Spaniard*; and though the *French King* sent great Forces to succour it, yet it was rendred up to the Emperor, the last of *November*, in the thirteenth Year of *K. Henry's* Reign.

This Year Pope *Leo* died the first of *December*, suspected to be poisoned by *Barnaby Malespina*, his Chamberlain, whose Office was always to give him Drink. After whose Death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome*, to make Friends in the Behalf of the Cardinal of *York*, who was brought into a Hope through the King's Favour to be elected Pope; but that Hope was soon quelled; for before Doctor *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian VI.* was chosen Pope. This Doctor *Pace* was a very learned and religious Man, yet through Crosses in his Employment fell mad, and died; in whose Place of Employment succeeded Doctor *Stephen Gardiner*.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

Dr. *Pace*, the Cardinal's Agent, falls mad, and dieth.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

King *Henry*, for writing a Book against *Luther*, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

On the second of *February*, King *Henry* being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be *Defender of the Christian Faith*, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against *Luther*, as it was given out; but thought to be written by *Sir Thomas More*, or by *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rockester*: Of which Book, saith *Holinshed*, I will only say thus much, that King *Henry* in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his Foam against *Luther*, to rase out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law. Which Book *Luther* answered with as little Respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

In this mean Time, many Displeasures grew between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, specially two: One, that *French-men* seized upon *English* Ships as they passed: For Remedy whereof, one *Christopher Cee*, an expert Seaman, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *Scotland*, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of *France* denied to be done with his Privy, yet King *Henry* knew the Duke of *Albany* had Commission from the *French King* to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in *England*, and a Note taken of what Substance all Men were.

This Year died the Lord *Brook*, *Sir Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, *Sir John Pechy* and *Sir Edward Belknappe*, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poisoned at a Banquet made at *Ard*, when the two Kings met last.

At this Time *Owen Douglas*, Bishop of *Dunkell*, fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, because

the Duke of *Albany*, being come thither, had A.D. 1522 taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarenceaux*, the Herald, was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duke of *Albany* to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herald was commanded to defy him. Thereupon the *French King* seized all *English-men's* Goods in *Bordeaux*, and imprisoned their Persons; and retained not only the Money to be paid for the Restitution of *Tournay*, but also withheld the *French Queen's* Dower: Whereof, when King *Henry* understood, he called the *French Ambassador* residing in *England*, to give Account thereof; who though he gave the best Reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his House, and the *French Hostages* remaining here, for the Money to be paid for the Delivery of *Tournay*, were restrained of their Liberty, and committed to the Custody of the Lord of *Saint Johns*, *Sir Thomas Lovell*, *Sir Andrew Windsor*, and *Sir Thomas Nevil*, each of them to keep one; and withal, all *French-men* in *London* were committed to Prison, and put to their Fines; and all *Scotch-men* much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the Conduct of *Sir William Fitzwilliams*, Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards *Scotland*; who set Fire on many *Scotish* Ships in the Haven, and at length took many Prisoners and returned.

King *Henry* hearing that the Emperor would come to *Calais*, so to pass into *England*, as he went into *Spain*, appointed the Lord *Marques Dorset* to go to *Calais*, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at *Dover*.

The Cardinal taking his Journey thither on the tenth of *May*, rode through *London*, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and an hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of *May*, being Sunday, the *Marques of Dorset*, with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de la Ware*, and divers others at the Water of *Graveling*, received the Emperor, and with all Honour brought him to *Calais*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Berners*, Lieutenant of the Town. On Monday he took Shipping at *Calais*, and landed at *Dover*; where the Cardinal, with three hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen received him, and in great State brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday, being *Ascension-Even*, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great Joy and Gladness the Emperor and he met. On Friday in the Afternoon they departed from *Dover*, and came that Night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next Day to *Greenwich*; where the Queen received her Nephew with all the Joy that might be. Here, to honour the Emperor's Presence, Royal Jufts and Tournies were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Aids, kept the Place against the Duke of *Suffolk*, the *Marques Dorset*, and other ten Aids, on their Part. On Friday the sixth of *June*, the Emperor and the King, with all their Companies, went to *London*; where the City

Upon Differences between the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *French Ambassador* is commanded to keep his House.

The Emperor comes into *England*, and with what State he is received.



A.D. 1522 City received them with Pageants, and other as rare Devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperor was lodged at the *Black-Friers*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On *Whit-Sunday* the King and the Emperor rode to the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him Water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which Pride the *Spaniards* much disdained. After many Feastings in other Places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they stayed a whole Week; and there, on *Corpus Christi* Day, the Emperor wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sat in his own Stall. On the same Day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the Morrow after, they came to *Winchester*; before whose coming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Admiral of *England*, with all the King's Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, *Francis Brian*, Sir *William Barentine*, Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Anthony Poyns*, Sir *Henry Sherbourn*, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Sir *Edmund Bray*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Sir *William Pirton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Brown*, *Giles Hussy*, *Thomas More*, *John Russel*, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas Oldball*, *Thomas Lovel*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony Knewet*, Sir *John Tremaile*, Sir *William Shewington*, Master of the Ordnance, and *John Fabian*, Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a Design was moved, though now noised only, that it was but to scour the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperor. For the Earl of *Surrey*, having waisted the Emperor over to the Coast of *Biscay*, upon his Return made to the Coast of *Britain*; and there landing seven thousand of his Men, marched to the Town of *Morlaix*, and by Assault took it: Having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas More*, Sir *Giles Hussy*, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgely*, and some others; and after the Earl had lain a while on the Coast of *Britain*, he was commanded home by the King's Letters: Who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a Place called the *Cow*, under the Isle of *Wight*, and then went on Land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*.

The Earl of Surrey, Admiral, surprised Morlaix in France.

In this mean Time divers Exploits were achieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of *Calais*, and the *French-men* of *Boulogne*, where the *French* commonly had the worst: But being of no great Moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same Time the Lord *Ross*, and the Lord *D'acres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of

*Kelfie*, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of Stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King *Henry* intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in *France*, levied an Army, which, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*, he sent over to *Calais*; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battels; the first was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the Middle Ward by himself and his Brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the Reer Ward by Sir *William Sands* and Sir *Richard Winkfield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: And Sir *Edmund Guildford* was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entred the *French* Ground the second of *September*, and took his Journey towards *Hedring*. By the Way there came to him a great Power of *Burgoignians*, sent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Country, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of *Scilloys*, the Town of *Brunbrige*, *Senkerk*, *Botington*, and *Manstier*, with divers others. On the sixteenth of *September* they came before the Castle of *Hedring*, and laid Siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having no battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul Weather he could not bring with him, after eleven Days he raised his Siege; and passing from thence to *Dourlens*, burnt the Town, and rased the Castle, as also the Town of *Dortier*, and then, the Year being far spent, came back to *Calais* the sixteenth of *October*.

The Earl of Surrey wins many Towns in France.

At this Time the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand Men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the bare Report of his great Army would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord *Marquess Dorset*, Warden of the East and Middle Marches, to enter into *Tividale*, and so forward ten Miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every Side as he passed. All that Night he tarried within the *Scotish* Ground, and the next Day, being *Good-Friday*, withdrew back into *England*, with a Head of four thousand Cattel, having burned *Grimsfley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowleng*, and many other Towns and Villages.

In King *Henry's* fourteenth Year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Black-Friers*, whither the King came, and there sat down in his Royal Seat; at his Feet on the right Side sat the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the Causes of calling this Parliament; which were, as he said, for remedying of Mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and Corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the Good of the Common-wealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one Word was spoken all the Time of the Parliament, nor any other Thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to choose their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petiti-

An. Reg. 14. 1523.

A Parliament holden at Black-Friers.



A.D. 1523

The Speaker makes two Petitions to the King.

A Subsidy with much ado granted.

How many Parishes in the Kingdom.

ons to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their Intent, he might then with the King's Pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their Meaning: The other, for the House of Commons, that if in Communication and Reasoning, any Man should speak more largely than of Duty he ought to do, yet all such Offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred on Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded: But as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation-House; for *Richard Bishop of Winchester*, and *John Bishop of Rochester* were much against it, but most of all one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croydon*, and a Canon of *St. Paul's*; but the Cardinal taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather, as one saith, giving over his Hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the Half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five Years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of *April*, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there, shewing the great Charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars, demanded the Sum of eight hundred thousand Pounds, to be raised of the fifth Part of every Man's Goods and Lands, which was four Shillings of every Pound. This Demand was enforced the Day after by the Speaker, *Sir Thomas More*; but the Burgesses were all against it, shewing that it was not possible to have it gathered in Money; for that Men of Lands had not the fifth Part thereof in Coin: And further alledged, that there be not many Parishes in *England*, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom (at this Day there are but 9285) how could such a Sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a Means to the King to accept of a lesser Sum; but the Cardinal answered, He would rather have his Tongue plucked out of his Mouth with a Pair of Pincers, than make to the King any such Motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the Demand; to which it was answered, That the Order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons, after long debating the Matter, at last agreed of two Shillings in the Pound, from twenty Pounds upward, and from forty Shillings to twenty Pounds, of every twenty Shillings twelve Pence, and under forty Shillings of every Head of sixteen Years and upwards, four Pence to be paid in two Years: When this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty Pound Land and upward, by the Motion of *Sir John Hufsey*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, were charged with twelve Pence more in the Pound, to be paid in three Years.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them A.D. 1523 in Hand, that the Lords had agreed to four Shillings of the Pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that e'er it were long he would look to Things himself, without any Substitute. Which Speech of the King's, though it daunted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his Spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which Prorogation, the common People said to the Burgesses, We hear say, you will grant four Shillings of the Pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home; with many like Threatnings. At this Time the Cardinal, by his Power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at *St. Paul's*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at *Westminster*; which was never seen before in *England*, saith *Hall*. The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Westminster*; and there continuing till the thirteenth of *August*, was that Day at nine of the Clock at Night dissolved.

About this Time the Bishop of *Durham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerk*, Master of the Rolls; and *Sir Henry Marney*, that was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy-Seal, and shortly after was created Lord *Marney*: Also during this Parliament, *Sir Arthur Plantagenet*, Bastard Son to King *Edward IV.* at *Bridewel* was created Viscount *Lisle*, in the Right of his Wife, who was Wife before to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded.

The fifteenth of *June*, in the fifteenth Year of the King's Reign, *Christian King of Denmark*, with his Queen, driven out of his own Country, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath-Place*; who, after he had been feasted by the King, and by the City of *London*, and received great Gifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished Man: Some Years after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standish*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and *Sir John Baker*, Knight, into *Denmark*, to persuade the People to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his Cruelty.

About this Time the Earl of *Kildare* having recovered again the Favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild *Irish* to indifferent Conformity. All this while had *England* Wars both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marquess of *Dorset* threw down the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Nesgate*, of *Blackater*, of *Mackwalls*, and burnt to the Number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to Skirmish. In *France* the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Calais*, with twelve hundred Men went before *Boulogne*, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemy's Country, returned back to *Calais*, with the

A.D. 1523 The Cardinal makes a false Report to the House of Commons.

The Parliament dissolved at nine o' Clock at Night.

Sir Henry Marney created Lord Marney. Sir Arthur Plantagenet, base Son of K. Edward IV. is created Viscount Lisle.

An. Reg. 15. 1524.

The Earl of Kildare doth good Service in Ireland: The Marquess Dorset in Scotland.

The Lord Sands in France.

Lois



A.D. 1524 Los only of a Dozen Men. King Henry being advertised that the Duke of Albany was providing of Forces in France, with which to return into Scotland, sent forth his Vice-Admiral, Sir William Fitz-williams, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of Treport; where, with seven hundred Men, he beat six thousand French that sought to impeach his Landing, took their Bulwarks, and much Ordnance in them, burned the Suburbs of the Town of Treport, and all in five Hours, and then returned.

All this while King Henry had played with the French; but now he seems to be in Earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of Suffolk with an Army, the four and twentieth of August, attended with the Lord Montacute and his Brother Sir Arthur Pool, the Lord Herbert, Son to the Earl of Worcester, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Marney, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Powis, and the Baron Curson, Sir Richard Winkefield, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir John Vere, Sir Edward Nevil, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Andrew Windfore, Sir Robert Winkefield, Sir Anthony Winkefield, Sir Edward Guildford, Sir Edward Greville, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Everard Digby, Sir Adrian Fortescue, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir William Courtney, Sir William Sidney, Sir Henry Owen, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demi-lances, two hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand Archers on Foot, and five thousand Billmen. Also seventeen hundred taken out of the Garrison of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calais, in all ten thousand and five hundred; besides two thousand six hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of Suffolk took the Field; his Vanguard was led by the Lord Sands: The Captain of the right Wing was Sir William Kingston, and of the left Sir Everard Digby: The Captain of all the Horse-men was Sir Edward Guildford, Marshal of Calais; the Duke himself led the Battel, and Sir Richard Winkefield the Rereward. The Duke's Enterprize was the Winning of Bell-Castle, which the Lord Sands and the Lord Ferrers assaulted, and had it yielded to them, and then Sir William Skevington was placed Captain in it. At this Time the Duke of Bourbon, High-Constable of France, began to have his Mind alienated from the King of France; and to draw him the more on, the Duke of Suffolk sent Sir John Russel, afterward created Duke of Bedford, to him, who, passing in disguised Apparel, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take Part with the Emperor, and the King of England, who having ten thousand Almaines in his Pay, it was thought fit, for Encouragement of the English, to proclaim in the Army the Access of so powerful an Assistant: And thereupon the Duke of Suffolk removed to Ard, and so forward into Picardy. At Cordes, between Teroin and S. Omers, there came to him the Lord of Isilstein, and with him of Spaniards, Almaines, and others, three thousand Foot-men, and five hundred Horse. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of Anchor,

then the Castle of Bonguard, and then by Assault the Town of Bray, though two thousand good Men of War were in it. After this, the Towns of Cappe and Roy, Libome and Davenker. And then came before the Town of Mount-Didier, in which were a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse; yet, upon Sir William Skevington's Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to Roy, where he rested a while with his whole Army: And there, on Allholland-day, in the chief Church of Roy, made Knights, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Powis, Oliver Manners, Arthur Pool, Richard Sands, Robert Jerningham, Robert Salisbury, Edward Beningsfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter Mantel, George Warram, and Edward Seymour (that was after Duke of Somerset.) The Day after, the Army removed to a Place called Neele, from thence to Veane, and then to Beauford, where the Duke made John Dudley and Robert Utreight Knights, and from thence, on the eighth of November, to a Place called Mount Saint Martin. Here the Welsh-men began to murmur, that they might not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the Number of a thousand Persons, under the leading of Sir John Wallope, who having no Wages but what they could get by Booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers; and these had more Desire to stay, than the Welsh-men had to be gone, for the great Gains they made by the Spoils of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of November the Duke removed to a Place within two Miles of Boghan Castle, defended by great Marishes that lay before it; but the Frost at that Time being so great, that many lost their Fingers and Toes with Cold; and some died; Sir Edward Guildford acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marishes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordnance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then, and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle presently delivered up to him. In this mean Time the King hearing in what State the Army stood, had prepared six thousand Men to be sent to the Duke for a Relief, under the Leading of the Lord Montjoy; but before they could be put in Order to pass the Sea, the Duke, partly by Extremity of the Weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Soldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to Calais.

In this mean Time the Scots knowing that the Strength of England was gone into France, took Boldness to invade the Marishes; but then the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer and High-Admiral of England, with six thousand Men, being sent against them, took divers of their Castles and Holds; and at Yedworth, skirmishing with a great Garrison of Scots, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the French King finding that the Scots did not work any great Trouble to the English, whereby to keep them from molesting of France, and thinking it to be for Want of the Duke of Albany's Presence, whom they accounted their Governor, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to transport him into Scotland; but when the Duke of Albany heard that Sir Wil-

A.D. 1524 He wins many Towns.

A great Frost.

Sir William Fitz-williams with 700 beat 6000 French.

The Duke of Suffolk is sent with an Army into France.

How marshalled.



A.D. 1524 *liam Fitz-williams* was sent with a great Fleet to stop his Passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Brest*, and gave it out that he would not go into *Scotland* that Year; which being told to the King of *England*, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens till the next Spring. And now see the Cunning of the *Scot*; for when he saw the King's Ships discharged, he then boldly took Shipping himself, and sailed into *Scotland*; whether being come, presently levied a great Army, and approached the *English* Borders; but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming against him with a mighty Power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Battel; and if he took him Prisoner, to give him good Quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; and if he took him Prisoner, the Quarter he would give him, should be to cut off his Head, and send it for a Present to his Master the King of *England*. At this Time the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *D'acres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *D'arcy*, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Soldiers, to the Number of forty Thousand: And from the Court came the Master of the Horse, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The last of *October* the Duke of *Albany* sent two or three thousand Men over the Water to besiege the Castle of *Warke*; who, by Battery of their Ordnance, won the outermost Ward, called the *Barnekens*; and continuing their Battery, won the second Ward; but then Sir *William Lisle*, that was Captain of the Castle, issuing forth with those few he had left, drove the *French-men* from the Place, and slew of them to the Number of three hundred; a memorable Service, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great Thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commission was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an Abstinence from War, till a further Communication might be had; which being granted, the *English* Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty Occurrences, because greater did not happen; which, if it make us like the Story the worse, it may make us like the Times the better; seeing they are ever the best Times that afford least Matter to be talked of: But this Time will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been Matter of Talk to this Day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty Years Consummation; Houses built in Piety; under Pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Prisoner; Queens taken out of Love, put to Death out of Loathing; and the Church it self shaken, that it hath stood in Distraction ever since.

At this Time the Emperor *Charles* sent to the King of *England* two Mules trapped in Crimson

Velvet, richly embroidered; also eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Ruffet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and Work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the *Spanish* Fashion: Which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

At this Time, in the Month of *October*, the Cardinal sent out Commissions, that every Man, being worth forty Pounds, should pay the whole Subsidy before granted out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: Which fine new Word, he thought, would make them pay their Money the more willingly; but they loved their Money better than any Words he could devise.

In this Year the King sent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hufsey*, Knt. and Dr. *Lee*, his Almoner, to *Ferdinand*, Archduke of *Austria*, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Noremberg*, to his great Contentment.

In this Year, through Books of Prognostications, foreshewing much Hurt to come by Waters and Floods, many Persons withdrew themselves to high Grounds, for Fear of drowning; specially one *Bolton*, Prior of *St. Bartholomew's*, in *Smithfield*, builded him an House upon *Harrow on the Hill*, and thither went and made Provision for two Months. These great Waters should have fallen in *February*; but no such Thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the Computation they had miscounted in their Number an hundred Years.

In this mean Time many Enterprizes were attempted between the *English-men* of *Calais* and *Guifnes*, and the *French-men* of *Boulogne* and the Frontiers of *Picardy*, and still Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Captain of *Guifnes*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Captain of *Newnham-Bridge*, Sir *John Wallop*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the Men that did the *French* most Hurt.

This Year, the first of *September*, was Dr. *Thomas Hannibal*, Master of the Rolls, received into *London*, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassador from Pope *Clement*, who brought with him a Rose-tree of Gold for a Present to the King: And on the Day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a solemn Mass sung by the Cardinal of *York*, the said Present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers, resembling Roses.

About the Beginning of Winter, the Adventurers, called *Kreekers*, being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horsemen, made an Attempt to fetch some Booty from a Village not far from *Muttrell*; whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having Notice, he set upon them with a far greater Number, and slew most of them; and this was the End of the *Kreekers*, as brave Men as ever served any Prince.

In *December* this Year, there came to *London* divers Ambassadors out of *Scotland*, about a Peace to be had; and a Marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the Lady

A Policy of the Duke of Albany.

The Earl of Surrey his Service against the Scots.

Presents sent to the King and Queen by the Emperor.

The Cardinal requires the Subsidy to be paid by Anticipation.

A great Inundation threatened by Prognostication, but mistaken.

A Present sent to the King from the Pope.

The Adventurers, called Kreekers, all destroyed.



A.D. 1524 Lady Mary, Daughter to the King of England.

At this Time the Lord Leonard Gray, and the Lord John Gray, Brothers to the Lord Marques Dorset, Sir George Cobham, Son to the Lord Cobham, William Cary, Sir John Dudley, Thomas Wyat, Francis Points, Francis Sidney, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Seymore, Oliver Manners, Percival Hart, Sebastian Newdigate, and Thomas Calen, Esquires of the King's Household, made a Challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by Windsor the Herald, and performed at the Time appointed very nobly, as Tilts, Turneys Barriers, and the Assault of a Castle erected for that Purpose, in the Tilt-yard at Greenwich, where the King held his Christmas that Year with great State and Magnificence.

1525. About this Time, Joby Jockin, Steward of the Household to the French King's Mother, came into England, and was received, in secret Manner, into the House of one Dr. Lark, a Prebendary of St. Stephen's, who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of England and France; of whose often Meetings, Monsieur de Prate, the Emperor's Ambassador, grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of January, Monsieur Brynion, President of Roan, came to London, as Ambassador from the French King, and was lodged with the said Joby Jockin; which small Things should not be related, but that they were Preparatives to great Matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of March were received into London Monsieur de Bever, Lord of Campher, Admiral of Flanders, Monsieur John de la Coofe, President of Malines, and Master John de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the Lady Margaret, in the Name of the Emperor, who required three Things: First, they demanded the Lady Mary, the King's only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Empress, and as Governess, take Possession of all the Low Countries. Secondly, That all such Sums of Money as the King should give with her in Marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, That the King of England should pass the Sea in Person, and make War in France the next Summer. The first two Demands were not agreed to for certain Causes. And as to the third, the King said, he would take Time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of March, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady Margaret, with Letters signifying, That, whereas the King of France had lien long at the Siege of Pavia, he had now been forced to raise his Siege, and was himself taken Prisoner by the Imperialists; for Joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in London, and on the twentieth of March, being Sunday, the King himself came to St. Paul's, and there heard a solemn Mass. But for all this Shew of Joy, it was thought, if the King of France had not now been taken Prisoner, that the King of England would have joined in Amity with him, as being angry with the Flemmings for enhancing his Coin in Flanders, which caused much Money to be conveyed out of England thither. The King of France being taken Prisoner, was after some Time con-

veyed into Spain, and at last brought to Madrid, A.D. 1525 where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little Hope of his Life, unless the Emperor would speedily be pleased to visit him; upon whose Visitation he recovered his Health, though not presently his Strength. In which Time many Propositions were made for his Delivery; but the Emperor would accept of none without Restitution of the Duchy of Burgoigne. At last, the French King, weary of Imprisonment, and longing for Liberty, was content to agree to any Conditions; the Chief whereof were, That the French King by a certain Day should be set at Liberty, and within six Weeks after should resign to the Emperor the Duchy of Burgoigne, with all Members pertaining to it; and at the same Instant should put into the Emperor's Hands the Dauphin of France, and with him either the Duke of Orleans his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of France, whom the Emperor should name; and that there should be between them a League, and perpetual Confederation, for Defence of their Estates. Of whose Attonement when King Henry heard, as before he had expressed Gladness that he was taken Prisoner, so now he sent Sir Thomas Cheyney to him, to express his Joy for being set at Liberty: So sudden is the Interchange of Love and Hatred amongst great Princes. The French King being thus delivered, the Emperor married the Lady Isabel, Daughter to Emanuel, King of Portugal, and had with her in Dower eleven hundred thousand Ducats; though three Years before, being at Windsor, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter.

At this Time Cardinal Wolfey obtained Licence of the King to erect a College at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; and towards the Charge of them, got Leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the Number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the Maintenance of those two Colleges: A pernicious President, and that which made the King a Way afterward to make a general Suppression of all Religious Houses; though indeed there be great Difference between converting of Monasteries into Colleges, and utter subverting them.

In March K. Henry sent Cuthbert Tunstal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Winkfield Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, into Spain, to confer with the Emperor about Matters of great Importance, and particularly about War to be made in France; and yet were these two Princes at this Time in League: But he that shall observe the Carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall find it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer Complements, where the Scale was turned with the least Grain of a Circumstance: And though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: For while one gave the Occasion, and the other took it, though they were both Accessaries, yet neither was Principal; and where there

Upon Delivery of the Duchy of Burgoigne to the Emperor, he is set at Liberty.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colleges.

The King of France is taken Prisoner.



A.D. 1525 is not a Principal, the Oath remains inviolate.

And upon those Hinges did the Friendship of these Princes turn; as at this Time the Emperor, though not long before he parted had with the King of England in the greatest Kindness that could be, yet gave not the English Ambassadors so kind Entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what Cause was not apparent, unless upon some sinister Report made to him by Monsieur de Prat; who having been his Lieger with the King of England, was without taking Leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperor before the English Ambassadors came.

The Cardinal seeks to raise Money by a Commission; which the People oppose, and the King disclaims.

But howsoever King Henry being determined to make War in France himself in Person, his Council fell into Consideration how the Charge of the War should be maintained; which Care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the People to pay the sixth Part of every Man's Substance, in Plate and Money: But the People opposed it, alledging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any Man to be charged with such Payments, unless by Parliament: And as the Cardinal continued to press it, so the People continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to Prison, the Commons in many Countries made great Assemblies for their Defence: The Report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to Westminster and protested openly, that it was done without his Knowledge, and that it was never his Meaning to ask any thing of his Subjects, but according to Law; and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excused himself and said, that it was the Opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any Sum, so it were done by Commission; and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take Advantage of a Distinction to draw Money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave Warning for doing any such thing hereafter; and signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of England: Giving also a general Pardon to all that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free Grace, yet the Cardinal, to win a good Opinion in the Commons, gave out, that it was by his Means the King granted the Pardon.

An. Reg. 17.

1525.

Dukes and Earls created.

King Henry's seventeenth Year was honoured with advancing of many in Honour; for on the eighteenth of June, at the Palace of Bridewel, the King's Son (which he had by Elizabeth Blunt, Daughter to Sir John Blunt Knight) called Henry Fitz Roy, was created first Earl of Nottingham, and after on the same Day, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Henry Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, was created Marquess of Exeter, the Lord Brandon, Son to the Duke of Suffolk and the French Queen (a Child of two Years old) was created Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Mannors, Lord Ross, was created Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry Clifford was created Earl of Cumberland, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitz-water, was created Viscount Fitz-water, and Sir Thomas Bullen, Treasurer of the King's Household, was created Viscount Rochford.

At this Time the French King's Mother, as A.D. 1525 then Regent of France, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with England, which was proclaimed in London, the eighth of September. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of England should receive at certain Days twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in Sterling Money amounted to the Sum of four hundred thousand Pounds; whereof fifty was to be paid in Hand. Sir William Fitz-Williams and Doctor Taylor were sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and likewise King Henry the fourth and twentieth of April, at Greenwich, in Presence of the Ambassadors of France, Rome and Venice, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the French King, during his Life, and one Year after.

In this Winter was a great Mortality in London, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmas at Eltham, with a small Number, and was therefore called the still Christmas. At which Time the Cardinal coming to the Court, took Order for altering the State of the King's House: Many Officers and other Servants were discharged, and put to their Pensions, in which Number were fourscore and four Yeomen of the Guard: Who before having had twelve Pence the Day with Check, were now allowed but six Pence the Day without Check, and commanded to go into their Countries.

On Shrove-Tuesday this Year a solemn Just was held at Greenwich, the King and eleven other on the one Part, the Marquess of Exeter and eleven others of the other Part.

In his nineteenth Year King Henry kept a solemn Christmas at Greenwich, with Revels, Masks, Disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of December and third of January were solemn Justs holden, when at Night the King and fifteen others with him, came to Bridewel, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinal's Palace, where were at Supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the Dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmas was a Play at Grays-Inn, made by one Master Roe a Serjeant at Law; the Effect whereof was, that Lord Governance was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evil Order Lady Publick Weal was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master Roe to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any Authority: By which we may see how inseparable a Companion Suspicion is to a guilty Conscience.

The fourteenth of January came to the Court Don Hugo de Mendoza, a Grandee of Spain, as Ambassador from the Emperor to the King, with a large Commission, to make King Henry Judge how just the Conditions were which the Emperor required of the King of France: And about this Negotiation tarried two Years in England. So desirous the Emperor was to continue good Correspondence with the King of England.

On Shrove-Tuesday the King and the Marquess of Exeter, with others in most sumptuous Attire,

A Peace between England and France, for which a great Sum of Money is paid to King Henry.

The still Christmas by reason of the Sickness.

An. Reg. 19. 1528.

The King visits the Cardinal in a Mask.

King Henry made Arbitrator between the Emperor and France.



A.D. 1528 Attire, came to the Tilt, and ran so many Courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves, went into the Queen's Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queen's Preparing: For hitherto there had been no Exception taken to the Lawfulness of her Marriage; but now came over Ambassadors from the King of France, requiring to have the King's Daughter, the Lady Mary, to be given in Marriage to the Duke of Orleans, second Son to their Master the French King; wherein they that were the Suitors for it, were the Hinderers of it: For amongst them was the President of Paris, who made a Doubt whether the Marriage between King Henry and the Lady Katharine of Spain, having been his Brother's Wife, were lawful or no. But howsoever, the French Ambassadors at Greenwich, on Sunday the fifth of May, in the Name of their Master the French King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during their Lives. And shortly after were sent Sir Thomas Bullen, Viscount Rochford, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassadors to the King of France, to take his Oath in Person for Performance of the League.

The first Exception taken to the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage.

But enough of small Occurrences; and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard: For now the Duke of Bourbon, General of the Emperor's Army in Italy, was slain by a Shot from the Walls of Rome, as he was passing by; upon whose Death the Army entered and sacked the City, made the People fly to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and there cooped him up, abused the Cardinals, and put them to grievous Ransoms, spared neither sacred Places, nor religious Persons, but committed all Manner of barbarous and inhumane Cruelty.

Rome sacked by the Imperialists, and the Pope and Cardinals cooped up as Prisoners.

These Insolencies of the Emperor's Army committed against the Pope, together with the hard Conditions the Emperor had imposed upon the King of France for setting him at Liberty, and the Emperor's Breach of Promise in not marrying the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter, were the apparent Causes of King Henry's breaking League with the Emperor Charles: But a more enforcing, though concealed Cause, perhaps, was the growing Greatness of the Emperor, by his Acquests in Italy and other Places; enough to breed Jealousie in all neighbouring Princes: And indeed, King Henry had some Cause to think the Emperor's Spirits were grown higher with his Victories; seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King Henry with his own Hand, and subscribe them, your Son and faithful Friend; now after his Victories in Italy, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only Charles. And yet a more pressing Cause, though not avowed, might be the Cardinal's Spleen against the Emperor, for denying him the Bishoprick of Toledo in Spain. But whichsoever of these was the predominant Cause, all of them together made a Cause sufficient for King Henry to fall off from Amity with the Emperor; and his falling off from the Emperor, Cause sufficient to fall in with

Causes of K. Henry's breaking League with the Emperor.

the King of France: And thereupon the two A.D. 1528 Kings send their several Heralds to the Emperor; King Henry, *Clarencieux*; the French King, his Herald *Guyen*, to expostulate their Grievances with the Emperor; and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their Enemy. The Emperor heard the Heralds with great Temper, and answered *Clarencieux* very mildly, That he knew his Master's Grievance was grounded upon Mis-information; wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his Friend; but *Guyen* he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master, that he had broken his Faith in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his Liberty; and with these Answers dismissed them; only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his Answer, being in such Terms, by Word of Mouth, obtained to have it sent in Writing. The Heralds being returned Home, and delivering the Answers, the King of France was so incensed to be charged with Breach of Faith, that soon after he sent another Defiance to the Emperor, telling him in plain Terms, that he lied in his Throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combat, requiring him to appoint the Field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperor accepted the Challenge, but other Occurrences intervening, hindered the Performance.

The King of France gives the Emperor the Lye, and challengeth him to a Combat.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassador to the King of France, carrying with him twelve-score thousand Pounds, to be employed by the French King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperor, who the eleventh of July took Shipping at Dover, and landed that Day at Calais; with whom was *Cuthbert Tunstal*, Bishop of London, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the Number of twelve hundred Horse. At *Amiens*, he was received by the French King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of France: By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperor; which if refused, then the French King should marry the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperor. These Things concluded, the Cardinal returned; and on the last of September came to the King at Richmond. In October following, there came Ambassadors from the French King, to take King Henry's Oath for observing the League with the King of France: And on Sunday the tenth of November, King Henry at Greenwich received the Order of Saint Michael by the Hands of the Lord *Anne de Montmorency*, great Master of the King's Household, and Monsieur *Humieres*: As likewise the same Day at Paris the French King received the Order of the Garter by the Hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Master of the King's Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* Knight, otherwise called *Garter King of Arms*, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Habiliments of the Order.

The Cardinal goeth into France with a Train of 1200 Horse.

Upon



A.D. 1528 Upon King Henry's Defiance of the Emperor in the French King's Quarrel, English Merchants, their Ships and Goods were attached in Spain and in the Low-Countries; as likewise all Spanish and Flemish Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations, at last, by Mediation of Hugo de Mendoza, the Emperor's Ambassador Lieger, a Reconcilement was made, and free Traffick between the Nations was revived.

1529. In his twentieth Year, on the two and twentieth of February, Sir Piers Butler of Ireland was created Earl of Ossory. And now King Henry begun to be troubled in Mind about his Marriage with Queen Katharine; but whether his Trouble of Mind grew for Scruple of Conscience, or for Desire of Change, was by many Men doubted: Some thought he had set his Affection upon the Lady Anne Bullen, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that Marriage, moved this Scruple, that he might be divorced: But this is not likely; for he married not the said Lady till above three Years after this Doubt had been moved; and three Years was a long Time to have Affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of Delay. If King Henry's own Protestation may be taken, it was very Scruple of Conscience that troubled his Mind: But then by what Means this Scruple came first into his Head, is another Doubt; some thought it was first moved by his Confessor Doctor Longland, telling him, that the Marriage with the Relict of his Brother could not be lawful: But neither is this likely, for Doctor Longland was not like to tell him so, who knew the Marriage had been made by Dispensation from the Pope, an Authority in that Time beyond Exception: Some thought it was a Plot of Wolsey's, thereby to make Variance between King Henry and the Emperor; with whom he was at Variance himself, and for Spleen to the Nephew, be revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely, or else the Cardinal was much deceived in his Plot; for though the Emperor laboured with Milan, and some other Universities, to forbear giving Sentences against the Marriage, yet he continued Amity with K. Henry as much afterward as before. If we will believe the King himself, it was the President of Paris, coming Ambassador from the K. of France, that first moved it, upon a Proposition of Marriage between the Lady Mary, K. Henry's Daughter, and the Duke of Orleans, second Son to the French King: But by what Means soever this Scruple had Beginning, King Henry's Desire was now it should have an Ending; and that the Matter might be debated with Indifferency, he allowed the Queen to make Choice of what Council she thought best; who thereupon chose William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, Doctors of Divinity; with many other: In the mean Time he sent to all the Universities in Italy and France, to have their Opinions; but specially to the Court of Rome, desiring the Pope to send his Legate to hear the Cause, who thereupon sent Cardinal Campejus, and joined Cardinal Wolsey in Com-

mission with him. The Place appointed for A.D. 1529 the Cardinals to sit and hear the Cause, was at the Black-friers, where, in the great Hall, Preparation was made of Seats, and all Things necessary for such a Session. Among other Officers of the Court, Stephen Gardner, afterward Bishop of Winchester, sat as chief Scribe. The Court being set, the Judges commanded Silence whilst their Commission was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call the King by the Name of King Henry of England, coming into the Court; who answered, Here. Then called he the Queen, by the Name of Katharine Queen of England, come into the Court. The Queen though present, yet answered not; but rising from her Seat, went to the Place where the King sat, and kneeling down, said in Effect; Sir, I humbly desire you to take Pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a Stranger, and I have here no indifferent Council, where all are your Subjects; and less Assurance of Friendship, when they all depend upon your Favour: I have been your Wife these twenty Years, and have born you divers Children; if you can charge me with Dishonesty or Undutifulness, I am content to depart from you to my Shame; but if you cannot, I then desire you to do me Justice, and to spare me until I may know what Counsel my Friends in Spain will give me; but if you will not, then your Pleasure be fulfilled. And having so said, she rose up, and making a low Courtesy, departed. The King being advertised that she was going out of the House, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, saying, Katharine Queen of England, come into the Court; which her Gentleman-Usher, Master Griffith, hearing, told her, Madam, you are called. Well, said she, it makes no Matter, I will not tarry, go your Way. And thus she departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himself. The Queen being gone, the King said, I confess she hath been to me the most dutiful and loving Wife that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this Scruple of my Conscience, I would not leave her for any Woman living: And having now referred the Judgment of the Cause to these Commissioners, I should be most glad they could find the Marriage between us to be in such Sort lawful, that, with Obedience to the Law of God, we might continue together: For I take God to Witness, there is nothing I more desire. This said, the King rose, and the Court was adjourned to another Day: For notwithstanding the Queen's Appeal, from which she would by no Means be drawn, the Cardinals continued their Session Weekly, and heard all of both Sides. The Point that was chiefly stood on was, Whether Prince Arthur had ever had carnal Knowledge of her, or no: The King's Council alledged, he had, and proved it; first, by Prince Arthur's Speech the next Morning after his Marriage, That he had been that Night in the Midst of Spain: And then by the Words of the last Dispensation, *Vel forsan cognitam*: The Queen's Advocates alledged the contrary; appealing to the King's own Conscience, whom the Queen charged that he knew to be a Virgin when he married her (though to say the

The Queen is allowed her Council to debate in Lawfulness of her Marriage.

The Pope sends his Legate to hear the Cause.

K. Henry justifieth his Queen's Dutifulness.

The chief Point of Difference was, Whether Prince Arthur had ever carnal Knowledge of her.



A.D. 1529 the Truth, it were strange, Prince *Arthur* and, she having lien five Months together, and he no less than almost sixteen Years old.) Whilst Arguments were thus argued on both Sides, and no Certainty could appear, the King sent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in *Bridewell*, to perswade her, she should submit her self to the King's Pleasure, and not to stand so peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her, found her at work amongst her Maids, with her Skain of white Thread about her Neck: Who having heard their Message, answered, That in all other Things she would willingly submit her self to the King's Will; but in this, which concerned her Honesty, and the Legitimateness of her Children, she durst not, but would rely upon the Wisdom and Piety of both their Fathers, who, she knew, would never have assented to the Marriage, if there had been the least Scruple of Unlawfulness in it; and other Answer she would not give. Upon their Return to the King, when he perceived she could not be removed from her Opinion, he commanded the Court to go on; so that at last it came to Judgment, which every Man expected should be the next Day. At which Day the King came thither (but in so secret a Manner, that he might hear, and not be seen) where the King's Council at the Bar, calling for Judgment, Cardinal *Campejus*, as being chief Commissioner, stood up and said; I find the Case very doubtful, and the Party defendant standing to her Appeal; I will therefore give no Judgment till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this Time, according to the Order of the Court of *Rome*, which hears no Causes judicially from the last of *July*, till the fourth of *October*; at which Protraction of Time *K. Henry* was not a little angry; and the Duke of *Suffolk* being present, in a great Rage, said, It was never merry in *England* since we had Cardinals amongst us. Soon after this, the Cardinal took his Leave of the King, and returned to *Rome*. He was indeed commanded so to do by the Pope, who would else most willingly have gratified King *Henry*, that had bestowed upon him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. Whilst these Things were enacted, Cardinal *Wolsey* had an Inkling of the King's Affection to *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of the Viscount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once passed, he meant to marry her; which Match, because for many Reasons misliked, one, perhaps, because she was a *Lutheran*, he sent privily to the Pope, that by no Means he should give Sentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the King's Mind another way: For his Desire was, that the King should marry the Duchess of *Alanson*, the French King's Sister. This packing of *Wolsey* was not so closely carried, but that it soon came to the King's Knowledge; and the King finding him a Rub in his Way, whom he expected to have expedited his Proceeding, began to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that Greatness which had made him so presuming; and indeed he made short Work with him; for soon after, he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver them, till they brought him a Warrant under the King's

own Hand. When the Seal was brought to A.D. 1529 the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, then Speaker of the Parliament (the first Layman that bore that Office in any Memory) and in his room was chosen Speaker *Thomas Audely*, Attorney of the Duchy. *Wolsey* now removed from his Chancellorship, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with Points of Treason: But that Charge was so clearly taken off by his Servant *Thomas Cromwel*, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great Commendation of *Cromwel*, both for Abilities in himself, and Faithfulness to his Master.

After this, the King being informed that all those Things which the Cardinal had done by his Power Legantine, were within the Case of *Præmunire*; he caused his Attorney, *Christopher Hales*, to sue out a *Præmunire* against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were sent unto him, to let him know, the King's Pleasure was, he should go to *Asher*, a House near to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and there to reside: Whereupon the Cardinal, having first delivered up all his Moveables to the King's Use (the greatest Store, and richest, that was ever known of any Subject) went presently to *Putney* by Water, and from thence rode to *Asher*, where he and his Family continued three or four Weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-cloths, or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or Money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of *Carlisle*. After this, his Matter for the *Præmunire* being called upon in the King's-Bench, his two Attorneys confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the King's Protection; but the King of his Clemency sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, with Plate and Stuff convenient for his Dignity. His Bishoprick of *Duresme* was given to Doctor *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*; his Abby of *St. Alban's* to the Prior of *Norwich*; and the Bishoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stokesley*, Ambassador then beyond the Seas.

In this mean while, *Margaret* Duchess of *Savoy*, Aunt to the Emperor, and the Lady *Louise* Duchess of *Angolessme*, Mother to the French King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperor, the Pope, and the Kings of *England* and *France*, where were present Dr. *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More*, then Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, Commissioners for the King of *England*. After long Debating, through the Diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded, and was therefore called *the Woman's Peace*; and was indeed as fickle as Women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other e'er the more for it.

King *Henry* before this Time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy; but now, growing sensible of that Error, he called his High Court of Parliament, in which the Commons complained sharply of their Grievances against the Clergy, especially in six Things.

*Wolsey* is in a *Præmunire*; and is confined to *Asher*.

The Commons in Parliament complain against the Clergy, and wherein.



A.D. 1529 *The first, For that they exacted unreasonable Sums of Money, due as Fees, for the Probate of Mens last Wills and Testaments; insomuch, that Sir Henry Guildford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's House, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William Compton, payed for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand Marks.*

*The second, The extream Exaction which spiritual Men used in taking of Corpse or Mortuaries.*

*The third, That spiritual Men became Farmers of great Granges and Farms, to the Prejudice of Husband-men and Grasers.*

*The fourth, Because many Abbots, Priors, and other spiritual Men, kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temporal Merchants.*

*The fifth, Because such Clergy-men as had the best Livings, would take the Uttermost of their Right, and yet live in the Court, or in Noblemens, or in Bishops Houses, where they spent nothing.*

*The sixth, Because divers ignorant Men amongst them held ten or twelve Benefices to themselves severally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at small Pensions.*

These Things before this Time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the Rule about the King; but now the King, looking better into the Matter, gave Way to these Complaints: Whereupon the Burgeses drew up their Bills; one of the Probate of Testaments; another for Mortuaries; and a third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking of Farms by spiritual Men. The Bill of Mortuaries passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords: When, two Days after, was sent up the Bill of Probate of Testaments, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the Bishops much frowned, but especially *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, who rose up and said, My Lords, you see what Bills come daily from the Commons House, and all is to the Destruction of the Church: For God's Sake, consider what a Realm *Bohemia* was; and when the Church went down, then fell the Glory of that Kingdom. Now with our Commons is nothing but *Down with the Church*; and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of Faith only. When these Words were reported to the House of Commons, they took the Matter very heinously; and thereupon sent their Speaker, *Thomas Audely*, with thirty of the House to the King, complaining what a Dishonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to say, That they which were elected for the wisest Men of all Shires, should be charged to lack Faith, which was all done to say they were Infidels and no Christians; so as what Acts or Laws soever they made, should be taken as Laws made by Pagans and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Christian Men: And therefore humbly besought his Majesty to call the said Bishop of *Rochester* before him, to give an Account of the Words he had spoken. Whereupon, within few Days after, the King

sent for the Bishop, and acquainted him with A.D. 1529 the Commons Complaint against him; who excused himself, by saying he meant, the Doings of the *Bohemians* was for lack of Faith, and not the Doings of the House of Commons; of which Excuse the King sent Word to the House by Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Treasurer of his Household; but it pleased the Commons nothing at all. After divers Meetings between the Lords and the Commons about the Bills of Probate of Testaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own Laws and Constitutions; and the Spirituality defended them by Prescription Usage: To whom a Gentleman of *Gray's Inn* made this Answer, The Usage have ever been of Thieves to be on *Shooter's Hill*; is it therefore lawful? Whilst these Bills were in Debate, an Act was passed, which released to the King all such Sums of Money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign: Which Bill at first was much opposed; but the most Part of the House being the King's Servants, it was at last assented to: Which once known in the Country abroad, made much Murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill spoken of; for every Man counted it a sure Debt; so as some made their Wills of the Money, and some returned it over in Satisfaction to their Creditors. To qualify which Grievance, the King granted a General Pardon for Offences (certain excepted) and was a Means also to have the three Bills passed; one for a Probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third against Plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual Persons; though this last with some Qualifying.

During this Parliament, the King created Viscount *Rochford*, Earl of *Wiltshire*; the Viscount *Fitz-water*, Earl of *Essex*; and the Lord *Hastings*, Earl of *Huntingdon*. Earls created.

By this Time the Lords of the Upper House had drawn certain Articles against the Cardinal, and sent them down to the House of Commons, the Chief whereof were these:

*First, That without the King's Assent he hath procured himself to be made a Legate; by reason whereof he took away the Right of all Bishops, and spiritual Persons.* Articles drawn by the Parliament against the Cardinal.

*Secondly, That in all his Writings which he wrote to Rome, or to any foreign Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my King; so preferring himself before the King.*

*Thirdly, That without the King's Assent, he carried the Great Seal of England with him into Flanders.*

*Fourthly, That having the French Pox, he presumed to come and breath upon the King.*

*Fifthly, That he caused the Cardinal's Hat to be put upon the King's Coin.*

*Sixthly, That he would not suffer the King's Clerk of the Market to sit at St. Albans.*

*Seventhly, That he had sent infinite Store of Treasure to Rome, for purchasing of his Dignity.*

These Articles were read in the House, and if not otherwise proved, yet confessed afterward under the Cardinal's own Hand, which added to

An inconsiderable Speech of *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*;



A.D. 1529 to the former *Premunire*. All his Lands and Goods were seized on to the King's Use.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to *Greenwich*, and there kept his *Christmas* with his Queen *Katharine*, in great State; for though this Matter of making void the Marriage between them was hotly pursued by the King, yet abstaining only from her Bed, he conversed with her still, and they kept Court together in as loving Manner as they had done before. And now King *Henry* understanding that the Pope and the Emperor were to meet at *Bologna*, he sent Ambassadors thither, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Dr. *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, and Dr. *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperor, the Opinions of divers learned Men, in the Matter of his Marriage; who all agree that it was against the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Justice, and shewing to the Emperor, that the King moved this Matter for Discharge of his Conscience only, and to no other End. To which the Pope answered, That when he came to *Rome*, he would hear the Matter disputed, and do the King Right. The Emperor answered, That he would in no Case be against the Law of God; and if this Marriage were judged such by the Court of *Rome*, he would rest contented: With these Answers the Ambassadors returned.

An. Reg. 12.

1531.

The Island of Malta given by the Emperor to the Master of St. John's of Jerusalem.

It was now the two and twentieth Year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the Emperor gave to the Master of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem* the Island of *Malta*, in supplying of the Island of *Rhodes*, which the *Turk* sometime before had won from that Order.

In this Year the New Testament having been translated into *English* by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it were sharply punished by Command of the Bishops and Sir *Thomas More*, then Lord Chancellor; but none was more violent in the Matter than the Bishop of *London*, who caused all the Books to be brought into *St. Paul's* Church-yard, and there burned.

King *Henry* having heard by good Information, that when *Campejus* was sent Legate into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce, but was afterward, upon Change of the Pope's Mind, commanded to burn it, saw plainly by this, that the Pope had no Meaning of proceeding really in the Matter, but to keep it a-foot for his own Ends; neither to displease the Emperor by granting it, nor King *Henry* by not granting it, but promising Expedition to keep him in Expectance; yet using Delays to keep him in Dependance; and therefore resolved now to take such a Course, that he should not need to take Care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon caused a Proclamation to be published, That no Person, of what Estate or Condition soever, should purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudicial to the Jurisdiction or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon Pain of Imprisonment, and other Punishments at his Grace's Pleasure: And shortly after an Act was made,

An Act made that no more Annats should be paid to *Rome*, was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of

Bishops, since the fourth Year of King *Henry* A.D. 1531 the Seventh, an hundred and threescore thousand Pounds, besides what had been paid for Pardons and other Dispensations. Another Act was also then made, That no Person should appeal for any Cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all Causes of the King to be tried in the Upper House of the Convocation.

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

At this Time the Cardinal lying still at *Asher*, and his Adversaries doubting lest lying so near the King, he might one Time or other get Access to the King's Presence, and come again into Favour, they used Means to have him sent further off; and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Diocese of *York*, and not to come Southward without special Licence; whereupon, in *Lent*, he made great Preparation for his Journey, and having in his Train to the Number of an hundred and threescore Persons, by easy Journies came to *Peterborough*, and there

The Cardinal is commanded to his Diocese of *York*.

kept his *Easter*: The Week after he went to *Stamford*, then to *Newark*, and so to *Southwell*, where he continued most part of all that Summer: And then rode to *Scroby*, where he stayed till *Michaelmas*, and then came to *Carwood* Castle, within seven Miles of *York*, where he kept a plentiful House for all Comers; and repaired the Castle, being greatly in Decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily Wages. At last, he determined to be installed at *York*, the next *Monday* after *All-hollan-day*;

against which Time great Preparation was made, and the Cardinal sent to the King, to lend him the Mitre and Pall, which he used to wear at any great Solemnity. At which Presumption the King marvelled not a little; saying to those that were about him, what a thing

He prepares to be installed, and sends to the King for his rich Mitre and Pall.

is this that Pride should thus reign in a Man that is quite under Foot? But before the Day of Instalment came, he was arrested in this Manner; Sir *Walter Walsh*, one of the King's Privy-Chamber, was sent down to the Earl of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to *Carwood*, where the Cardinal lay: And being entred into the House, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall: Then, quoth the Cardinal, I am sorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good Cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complementary Manner, as if they had come only to visit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl, with a soft Voice, laying his Hand upon the Cardinal's Arm, said, My Lord, I arrest you of High-Treason. The Cardinal somewhat astonied, asked to see his Commission; which the Earl denying to shew, then, saith the Cardinal, I will not obey your Arrest. At that Instant Master *Walsh* came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him, if he were joyned in Commission with the Earl; who answered, He was: Well then, said the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the King's Privy-Chamber, your Name is *Walsh*: I am content to yield to you,

He is arrested by Sir *Walter Walsh*, one of the King's Privy-Chamber.



A.D. 1531 you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, unless I see his Commission: The meanest of the King's Privy-Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the King's Commandment, without any Commission. Then the Earl took the Cardinal's Keys from him, and put him in Custody of his Gentlemen. Some few Days after he was conveyed from Carwood to Pomfret, and after to Sheffield Park, where he had kind Entertainment, and stayed with the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Lady eighteen Days, till at last fitting one Day at Dinner, his Colour was observed to change; and being asked how he did? Not well, saith he, I have something suddenly at my Stomach as cold as a Whet-stone, which I know is Wind; I desire to have something from the Apothecary to break Wind; which was brought; and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke Wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a Quantity, or that there was some foul Play used, he fell soon after into such a Looseness, that the Night following he had above fifty Stools: Yet the next Day he rode to Nottingham, and the Day after to Leicester Abby; being so sick by the Way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule: Coming to the Abby Gates, the Abbot with all the Convent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my Bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to Bed; where growing sicker and sicker, the next Morning Master Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do but tarry, said he, the Pleasure of God, to render up my poor Soul into his Hands: For this is my Case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever; the Nature whereof is, that if there be no Amendment within eight Days, either Excoriation of the Entrails will ensue, or Frenzy, or else present Death; and the best of them is Death; and, as I suppose, this is the eighth Day. Sir, said Master Kingston, you are afraid of that you have no Cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good Cheer, for that he beareth you as much good Will as ever he did: No, no, Master Kingston, said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs; but it is a just Reward for my Study to do him Service, not regarding the Service of God to do him Pleasure: And having so said, his Speech failed, and incontinent the Clock struck eight, and then he gave up the Ghost; which made some about him remember, how he had said before, that at eight of the Clock they should lose their Master. Being dead, he was buried in the Abby of Leicester.

And dies.

His many Honours and great Retinue.

This Man held at once the Bishoprick of York, Winchester, and Durham, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legate and Chancellor of England, the Abby of St. Alban's, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in Commendam: He had also in his Hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which having been given by Henry VII. to Strangers that lived out of the Realm, they suffer-

ed Wolsey to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The Retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand Persons daily in his Household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which Greatness, as it came by the King's Favour, so by the withdrawing of his Favour it was overthrown: So true is that Saying of Solomon, *The King's Favour is as Dew upon the Grass; but his Wrath is as the Roaring of a Lion, and as a Messenger of Death.* After this, the King removed from Hampton-Court to Greenwich, where with his Queen Katharine he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the Twelfth-night he sat in State in the Hall, where were divers Interludes, costly Masks, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Manor of Westminster, which before was called York-place; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to the King, which the Chapter of York confirmed; and then it was no more called York-place, but the King's Manor of Westminster, now White-Hall.

White-hall given by the Cardinal to the King.

About this Time was a Call of eleven Sergeants at Law; namely, Thomas Audely, Walter Luke, John Barwewine, John Hynde, Christopher Jenny, John Densel, Edward Merwine, Edmund Knightly, Roger Chomley, Edward Montague, and Robert York; who kept their Feast at Ely-house five Days together; where on the last Day the King and Queen dined.

At this Time the whole Clergy of England was charged by the King's learned Council, to be in a *Premunire* for supporting and maintaining the Cardinal's Legantine Power; and were thereupon called by Process into the King's Bench to answer; but before their Day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble Submission in Writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand Pound to have their Pardon by Parliament; which Offer, after some Labour, was accepted, and their Pardon promised. In which Submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the King's Hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it, and then sent it to the Lower House: But here divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it; who, they said, having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same Cases the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker, Thomas Audely, with a convenient Number of the House, was sent to the King about it: To whom the King made Answer, That he was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his Mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his Liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his Great Seal without them, and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it. With this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that Thomas Cromwel, who was newly come into the King's Favour, had disclosed the Secrets of the House, which made the King give this displeasing Answer. But soon after, the King, of his own Accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great Commendation

The King first called the Supreme Head of the Church.

The King's Wisdom in granting his Pardon.



A.D. 1531 dation of the King's Judgment, to deny it at first when it was demanded as a Right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of Grace.

In this Parliament-time, on the 30th of March, Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the Matter of the King's Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the Judgment of learned Men in his own Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, yet to avoid all Suspicion of Partiality, he had sent into France, Italy, the Pope's Dominions, and the Venetians, to have their Opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a Box certain Writings sealed, which were the Determination of the Universities of Orleans, of Paris, of Anjou, of Bourges, of Bologna, of Padua, and of Tholouse: All which were peremptory in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not within the Power of the Pope to dispense with it: And now, said they, you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his Pleasure, but for the Discharge of his Conscience; and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these Determinations, was so far from rejoycing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the Loss of so good a Wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her Bed. But being willing the Queen should know these Determinations, in Whitsun-week after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her hereupon to recal her Appeal, and to refer the Matter to eight indifferent Lords, which she utterly refused, using her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of Rome, but of no other. After Whitsuntide the King and Queen removed to Windsor, and there continued till the 14th of July, on which Day the King removed to Woodstock, and left the Queen at Windsor, where she remained a while, and after removed to East-hamstead, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to persuade her to be conformable to the Law of God, which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his Pleasure was, she should be at either of these three Places, his Manor of Okeing, or of East-hamstead, or the Monastery of Bisham, and there to continue without further molesting him with her Suits.

The Queen is confined.

Cranmer is sent to Rome to prove the King's Marriage unlawful.

And now Cranmer is to play his Part. It chanced, that Dr. Stephens, and Dr. Fox and he met at Waltham, one Day at Dinner; where falling into Discourse about the Case now in Agitation, of the King's Marriage with Queen Katharine, the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law: But, said Cranmer, it may be better proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard Matter to do it. Which Words of his being made known to the King, Cranmer is sent for, and commanded to set his Reasons down in Writing; which having done, and shewed them to the King, he was asked, whether he would stand to that which he had written; who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: Marry, said the King, and to the Pope you shall go; and thereupon sent him to the Court of Rome,

and with him Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire, A.D. 1531 Dr. Stokesley Eleet of London, Dr. Lee, the King's Almoner, and others; who coming to Bologna, where the Pope was, had a Day of Audience appointed, but was hindered by a ridiculous Accident; for the Pope holding out his Foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the Manner is, a Dog of the Earl's by Chance in the Room, ran and caught the Pope's Foot in his Mouth, and made it for that Time unfit to kiss. After this, when Cranmer had made his Proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to Rome: So the Ambassadors were dismissed, and Cranmer went to the Emperor's Court, where in private Conference he satisfied Cornelius Agrippa, the most learned at that Time about the Emperor, and brought him to be of his Opinion. Cranmer returning Home, and giving the King this Satisfaction, the King's Marriage with Queen Katharine was soon after dissolved by Parliament, and the Bishop of Canterbury, accompanied with Dr. Stokesley, Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Bishops Bath and Lincoln, and other learned Men, rode to Dunstable, where Queen Katharine then lay; where being cited to appear, and making Default fifteen Days together, for lack of Appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none Effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager; after which Time, the King never saw her more.

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

At this Time, being the four and twentieth Year of K. Henry's Reign, Sir Thomas More, after long Suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to Thomas Audely, Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament, begun at the Black-Friers, was adjourned to Westminster, and there at nine o'Clock at Night dissolved, and was therefore called the Black Parliament. This Thomas Audely, was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellor; in whose Room of Speaker, Humfrey Wingfield of Gray's Inn, was chosen. On the first of September this Year, the King being at Windsor, created Anne Bullen Marchioness of Pembroke, giving her one thousand Pounds Land a Year; and then being desirous to talk with the King of France in Person, on the 10th of October taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset and Exeter, the Earls Arundel, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutland, Suffex, and Huntingdon, with divers Viscounts, Barons, and Knights, he sailed over to Calais, and on the 20th of October met with the King of France at Boulogne, with whom he stayed four Days; in which Time, to do him Honour, the King of France honoured the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the Order of St. Michael; and then both Kings went to Calais, where the French King stayed certain Days; in which Time, to do the King of France Honour, King Henry honoured two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter, and then after great Magnificence in Revelling and Feasting, on the 20th of October the French King departed from Calais, and K. Henry returned into England; where on the 14th of November following, he married secretly the Lady Anne Bullen, which Marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived.

Sir Thomas More delivers up the great Seal, and Thomas Audely, Speaker of the Parliament, is made Lord Chancellor. The Lady Anne Bullen is created Marchioness of Pembroke.

King Henry with the King of France at Calais.

He marries the Lady Anne Bullen.



A.D. 1531 she was with Child; at which Time *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died; *Thomas Cranmer* was elected in his room.

*Cranmer* is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Order of Knight-hood imposed upon all Men of forty pounds Land. *Cromwell* is taken into the King's Service. Queen *Anne* of *Bullen* is Crowned.

After that the King perceived his new Wife to be with Child, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on *Easter-Eve* she went to her Closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on *Whitsunday* following, and Writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certify the Names of Men of forty Pounds, to receive the Order of Knight-hood, or else to make Fine: The Assessment of which Fine was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell*, Master of the Jewel-house, and of the King's Council; a Man newly come into the King's Favour, by whose Industry great Sums of Money were by such Fines gathered. In the Beginning of *May*, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all Men who claimed to do any Service at the Coronation, by Way of Tenure, Grant, or Prescription, should put in their Claim three Weeks after *Easter*, in the Star-Chamber, before *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, for that Time High-Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners. Two Days before the Coronation were made Knights of the *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Hurlson*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savile*, Sir *George Fitz-williams*, Sir *John Tindal*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On *Whitsunday* the Coronation was kept in as great State and Pomp for all Circumstances as ever any was, and the Day after solemn Jufts were holden.

In *May* this Year, Pope *Clement* sent a Messenger to *K. Henry*, requiring him Personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the Year following: But when his Commission was shewed, there was neither Time nor Place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain Answer to an uncertain Demand, the Messenger departed.

An. Reg. 25. 1534.

The Queen is delivered of a Daughter named *Elizabeth*.

It was now the five and twentieth Year of the King's Reign, when on *Midsummer-day*, *Mary the French Queen*, and then Wife to *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, died, and was buried at *St. Edmund's-bury*; and on the seventh of *September* following, between three and four o' Clock in the Afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*: The Godfather, at the Christning, was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmothers the old Duchefs of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchionefs of *Dorset*, Widow; and at the Confirmation, the Lady Marchionefs of *Exeter*: The Christning was performed with exceeding great State, and great Gifts were given by the Gossips.

The Judgment of God upon an unhallowed Oath.

This Year, one *Pavier*, the Town-Clerk of *London*, hanged himself, whom *Holingshed* saith, he heard once swear a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, rather than he would live to see that Day, he would cut his own Throat; which I therefore relate, that the Judgment of God may be seen upon such an unhallowed Oath.

A little before this Time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the *Holy Maid of Kent*, came to be dis-

covered; whose Abettors were *Richard Master*, a Priest, Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking*, D. D. a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Deering*, a Monk, *Edward Thwayts*, Gent. *Henry Gold*, Parson of *Aldermay*, *Hugh Rich*, a Friar Ob-servant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentle-men. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances, in which she would deliver many strange Things, and amongst other, said, That by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if *K. Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one Month after. And here we may see how credulous sometimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, were thought to give Credit to this Counterfeit: So that we need not wonder at *St. Austin*, who though he gave Credit to many lying Miracles, yet they were such as had more Probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of Faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors, was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

A.D. 1534 The Holy Maid of Kent, her Imposture discovered, and she hanged.

In the mean Time the *Scots* had been troublesome, and made Inroads upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of Agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings Lives; which on the twentieth of *May*, this Year, was openly proclaimed.

About this Time, at the Suit of the Lady *Katharine Dowager*, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk*, in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come nearer: And because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* besides *Huntingdon*, to discharge a great Part of her Household-servants; yet leaving her a convenient Number like a Princess.

It was now the six and twentieth Year of *K. Henry's* Reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the Succession in the Crown upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all Parts of the Realm, to take the Oath of all Men and Women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Pope's Authority to be utterly abolished. But *Dr. John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas More*, Knight, and *Dr. Wilson*, Parson of *St. Thomas Apostles*, in *London*, expressly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom *Dr. Wilson* recanted, but the other two, persisting in their Opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two, Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a Man both of great Learning and good Life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Calais*, but before it could come into *England*, his Head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned, and very wise, but so given to a Vein of merry Jestings and Scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very Time of his Death, as when he was carried to

1535.

The Pope's Authority in *England* abolished by Parliament. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More* beheaded; and why.



A.D. 1535 the Tower, being demanded his upper Garment (meaning his Gown) You shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, It was the uppermost Garment he had: Also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him Forgiveness; I forgive thee, said he, but I promise thee, thou wilt never have Credit by cutting off my Head, my Neck is so short: And when he was to lay his Head down upon the Block, having a great gray Beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my Beard over the Block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my Head, you have none to cut my Beard. But his Devotion was no jesting Matter, for he used to wear a Shirt of Hair next his Skin for a perpetual Penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellor of England, as one Time the Duke of Norfolk coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable Things are recorded of him: One, which shews his great Integrity, and the small Reckoning he made of Riches, that having passed through so many great Employments, and born so many great Offices, yet in all his Time he never purchased above one hundred Pounds Land a Year, nor left any great Stock of Money behind him when he died. The other, which shews his filial Piety, that being Lord Chancellor of England, at the same Time that his Father was a Judge of the King's Bench, he would always at his going to Westminster, go first to the King's Bench, and ask his Father Blessing, before he went to sit in the Court of Chancery.

The ninth of July, this Year, the Lord D'acres of the North was arraigned at Westminster of High-Treason, before the Duke of Norfolk, as High-Steward of England: His Indictment being read, he so answered every Part and Matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found not Guilty; a rare Thing to stop a Current that ran with such Violence! The one and twentieth of September, Doctor Taylor, Master of the Rolls, was discharged of that Office; and the nineteenth of October following, Thomas Cromwell was sworn in his Place.

Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.

This Year the King of the Scots was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord Erskine; and Stephen Gardiner, who after the Cardinal's Death, was made Bishop of Winchester, was sent Ambassador Lieger into France, where he remained three Years. Also in January, of this Year, Katharine, Princess Dowager, fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperor's Ambassador Lieger, desiring her to be of good Comfort; but she finding her Death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King, commending to him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her; and then desiring him further, to have some Consideration of her Servants. On the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, she departed this Life, and was buried at Peterborough. A Woman of so virtuous a Life, and of so great Obediency to her Husband, that from her only Merit is grown a Reputation to all Spanish

Queen Katharine Dowager dies at Kimbolton.

Wives. Also the nine and twentieth of January this Year, Queen Anne was delivered of a Child before her Time, which was born dead.

Queen Anne is delivered of a Child before her Time, and born dead.

And now King Henry began to fall into those great Disorders, which have been the Blemish of his Life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes. For first in October this Year, he sent Doctor Lee and others to visit the Abbies, Priories, and Nunneries in England, who set at Liberty all those Religious Persons that would forsake their Habit, and all that were under the Age of four and twenty Years; and in December following, a Survey was taken of all Chantries, and the Names of such as had the Gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of February, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious Houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the Value of three hundred Marks a Year and under; the Number of which Houses was three hundred seventy and six; the Value of their Lands Yearly, above two and thirty thousand Pounds, their moveable Goods one hundred thousand, the Religious Persons put out of the same Houses above ten thousand. This Year William Tindal was burnt at a Town in Flanders between Brussels and Mechlin, called Villefort, for translating into English the New Testament, and divers Parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord Cromwell's writing for his Deliverance, in all Haste brought to the Fire and burnt.

All Religious Houses of a certain Value given by Parliament to the King.

William Tindal burnt in Flanders for translating into English the New Testament.

It was now the eight and twentieth Year of King Henry's Reign, when one Monday there were solemn Jufts holden at Greenwich, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to Westminster; whose sudden Departure struck great Amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without Cause: For the next Day the Lord Rochford, her Brother, and Henry Norris, were brought to the Tower of London Prisoners; whither also the same Day, at five o' Clock in the Afternoon, was brought Queen Anne her self, by Sir Thomas Audely, Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, and Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate fell on her Knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused. On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting as High-Steward of England. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet Answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all Matters laid to her Charge: But being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of Suffolk was Chief, she was by them found Guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of Norfolk. Immediately the Lord Rochford, her Brother, was likewise arraigned and condemned: Who on the seventeenth of May, together with Henry Norris, Mark Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the King's Privy-Chamber, about Matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-bill. Queen Anne her self, on the nineteenth of May, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of Calais by

1537.

Queen Anne is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.



A.D. 1537 the Hangman of that Town: Her Body with the Head was buried in the Quire of the Chapel there. This Queen Anne was the Daughter of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire, and of Lady Elizabeth, Daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; the Earl's Father was the Son of Sir William Bullen, whose Wife was Margaret the second Daughter and Co-heir of Thomas Butler Earl of Ormond; and the said Sir William was the Son of Sir Godfrey Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, who lieth buried in St. Leonard's Church in the Jewry, whose Wife was Anne, eldest Daughter and Co-heir to Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, and his Descent was out of the House of the Bullens in the County of Norfolk: Thus much for her Parentage.

Her Religion  
and Alms-  
deeds.

Her Inno-  
cency.

For her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: In Alms-deeds so liberal, that in nine Month's Space, it is said, she distributed among the Poor, to the Value of fifteen thousand Pounds. Now for the Crimes for which she died (Adultery and Incest) Proofs of her Guiltiness there are none recorded; of her Innocency many. First, her own clearing of all Objections at the Time of her Arraignment: Then Cromwell's Writing to the King, after full Examination of the Matter, that many Things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by Mark Smeton (and what was Mark Smeton, but a mean Fellow, one that, upon Promise of Life, would say any thing? And having said something, which they took hold of, he was soon after executed, lest he should retract it) Lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the Death; even Henry Norris, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him Pardon, if he would but confess it. It was a poor Proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one Morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her Ear; yet this was taken hold of for a Proof: And it need be no marvel, if we consider the many Adversaries she had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her Friend (For though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least Surmise to make a Certainty? But howsoever it was that her Death was contrived, certain it is, that it cast upon K. Henry a dishonourable Imputation; inso-much that where the Protestant Princes of Germany had resolved to choose him for Head of their League; after they heard of this Queen's Death, in such a Manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the Honour: And it is memorable what Conceit Queen Anne her self had of her Death; for at the Time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the King's Privy-Chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him, he is constant in his Course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marchioness, from a Marchioness a Queen; and now that he had left no higher Degree of worldly Honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediately after her Death, in the Week A.D. 1537 before Whitsuntide, the King married Jane Seymour, Daughter to Sir John Seymour, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: And on Tuesday in Whitsun-week, her Brother, Sir Edmund Seymour, was created Viscount Beauchamp, and Sir Walter Hungerford was made Lord Hungerford.

The King  
marries the  
Lady Jane  
Seymour.

The eighth of June the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord Thomas Howard, without the King's Assent, had affianced the Lady Margaret Douglass, Daughter to the Queen of Scots, and Niece to the King: For which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like Offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long Time remained there a Prisoner; yet afterward was set at Liberty, and married Matthew Earl of Lenox, who by him had Henry, Father of James I. King of Great Britain.

In the Time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at St. Paul's Church in London, where, after much Disputation and Debating of Matters, they published a Book of Religion, entitled, *Articles devised by the King's Highness*: In which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments, namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest-time.

Articles de-  
vised by the  
King's High-  
ness.

The two and twentieth of July, Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset (base Son of King Henry by Elizabeth Blunt) died at St. James's, and was buried at Thetstone in Norfolk.

The nine and twentieth of June, the King held a great Just and Triumph at Westminster, but a disastrous Sea-fight was upon the Water, where one Gates, a Gentleman, was drowned in his Harness, and by the bursting of a Gun, two Mariners were sore maimed. In July following, Thomas Cromwell, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal: And the nineteenth of July, the Lord Fitz-Warren was created Earl of Bath; and the Day after, the said Cromwell was made Lord Cromwell, and on the eighteenth of July, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers Times in the Convocation-House, amongst the Bishops, as Head over them. And now was the State of Religion in England come to a strange Pass, because always in passing, and had no Consistence: For at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some Cases only, a while after in all, but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few Points only; a while after, in many more; that the Fable of Proteus might no longer be a Fable, when the Religion in England might be his true Moral. And indeed, it could be no otherwise; the Distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed, *per saltum*, but must be done by Degrees; which Degrees may be observed in the Progress of the Story. For where at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in English, now it came to be permitted to pray in English; for now in Sep-

Cromwell is  
made Lord  
Keeper.  
The Lord  
Fitz-Warren  
is created  
Earl of Bath:  
Cromwell is  
made Lord  
Cromwell;  
and Vicar  
General over  
the Spirituali-  
ty.

tember the Lord Cromwell set forth Injunctions, to have the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

Religion al-  
tered in Eng-  
land by De-  
grees.



A.D. 1537 the Ten Commandments, and all the Articles of the Christian Faith translated into *English*, and to be taught by all Persons and Curates to their Parishioners: Which Innovation so stirred up the People, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the Number of twenty Thousand, against whom the King himself went in Person; who winning by Perswasion their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon Pardon to submit themselves: But when he had himself done the Work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and Sir *John Russel*, to do the Work of Justice; who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monk, naming himself Captain *Cobler*, and thirteen other (Ring-leaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty Thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on one Side of their Ensigns, they had CHRIST hanging on the Cross, on the other Side, the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for Maintenance of the Faith of CHRIST, and Deliverance of the Holy Church now oppressed. But these were opposed by *George Earl of Shrewsbury*, who having raised an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for Pardon, and Commission to proceed: At which Time a Rumour being raised amongst his Soldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels Cause, that what Shewsoever he made, yet when it should come to the Trial, he would not stick to join with them, and take their Parts. To remove this Opinion out of their Minds, he caused all his Soldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore, in their Hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never be assisting to any Rebels. To his Aid were sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*; who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the Way towards *York*, attempted first to have pacified them without Bloodshed; but when no Perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both Sides to come to Battel. But see here the great Goodness of God; for the Night before the Day appointed for Battel, it happened that a little Brook, called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon a small Rain grew to such a Height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; so as the Armies having Time to consider, and considering perhaps this Miracle as sent of God, they came to Agreement, and upon Pardon disbanded and returned to their Houses: But in the mean Time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough*, where the resolute Carriage of Sir *Ralph Evers* is memorable, who held the Castle by only his own Servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty Days together he had no other Sustenance but Bread and Water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very Time there was ano-

ther great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *A.D. 1537* *Westmorland*, and the North Parts of *Lancashire*, marching Southwards: But by the Diligence of the Earl of *Derby*, to whom also the Earl of *Suffex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Wally*, *Sauly*, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an End of Commotions; for now in *February*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, with others to the Number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlisle*; but by the Power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused seventy-four of them, by Martial Law, to be hanged on the Walls of *Carlisle*. But neither was there yet an End of Commotions; for now in *Streington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh*, and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by Procurement of *Francis Bigot*, who had a great Power, and meant to have taken *Hull*: But by the Industry of Sir *Ralph Ellarker*, and the Mayor of the Town, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to Flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an End of Commotions; for in the latter End of this eight and twentieth Year the Lord *D'arcy*, the Lord *Huffey*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest*, Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: But this, as being but the Fag-end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed; the Lord *D'arcy* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*, the Lord *Huffey* at *Lincoln*, Sir *Robert Constable* was hanged in Chains at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmer's* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and most of the other were executed at *Tyburn*. *Tantæ molis erat*, so great a Matter it was to make the Realm be quiet, in so great Innovations of Religion.

This Year, on *St. George's Feast*, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is *St. Edward's Even*, at *Hampton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a Son, but with so hard a Labour, that she was fain to be ripped. The Child was named *Edward*, whose God-fathers at the Christening were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*; his God-mother was his Sister, the Lady *Mary*: At his Bishoping his God-father was the Duke of *Suffolk*. On the eighteenth of *October* he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. But the Birth of his Son brought not so much Joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him Sorrow; for within two Days after she died, and was buried at *Windfor*, and so much was the King's Grief for her Death, that he continued a Widower two Years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable Dissolution befel the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets* (Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*) about this Time. For *Gerald Fitz-Garret*, who had been ten Years Deputy in *Ireland*, upon Complaint for some Fault was sent for over into *England*; where, not making

An Insurrection in *Lincolnshire* for Innovation of Religion. The King goes in Person and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North; for suppressing whereof the Earl of *Shrewsbury* raised an Army; and having done it without Commission, was glad to ask the King Pardon.

A Miracle of the sudden Swelling of the River *Dun*.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his gallant Carriage.

Another Insurrection.

And yet another.

And yet another.

Queen *Jane* is delivered of a Child, named *Edward*, but dieth.

The miserable Dissolution of the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets*, in *Ireland*.



A.D. 1537 a satisfying Answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had, with the King's Leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young Man of not above twenty Years of Age, but yet ripe of Understanding, and fit for the Place. This young Lord hearing that his Father was committed Prisoner to the Tower, and soon after, as the Rumour encreased, that he was put to Death; in Rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: And having five Uncles in the Country (Men of great Estimation) drew them, though some of them unwillingly, to take his Part. Amongst other Outrages he committed, the Archbishop of Dublin was slain in his Presence. The Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very Grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the King's sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into England, those of his Uncles, that against their Wills had been drawn into the Action, had good Hopes of their Lives, till entering the Ship of Passage, which was called the Cow, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophecy, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into England in the Belly of a Cow, and never after return: And indeed it fell out true; for through the Malice of their Adversaries, exasperating the King against them, and saying there would never be Quietness in Ireland as long as any of the Geraldines were left alive, they were put to Death: One only Son of the Family remained, a Youth of thirteen Years of Age, who, though at that Time sick of the Small-pox, yet made Shift to save himself by Flight; fled first into France, and frighted from thence, afterward into Flanders, and driven from thence, at last into Italy, where protected by Reginald Pool, at that Time made Cardinal by Pope Julius III. he was afterward, by his Means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, is made Earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitzwilliams, Lord Admiral, is created Earl of Southampton.

Frier Forrest hanged by the Middle, and withal burnt; by which a Prophecy is fulfilled.

This Year Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, the Queen's Brother, was created Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, Lord Admiral, was created Earl of Southampton. Sir Master Paulet was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir John Russel was made Comptroller of the King's House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights. In February divers Roods were taken down by the King's Commandment; as the Rood of Baxeley, called the Rood of Grace, which was made with Screws to move the Eyes and Lips; also the Rood called St. Saviour, at Bermondsey Abby in Southwark, and divers others. In May a Frier Observant, called Frier Forrest, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme Head of the Church, was thereupon examined, and for his Defence said, That he took the Oath with his outward Man, but his inward Man never consented to it: But this Answer served not his Turn from being condemned; and on a Pair of Gallows prepared for him, in Smithfield, he was hanged by the Middle and Arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a Fire, wherewith he was consumed. A little before his Execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of Wales, which the Welsh-men had in great Reverence, called Dar-

vel Gatheran, of which went a Prophecy, that this Image would set a whole Forrest on Fire, which was thought to take Effect, in setting this Frier Forrest on Fire, and consuming him to nothing.

In September, by the special Motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable Images, unto All Images which were made any special Pilgrimages and Offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, with many others; and forthwith, by Means of the said Cromwell, all the Orders of the Friars and Nuns, with their Cloisters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: Also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints, amongst others, the Shrine of Thomas Becket, in the Priory of Christ-Church, was taken to the King's Use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a Piece broken out by the Wound of his Head, were all burnt in the same Church by the Command of the Lord Cromwell: And the one and twentieth of October the Church of Thomas Becket in London, called the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres, was suppressed: The sixteenth of November the Black-friers in London were suppressed; the next Day the White-friers, the Gray-friers, and the Monks of the Charter-house, and so all the other immediately after; only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of Colchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the Abbot of Glasenbury, who therefore were all taken and executed. The four and twentieth of November the Bishop of Rochester preached at St. Paul's Cross, and there shewed the Blood of Hales, affirming it to be no Blood, but Honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council.

The Number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty-five, besides fourscore and ten Colleges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make Amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

The third of November Henry Courtney, Marquess of Exeter, and Earl of Devonshire, Henry Pool, Lord Montacute, Sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the King's Horse, and Sir Edward Nevil, Brother to the Lord Aburgenny, were sent to the Tower, being accused by Sir Geoffrey Pool, the Lord Montacute's Brother, of High Treason: They were indicted for devising to promote and advance one Reinald Pool to the Crown, and put down K. Henry. This Pool was a near Kinsman of the King's (being the Son of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Daughter and Heir to George Duke of Clarence.) He had been brought up by the King in Learning, and made Dean of Exeter; but being sent after to learn Experience by Travel, he grew so great a Friend of the Pope's, that he became an Enemy to King Henry, and for his Enmity to the King, was by Pope Julius III. made Cardinal. For this Man's Cause the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marquess, the Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil, beheaded on the

All Orders of Friars and Nunneries suppressed by Cromwell.

The Number of Monasteries suppressed. In Lieu of the suppressed Monasteries, the King erects six new Bishopricks. Divers Lords and Knights executed, and why.

Cardinal Pool, his Parentage and Education.

Tower-



A.D. 1537 Tower-Hill the ninth of January, Sir Nicholas Carew the third of March: Two Priests condemned with them were hanged at Tyburn; Sir Geoffrey Pool, though condemned also, yet had his Pardon.

About this time one *Nicholson*, alias *Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him: Whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the King's Palace at *Westminster*, for the King to sit on: And when the Bishops had urged their Arguments, and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping, perhaps, to have the Honour of converting a Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it; and withal promised him Pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: *Nicholson* remained obstinate, the King mis'd his Honour, the Delinquent mis'd his Pardon, and shortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this Time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by Instigation of Cardinal *Pool*, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he, as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for Defence; and to that End rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful Places Bulwarks to be erected. He caused his Navy to be rigged, and to be in Readiness at any short Warning: He caused Musters to be taken in all Shires, and Lists of all able Men in every County, in *London* specially; where Sir *William Forman*, the then Mayor, certified the Number of fifteen Thousand; not that there were no more, but that so many were ready prepared; and these, on the eighth of May, the King himself saw mustered in *St. James's Park*; where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in Bravery of Arms, and Forwardness of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not Men of the Gown, but all professed Soldiers; which they performed to their great Cost, but greater Commendation.

An. Reg. 31.  
1540.

The King enclines to marry again.

It was now the one and thirtieth Year of King *Henry's* Reign, and the nine and fortieth of his Age; when having continued a Widower two Years, he began to think of Marrying again; and he needed not to be a Suitor for a Wife, for he was sued unto to take one. The Emperor solicited him to marry the Duchess of *Milan*; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was resolved rather to have no Wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made Suit to him to marry the Lady *Anne* his Sister, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so, though differing in Points of Doctrine, yet in the main Point of excluding the Pope, both of one Mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* specially; and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his Actions had been such, as none but a Protestant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his Leave, would not like them long. Hereupon such Means were used, that Ambassadors came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match; and

And by the Commendation of *Cromwell*, marries the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*.

then, the eleventh of December, the Lady herself, in great State, was brought to *Calais*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King secretly came to see her: Afterward she was conducted to *London*, met by the Way, in several Places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of January she was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollis*, Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all Complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was solemnized: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* did the Office; the Earl of *Overſtein*, a German Lord, gave her. In April following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the King's Heart for ever, by making this Match, was made Earl of *Essex*; for in March before, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, and the antientest Earl of *England*, had broke his Neck, by trying to break a young Horse, leaving only one Daughter; and she dying without Issue, the Earldom came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the Honour, till afterward in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time; and then made, but not restored.

Sir William Hollis, Knt. Lord Mayor of London.

The Lord Cromwell is made Earl of Essex. How the Earldom of Essex came to the Family of Devereux.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir *William Paulet*, Treasurer of his House, Lord *Saint John*; Sir *John Russel*, Comptroller, Lord *Russel*; and shortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of April began a Parliament at *Westminster*, in the which *Margaret Countess of Salisbury*, *Gertrude*, Wife to the Marquess of *Exeter*, *Reynold Pool* Cardinal, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, *Thomas Dingley*, Knight of *St. John's*, and divers others, were attainted of High-Treason; of whom *Fortescue* and *Dingley* the tenth of July were beheaded, the Countess of *Salisbury* two Years after: And in this Parliament the Act of the Six Articles was established, and Sir *Nicholas Hare* was restored to his Place of Speaker in the Parliament.

Earls created,

It was now five Months after the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; and though the King, at the first Sight of the Lady, did not like her Person, yet, whether as respecting the Honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first Meeting; or whether he meant to try how Time might work him to a better Liking; or indeed, that he would not give Distaste to the German Princes at that Time, for some Ends he had a working, he dissembled the Matter, and all Things went on in a Shew of Contentment on all Hands. But for all these Shews, the crafty Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner*, finding how the World went with the King's Affection towards his Queen, and for her Sake with *Cromwell*, to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as misliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his Greatness) he so wrought upon the King's Inclination, what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of July, sitting in the Council-Chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same Month was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by a Law which, as some reported, he himself had

The Lord Cromwell is committed to the Tower.

caused



A.D. 1540 caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of July was beheaded on the Tower-Hill, for Crimes, as appears in Record, of Heresy and Treason. This Lord Cromwell was born at Putney, a Village in Surrey near the Thames Side; Son to a Smith; after whose Decease his Mother was married to a Sheer-man. For the Pregnancy of his Wit he was first entertained by Cardinal Wolsey, and by him employed in many great Affairs. The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his Service; and finding his great Abilities, first advanced him for his Worth, and then for his Pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest Part of Stephen Gardiner's Practice had been done before: For at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to Richmond, as for her Health and Pleasure; and in the Time of her Absence, on the sixth of July, sent certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain Causes, for which the King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve was not to be counted lawful; and so carried the Matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other, and so might she. Being thus divorced, it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queen, but the Lady Anne of Cleve. The Fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expressly delivered: Some say a Pre-contract of the said Lady with a Lord of Germany was pretended; but it seems to have been from some Womanish Defect in her Body; as she spared not to affirm, that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the Time of their lying together: And, as it is said, when her Ladies one Time said unto her, that they looked now every Day to hear of her great Belly; she should answer, they might look long enough, unless saying, How dost thou, Sweet-heart? Good morrow, Sweet-heart, and such like Words, could make a great Belly; for, said she, more than this there never passed between the King and me. However it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of Fear, or perhaps, as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private Life here in England, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen Years after, in the fourth Year of Queen Mary, was buried at Westminster.

His Parentage and Education.

The King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve is by Parliament judged unlawful.

Leonard Gray beheaded, and why.

Thomas Fiennes, Lord D'acres, hanged at Tyburn, and why.

1541. King Henry marries the Lady Katharine Howard.

ard, was shewed openly as Queen at Hampton-Court. On the tenth of June the Year following, Sir Edmund Knevet of Norfolk, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-Cloth, for striking one Master Cleer of Norfolk, within the Tennis-Court of the King's House: Being found guilty, he had Judgment to lose his right Hand, and to forfeit all his Lands and Goods: Whereupon there was called to do Execution, first the Serjeant-Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office; then the Serjeant of the Wood-yard, with a Mallet and a Block to lay the Hand upon; then the King's Master-Cook, with a Knife to cut off the Hand; then the Serjeant of the Larder, to set the Knife right on the Joint; then the Serjeant-Farrier, with Searing-Irons to sear the Veins; then the Serjeant of the Poultry, with a Cock, which Cock should have his Head smitten off upon the same Block, and with the same Knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandry, with Sear-Cloths; then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a Pan of Fire to heat the Irons, a Chafer of Water to cool the Ends of the Irons, and two Forms for all Officers to set their Stuff on; then the Serjeant of the Cellar, with Wine, Ale, and Beer; then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Bason, Ewre, and Towels. All Things being thus prepared, Sir William Pickering, Knight-Marshal, was commanded to bring in his Prisoner, Sir Edmund Knevet, to whom the Chief Justice declared his Offence, which the said Knevet confessed, and humbly submitted himself to the King's Mercy; only he desired, that the King would spare his right Hand, and take his left, because, said he, if my right Hand be spared, I might live to do the King Service: Of whose Submission, and Reason of his Suit, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of his Hands, and pardoned him also of his Lands and Goods.

A.D. 1541

The Summer of his three and thirtieth Year, King Henry, with his Queen Katharine, made a Progress into the North Parts; and returning at Alballontide to Hampton-Court, he was there informed of the Queen's dissolute Life, first before her Marriage, with one Francis Deerham, a Gentleman of Norfolk, whom employed afterward in Ireland, she had lately again at Pomfret received into her Service; and now, since her Marriage, with one Thomas Colepepper, of the King's Privy-Chamber: Whereupon, the thirteenth of November, Sir Thomas Wriothsley Knight, Secretary to the King, was sent to the Queen at Hampton-Court, to charge her with these Crimes, and discharging her Household, to cause her to be conveyed to Sion, there to remain till the King's Pleasure should be further known. The Delinquents being examined, Deerham confessed, that before the King's Marriage with the Lady Katharine, there had been a Pre-contract between himself and her; but when he once understood of the King's Liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her Preferment. So the first of December these Gentlemen being arraigned at the Guild-hall, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment to die, as in Cases of Treason: The tenth of December they were drawn from

Sir Edmund Knevet is adjudged to lose his right Hand, and the solemn Manner of doing it.

Is pardoned, and why.

1542.

King Henry is informed of the dissolute Life of Queen Katharine with Deerham and Colepepper.



A.D. 1542 from the Tower to Tyburn, where Colepepper was beheaded, and Deerham was hanged and dismembred: Colepepper's Body was buried in St. Sepulcher's Church in London, but both their Heads were set on London-bridge. The two and twentieth of December, there were arraigned at the King's Bench, the Lord William Howard, and the Lady Margaret his Wife, Katharine Tilney and Alice Wreftwold Gentlewomen, Joan Bulmer Wife to Anthony Bulmer Gentleman, Anne Howard Wife to Henry Howard Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who were all condemned for Misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queen's Misdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their Lands and Goods during Life, and to remain in perpetual Prison. The sixteenth of January, the Parliament began at Westminster, where the Lords and Commons petitioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queen's Offence, and that both she and the Lady Rochford might be attainted by Parliament; and that to avoid protracting of Time, he would give his Royal Assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the End of the Parliament. Also that Deerham and Colepepper, having been attainted before by the common Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament. All which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirteenth of February, the Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the Green within the Tower, where they confessed their Offences, and died penitently. Yet something to take off the Offences of this Queen: It is certainly said, that after her Condemnation, she protested to Doctor White, Bishop of Winchester, her last Confessor, that as for the Act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her Soul's Salvation, that she died guiltless.

Before this, on the three and twentieth of January, King Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland, whereas before this Time, the Kings of England were only entituled Lords of Ireland: And this Title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in Ireland, before Sir Anthony Saintleger, Knight, the King's Deputy there.

About this Time Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, base Son to King Edward IV. having been imprisoned upon Suspicion of a Practice for betraying of Calais to the French, whilst he was the King's Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: And thereupon the King, to make some Reparation for his Disgrace, sent him a Ring, and a very gracious Message, by Sir Thomas Wriothesley his Secretary; whereat the said Viscount took so great Joy, that the Night following, of that very Joy he died: So deadly a Thing is any Passion, even Joy it self, if it be extreme. After his Death Sir John Dudley, his Wife's Son, was created Viscount Lisle. This Sir John Dudley was Son to Edmund Dudley, beheaded in the first Year of this King's Reign, and was made Viscount Lisle in Right of his Mother.

During this Parliament, one George Ferrers Gentleman, Servant to the King, and Burges

for the Town of Plymouth in Devonshire, in A.D. 1542 going to the Parliament House, was arrested in London by a Process out of the King's Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as Surety for one Welden, at the Suit of one White: Which Arrest being signified to Sir Thomas Moyl, Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeses there; Order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called Saint John, should be sent to the Compter in Bread-street (whither the said Ferrers was carried) and there demand to have him delivered. But the Officers of the Compter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such Language, that they fell at last to an Affray; at which Time the Sheriffs coming, they also took the Officers Part; so as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner: Which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgeses, they took the Matter in so ill Part, that they would sit no more without their Burgeses: And thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared to the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audely Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Judges there assembled; who judging the Contempt to be very great, referred the Punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: Whereupon returning to their Places again, upon new Debate of the Case, they took Order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of London, and demand the Prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the Matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellor offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear Opinion, that all Commandments from the neather House were to be executed by their Serjeants without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant. But before the Serjeants return into London, the Sheriffs better advised, became more mild, and upon the second Demand delivered the Prisoner without any Denial: But then the Serjeant had further in Charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Compter, to appear personally the next Morning before the House of Commons: Where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their Contempt, and compelled to make immediate Answer, without being admitted to any Council. Sir Roger Cholmley, Recorder of London, offered to speak in their Cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the Parties themselves. In Conclusion, the Sheriffs and White who had caused the Arrest, were committed to the Tower; the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers, to Newgate; but after two or three Days, upon the humble Suit of the Mayor, were set at Liberty: And because the said Ferrers, being in Execution upon a Condemnation of Debt, and set at large by Priviledge of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into Execution, and so the Creditor without Remedy for his Debt against him as his principal Debtor: Therefore after long Debate, by the Space of nine or ten Days together, they at last resolved to make an Act on Purpose, to revive the Execution of the said Debt against Welden who was

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A.D. 1542 principal Debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but Surety: Wherein notwithstanding the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen Voices. The King being advertised of this Proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellor and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his Opinion to this Effect: First commending their Wisdom, in maintaining the Priviledges of their House (which he would not have to be infringed in any Point) he alledged that he being the Head of the Parliament, and attending in his own Person upon the Business thereof, ought in Reason to have Privilege for himself and all his Servants attending upon him; so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgeses, but only his Servant, yet in that Respect, he was to have the Privilege as well as any other. For I understand, faith he, that you not only for your own Persons, but also for your necessary Servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same Privilege; infomuch, as my Lord Chancellor here present hath informed us, that whilst he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and in Execution upon a Statute of the Staple; and for so much as the said Cook during all the Parliament served the Speaker in that Office, he was taken out of Execution by Privilege of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court (as our learned Council informeth us) is so great, that all Acts and Proccesses coming out of any other Court, must for a Time cease and give Place to it. And touching the Party himself, though for his Presumption he was worthy to have lost his Debt, yet I commend your Equity, that have restored him to his Debt against him that was the Principal. When the King had said this, Sir *Edward Montacute*, Lord Chief Justice, rose up and confirmed by many Reasons all that the King had said, as likewise did all the other Lords, none speaking any thing to the contrary.

1543. It was now the four and thirtieth Year of King *Henry's* Reign, when in *May* he took a Loan of Money of all such as were valued at fifty Pounds and upwards in the Subsidy-book. The Lord Privy-seal, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Thomas Baker* and Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*, were Commissioners for the Loan in London, who so handled the Matter, that of some chief Citizens they obtained a thousand Marks impress'd to the King's Use: For which Privy-Seals were deliverd to repay it again within two Years.

At this Time were many Complaints made by the *English* against the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *English* Rebels fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *English* Borders: But still when the King of *England* was preparing to oppose them, the *Scottish* King would send Ambassadors to treat of Reconcilement; till at last, after many delusory Pranks of the *Scots*, the King of *England*, no longer enduring such Abuses, sent the Duke of *Norfolk* his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North

Parts, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the King's Horse, and Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of the King's House, with others to the Number of twenty thousand Men; who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where staying but eight Days only, he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbys, and Castles, and then, without having Battel offered, for want of Victuals returned to *Berwick*. As soon as he returned, comes abroad the King of *Scots*, raileth a Power of fifteen thousand Men, and using great Threatnings what he would do, invaded the West Borders: But the Edge of his Threatning was soon taken off: For the Bastard *D'acres* with *Jack of Musgrave*, setting upon them with only an hundred Light Horse, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to Flight; upon a Conceit that the Duke of *Norfolk* with all his Army had been come into those Parts: Where were taken Prisoners of the *Scots*, the Earls of *Cassils* and *Glencar*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the King's Minion, *John Ross* Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskin*, Son to the Lord *Erskin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwel's* two Brothers, *John Lesly*, Bastard Son to the Earl of *Rothies*, *George Hume* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other Men of Account, to the Number of above two hundred, and more than eight hundred of meaner Calling; so as some one *English* Man, and some Women also, had three or four Prisoners in their Hands. At which Overthrow the King of *Scots* took such Grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one only Daughter. And here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater Matter than the Victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit Match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual Union of the two Kingdoms: And to this Purpose they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken Prisoners; who exceeding glad of the Proposition, and promising to further it by all the possible Means they could, were thereupon set at Liberty, and suffered to return Home. Coming into *Scotland*, and acquainting the Earl of *Arran* with the Motion, who was chosen Governor of the young Queen, and of the Realm, the Matter with great Liking was entertained, and in Parliament, of the three Estates in *Scotland*, the Marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten Years proclaimed; and Ambassadors sent into *England*, for sealing the Conditions. But *Beton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, being Cardinal, and at the Pope's Devotion, and therefore an utter Enemy to King *Henry*, so crossed the Business, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms; so as in *March* the Year following the Lord *Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, with an Army by Land, and Sir *John Dudley*, Lord *Lisle*, with a Fleet by Sea, met at *New-Castle*, and there joined together, for invading of *Scotland*. With the Earl of *Hertford* were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the Number of

The Scots enter the English Borders: Against whom the King sends an Army, and repels them.

The Scots frightened with a Conceit.

The King of Scots with Grief thereof dieth, leaving behind him one only Daughter. King Henry seeks to match his Son Prince Edward with his Daughter; and is embraced by all the States of Scotland.

Only *Beton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, and Cardinal, crosseth it. Whereupon a War between the two Kingdoms. And the Earl of *Hertford* is sent with an Army into *Scotland*.



A.D. 1543 ten thousand; with Sir John Dudley, the Admiral, were two hundred Sail of Ships. On the fourth of May the whole Army was landed two Miles from the Town of *Leith*, at a Place called *Grantham Garg*; and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his Men in Order, marched towards the Town of *Leith*; the Lord Admiral led the Forward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Reerward. Before they came to the Town of *Leith*, the Cardinal with six hundred Horse, besides Foot, lay in the Way to impeach the Passage; but they were so assailed by the Harquebusars, that they were glad to fly, and the first Man that fled was the Cardinal himself, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murray*, and *Bothwell*: Hereupon the English made forward to *Leith*, and entred it without any great Resistance. The sixth of May they marched towards *Edinburgh*, and as they approached the Town, the Provost, with some of the Burgers, came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon Condition they might depart with Bag and Baggage, and the Town to be preserved from Fire: But the Lord Lieutenant told them, their Falshood had been such as deserved no Favour, and therefore, unless they would deliver the Town absolutely without any Condition, he would proceed in his Enterprize and burn the Town. Here we may see what it is to make Men desperate; for to this the Provost answered, They were better then to stand upon Defence: And so indeed they did, and made the English glad to retire; for the Castle shot so fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a Part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whilst they lay there, they so wasted the Country, that within seven Miles every way of *Edinburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor House that was left unburnt. At *Leith*, the eleventh Day of May, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Edward Dorrell*, Sir *Francis Hotbam*, and others, to the Number of at least Threescore. In *Leith* Haven they seized upon all the Scottish Ships, whereof two were of notable Fairness; the one called the *Salamander*, given by the French King at the Marriage of his Daughter into Scotland; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late Scottish King; the Ballast of which two Ships was Cannon Shot, whereof they found in the Town to the Number of fourscore Thousand. On the fifteenth of May their Army and their Fleet departed from *Leith*, both in one Hour, having first set the Town on Fire and burned it to the Ground: From *Leith* the English Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*; all which Towns and Castles, with divers others, they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of May came to *Berwick*, not having lost in all the Journey above fourteen Men.

1544. In the mean Time, in King Henry's five and thirtieth Year, on *Trinity-Sunday*, a new League was entred into and sworn, between the King and the Emperor, at *Hampton-Court*, to be both Offensive and Defensive.

In this Year Proclamation was made, where- A.D. 1544 by the People were licensed to eat white Meats in Lent; but strictly forbidden the eating of Flesh: Whereupon, shortly after, the Earl of *Surrey* with divers other Lords and Knights were imprisoned, for eating of Flesh contrary to the Proclamation.

The third of June, this Year, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrian* was here created Earl of *Thomond* (which Honour his Posterity enjoyeth to this Day) *Mack William à Bary*, was created Earl of *Clarickard*, and *Mack Gilpatrick* was made Baron of *Ebranky*.

King Henry had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and no good Luck with any of them; he will now therefore try his Fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of June, in the five and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he took to Wife the Lady *Katharine Parr*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*, late deceased, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky this Match would have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, seeing in a short Time of three Years they lived together, it was no small Danger she escaped; which though it happened not till a Year or two after this Time, yet will not unfitly be spoken of in this Place, that so her Story may come together. This Queen, as being an earnest Protestant, had many great Adversaries, by whom she was accused to the King, to have Heretical Books found in her Closet; and this was so much aggravated against her, that they prevailed with the King, to sign a Warrant to commit her to the Tower, with a Purpose to have her burnt for Heresy. This Warrant was delivered to *Wriothesley*, Lord Chancellor, and he by Chance, or rather indeed by God's Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went soon after to visit the King; at that Time keeping his Chamber, by reason of a sore Leg. Being come to the King, he presently fell into Talk with her, about some Points of Religion, demanding her Resolution therein; but she knowing that his Nature was not to be crost, specially considering the Case she was in, made him Answer, That she was a Woman, accompanied with many Imperfections, but his Majesty was Wise and Judicious, of whom she must learn as of her Lord and Head. Not so, by Saint *Mary*, said the King, for you are a Doctor, *Kate*, to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen heretofore. Indeed, Sir, said she, if your Majesty have so conceived, I have been mistaken; for if heretofore I have held Talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majesty some Point, whereof I stood in Doubt, and sometimes, that with my Talk I might make you forget your present Infirmary. And is it even so, Sweet-heart? quoth the King, why then we are Friends, and so kissing her, gave her Leave to depart. But soon after was the Day appointed by the King's Warrant for apprehending her; on which Day, the King disposed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when suddenly the Lord Chancellor, with forty of the

Where he takes *Leith*, and many other Towns.

No Policy to make the Enemy desperate.

Lords imprisoned for eating Flesh in Lent.

*Obrian* is created Earl of *Thomond*: whose Posterity enjoyeth the Honour to this Day.

King Henry marries the Lady *Katharine Parr*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*.

She is accused to the King of Heresy.

And by what Means she avoids the Danger.



A.D. 1544 the Guard, came into the Garden with a Purpose to apprehend her: Whom as soon as the King saw, he stepp'd to him, and calling him Knave and Fool, bid him avaunt out of his Presence. The Queen seeing him so angry with him, began to entreat for him; to whom the King said, Ah, poor Soul! thou little knowest what it is he came about; of my Word, Sweet-heart, he hath been to thee a very Knave. And thus by God's Providence was this Queen preserved, who else had tasted as bitter a Cup as any of his former Wives had done.

King Henry sends over an Army to aid the Emperor against the King of France.

About this Time, King Henry and the Emperor sent *Garter* and *Toyson d'Or*, Kings at Arms, to demand Performance of certain Articles of the French King; which if he denied, they were then commanded to defy him; but the French King would not suffer them to come within his Land, and so they returned: Whereupon King Henry caused the said Demands to be declared to the French Ambassador at *Westminster*; and in July sent over six thousand Men, under the Leading of Sir *John Wallop*, accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen. Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marshal of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treasurer, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Captain of the Horse, and Sir *George Carew*, his Lieutenant. There were likewise Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John Saint-John*, and Sir *John Gascoigne*, Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commission was to join with the Emperor, and together to make War upon France. The third of August, open War was proclaimed in London, between the Emperor and the King of England on the one Part, and the French King on the other, as mortal Enemy to them both, and to all other Christian Princes besides, as he that had confederated himself with the Turk. Sir *John Wallop* marching forth of *Calais* with his Army, joined with the Emperor's Forces, who together went and besieged *Landrecy*, a Town lately fortified by the French, lying within the Borders of the Emperor's Dominions. To raise this Siege the French King had raised a mighty Army, with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperor Battel: And thereupon the Emperor raising his Siege, with a Purpose to encounter him, the French King took the Opportunity to put Men and Victuals into the Town, which was the Thing he intended; and having done this, the Night following departed with his Army: And then the Emperor seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no Hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also brake up his Army, and returned Home.

Lords made.

This Year, the Sunday before Christmas, the Lord *William Parr*, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bouchier* Earl of *Essex*, was at *Hampton-Court* created Earl of *Essex*; and Sir *William Parr*, Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-Year's Day, Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the King's Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothsley* of *Tockfield*.

In June this Year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* A.D. 1544 fled out of Scotland, and came into England, whom King Henry received kindly, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sister's Daughter, by whom he had Henry, Father of our late King *James* of blessed Memory. King James his Parentage.

*Thomas Audely*, Lord Chancellor, being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothsley* succeeded him in the Place. And now with an Army levied to go for France, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Privy-Seal*, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey*, the Duke's Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and his Son, Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Captain of *Guyfnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about *Whitsuntide* passed over to *Calais*, and marching towards *Monstreul*, joined with the Emperor's Forces, under the Leading of the Count *De Baron*, which two Armies laid Siege to *Monstreul*, whereof *Monsieur De Bies*, one of the Marshals of France, was Captain: But being then at *Boulogne*, and hearing of the Siege of *Monstreul*, he left *Boulogne*, and with his Forces came thither, which was the Thing that was desired, to draw him from *Boulogne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to pass over with the King's Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel*, Marshal of the Field, the Lord *Saint John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of the King's House, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the King's Horse, with divers others, who on the nineteenth of July, came and encamped before *Boulogne*. The four and twentieth of July, the King in Person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Calais*; and the six and twentieth encamped before *Boulogne* on the North-side. Many Batteries and Assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town, upon Composition, yielded, and the Duke of *Suffolk* entred and took Possession, suffering six thousand French, as was agreed, with Bag and Baggage to depart. The eighth of September King Henry entred the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle*, Lord Admiral, his Deputy there, he returned into England, landing at *Dover* the first of October. Many Enterprizes after this were made by the Dauphin of France, and by *Monsieur de Bies*, for Recovery of *Boulogne*; but they were still repulsed, and the English kept the Town in spite of all they could do; although at one Time there came an Army of eighteen thousand Foot, at another Time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand *Launce-Knights*, twelve thousand French Foot-men, six thousand *Italians*, four thousand of *Legionary Soldiers* of France, a thousand Men of Arms, besides eight thousand Light-Horse: Great Forces certainly, to come and do nothing!

Whilst these Things were doing about *Boulogne*, the Ships of the West-Country and other Places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred French Ships; so that the *Gray-friers Church* in London was laid full of Herrings. Three hundred French Ships taken, laden with Wine and Wine,



A.D. 1544

King Henry demands a Benevolence towards his Wars in France.

Richard Read, Alderman, refusing to pay his Assessment, is sent a Soldier into Scotland, and there taken Prisoner.

1546. Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, is made Knight of the Garter.

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, dieth.

Wine, the *Austin-friers* and *Black-friers* full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into France.

About this Time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in France and Scotland; to which Purpose the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and other of the King's Council sat at Bernard's Castle, where they first called before them the Mayor and Aldermen; and because Richard Read Alderman would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in Scotland, which the obstinate Man rather chose to do, than he would pay the Rate he was required. But being there, he was taken Prisoner by the Scots, to his far greater Damage than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: For at this Time Sir Ralph Evers, Lord-Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into Scotland, assembled four thousand Men, and entering Scotland now again, was encountered by the Earl of Arran, by whom he and the Lord Ogle, and many other Gentlemen, were slain, and divers were taken Prisoners, of whom Alderman Read was one.

It was now the seven and thirtieth Year of King Henry's Reign, when, on St. George's Day, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, was made Knight of the Garter: Also Trinity Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars; but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenth were open.

At this Time the English Fleet went before New-haven; but being there encountered by a far greater Fleet of French, they returned; with whose Retreat the French Admiral, emboldened, came upon the Coast of Sussex, where he landed Soldiers; but, upon firing of the Beacons, was driven back: After which he landed two thousand Men in the Isle of Wight, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships three score thousand Men.

In August this Year died the valiant Captain the Lord Poynings, the King's Lieutenant of his Town of Boulogne; and the same Month also died at Guilford the Noble Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Lord Great Master of the King's House, whose Body was honourably buried at Windsor at the King's Cost.

About this Time the Scots, having received Aid out of France, approached the English Borders, but durst attempt nothing: Whereupon the Earl of Hertford, Lieutenant of the North Parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand Men, English and Strangers, entred Scotland, and burnt a great Part of Mers and Tividale, as Kelsey Abby, and the Town, the Abbies of Melrofs, Driburgh and Yedworth, with an hundred Towns and Villages more; when, on the sixteenth of September, an Army of Scots and French attempted to enter into England on the East Borders, but in a Streight were set upon by the English, who slew and took of them to the Number of Seven-score, amongst whom was the Lord Humes's Son, and a principal French Captain. In another Road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord Maxwell's Son, and divers other were taken: But then, at another Time (such is the Chance of War)

five hundred English entring the West Borders of Scotland, were discomfited, and the greatest Part of them either taken or slain.

And now, to revenge the presumptuous Attempts of the French upon the Isle of Wight, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of Normandy, landed six thousand Men at Treport, burnt the Suburbs of that Town, with the Abby, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen Persons in the whole Voyage.

At this Time the Earl of Hertford, lying at Boulogne, had in his Army above four score thousand Men, and many Skirmishes passed between him and the French; till at last, by Mediation of the Emperor and divers other Princes, a Meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of England and France. Hereupon there came to Guisnes for the King of England, the Earl of Hertford, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Baron of Malpas, and High Admiral of England, Sir William Paget the King's Secretary, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton Dean of Canterbury: For the French King there came to Ard, Claude D'Anebaut Admiral of France, the Bishop of Eureux, Monsieur Raymond chief President of Roan, and the Secretary Bouchetel. Divers Times they met betwixt Ard and Guisnes: After a long debating of Matters, and divers Breakings off, at length, the seventh of June, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed

in the City of London, on Whitsunday the thirtieth of June, by Sound of Trumpet; and the same Day in like Manner at Paris and Roan: The chief Articles of which Peace was this, That the French King, paying to the King of England eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the Term of eight Years, should have Boulogne again restored to him, which in the mean Time should remain in Possession of the King of England, as a Pledge for Assurance of the said Money. And now, for a full Establishment of this Peace, the Viscount Lisle Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of Duresme, and divers other Lords, were sent into France, to take Oath of the French King, and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same Time divers Lords came from the French King, to take Oath of King Henry, who by the Way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at Hampton-Court.

In his seven and thirtieth Year, the three and twentieth of November, a Parliament began at Westminster, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colleges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of. The four and twentieth of December the Parliament was prorogued; on which Day the King coming to the Parliament-House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellor was used to answer, but at this Time the King would answer himself: The Effect whereof was, That where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent Qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it; not that he had them, but for putting him in Mind how necessary it was he should have them: Then he

A.D. 1546

A Peace concluded between the two Kings of England and France.

Boulogne is restored to the French, upon Payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

All Colleges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

The King answers the Speaker's Speech himself, and the Effect of his Speech.

F f f f thanked



A.D. 1546 thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colleges and Chantries, which he promised should be bestowed to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Realm. *Lastly*, He acknowledged their Love to himself, but found Fault with want of Love to one another; for what Love, where there is not Concord? And what Concord, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some to be stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none preacheth truly and sincerely the Word of God. Now therefore let this be amended; fear and serve God, be in Charity among your selves, to the which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you. And this said, the Acts were openly read: To some he gave his Royal Assent, and to divers assented not.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Boulogne* remaining still in King *Henry's* Possession, Monsieur de *Chatillon*, Captain of *Mont-plaisir*, began to make a new Bastilion at the very Mouth of the Haven of *Boulogne*, naming it *Chatillon's Garden*: Hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, as then Deputy of *Boulogne*, advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his Pleasure, whether he should rase it, as a Thing very inconvenient to the Town, or let it stand. The King asked Advice of his Council, who all agree, that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastilion stand: Whereupon the King caused his Secretary, the Lord *Paget*, to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray* to that Purpose; but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all Speed possible he should rase the Fortification to the Ground. Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, That a Message by Word of Mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed: Well, said the King, do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his Choice. Upon the coming back of Sir *Thomas Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the King's Letter, and withal Sir *Thomas Palmour's* Message, and then asked their Advice, what in this Case he should do; who all agreed, without any Question, that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: To which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmour's* Mouth, and those of the Council to set their Hands to it: This done, the Night following he issued forth with a Company of armed Men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortifications to the Ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King, half angry, Nay, tell me, said he, Will he do it or no? Being then told it was done, and the

Fortifications clean rased, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you, my Lords, to this? *Chatillon's Garden* is rased to the Floor. Whereto one presently answered, He that had done it was worthy to lose his Head: To which the King straightly reply'd, That he would rather lose a Dozen such Heads as his was that so judged, than one such Servant as had done it; and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray's* Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great Thanks, and Promise of Reward. The Cause why the King took this Course was this, lest if he had written the rasing of the Fortification in this Letter, it might have come to the *French-men's* Knowledge before it could have been done, and so have been prevented. And this may be taken as a Scantling of King *Henry's* great Capacity.

It is now the eight and thirtieth Year of his Reign, when, about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and *Henry Earl of Surrey*, his Son and Heir, upon certain Surmises of Treason, were committed to the *Tower of London*: And the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the Point of Death, the said Earl was arraigned in the *Guild-hall* before the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, and other Lords there in Commission. The special Matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them, as belonging to divers of his Ancestors; affirming withal, that he had the Opinion of Heralds therein. But for this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tried by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had Judgment of Death; and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*. The Duke was attainted by Parliament, and kept in Prison, till in the first Year of *Queen Mary* the Attainder was reversed. The Death of this Earl might lay an Imputation of Cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just Jealousy, growing from the many Circumstances of the Earl's Greatness, in the tender Age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

Soon after the Death of this Earl the King himself died; having made his last Will, in which he took Order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and he dying without Issue, his Daughter *Mary*; and she dying without Issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although another Order of Succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint John* and great Master of the Household, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the King's-Bench, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Calais*, and *Nicholas Wotton*

The Lord Gray obeyeth a Message from the King before the King's Letter.

1547. The Duke of Norfolk, and his Son the Earl of Surrey, committed to the Tower, and why.

The Earl is beheaded.

King Henry dieth.

His Executors.



A.D. 1547 *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*: To whom were adjoined as Assistants these twelve; *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Parr* Earl of *Essex*, *Sir Thomas Cheney* Treasurer of the Household, *Sir John Gage* Comptroller, *Sir Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, *Sir William Petre* Principal Secretary, *Sir Richard Rich*, *Sir John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, *Sir Thomas Seymour*, *Sir Richard Southwell*, and *Sir Edward Peckham*. And it was not without Need to leave a full Council-Table, considering in what Terms he left the Kingdom when he died. Abroad in League with the Emperor, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not Personal only, and no longer binding than King *Henry* lived, might be doubted: With the *Scots* at deadly Feud; with the Pope at utter Defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair Weather. At home the Frame of Religion extremely disjointed, and the Clergy that should set it in Frame, out of Frame themselves; the Minds of the People extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together. And in this State was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth died, in the Year 1547, the fifty sixth of his Life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

Of his Taxations.

IN his fourth Year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King two Fifteenths of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-Money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five Pounds, a Baron four Pounds, a Knight four Marks, and every Man valued at eight hundred Pounds in Goods, to pay four Marks, and so after that Rate till him that was valued at forty Shillings, and he paid twelve Pence, and every Man and Woman of fifteen Years and upward four Pence. In his sixth Year a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the Charges of his Wars in *France*. In his fourteenth Year Order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true Value of all Mens Substance might be known, and he would have had every Man sworn to tell what he was worth, and required a tenth Part thereof towards the King's Charges in the present Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth Part. This the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excused from taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their Honesties: But when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one Half of all their Yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five Years, and the Temporality two Shillings in the Pound, from twenty Pounds upwards; and from forty Shillings to twenty Pounds, of every twenty Shillings twelve Pence; and under forty Shillings, of every Head of sixteen Years and upwards, four Pence to be paid in every two Years. In his sixteenth Year, the Cardinal of his own Head attempted by Commission, to draw the People to pay the sixth Part of every Man's Substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the People in many

Countries rose upon it, so as coming to the King's Knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth Year, in a Parliament then holden, a Fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his Charges of making Fortifications against *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth Year, a Subsidy of two Shillings in the Pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four Fifteens, were granted to the King, towards his Charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth Year, a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three Years, every *Englishman* being worth in Goods twenty Shillings and upwards to five Pounds, to pay four Pence of every Pound; and from five Pounds to ten Pounds, eight Pence; and from ten Pounds to twenty Pounds, twelve Pence; from twenty Pounds and upwards, of every Pound two Shillings: Strangers, as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double. And for Lands, every *Englishman* paid eight Pence of the Pound, from twenty Shillings to five Pounds, and from five Pounds to ten Pounds sixteen Pence, and from ten Pounds to twenty Pounds two Shillings, and from twenty Pounds and upwards, of every Pound three Shillings; Strangers double. The Clergy six Shillings in the Pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice, but an Annual Stipend, six Shillings eight Pence Yearly, during three Years.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his Time.

IN a Parliament holden his sixth Year, divers Laws were made, but two most spoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth Year, he caused the Statutes against Inclosures to be revived, and commanded that decayed Houses should be built up again, and that inclosed Grounds should be laid open; which, though it did some Good, yet not so much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own Benefit had not procured Liberty for great Men to keep up their Inclosures, to the Oppression of poor Men. In his seventeenth Year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the King's House, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eighteenth Year, in the Month of *May*, Proclamation was made against all unlawful Games; so that in all Places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long; for young Men being restrained from these Games, fell some to drinking, some to stealing of Cornies and Deer, and such other Misdemeanors. Also in this Year was an Enhancing of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to Places where it went at a higher Rate; so that the Angel that went before but for seven Shillings, should now go for seven and Six-pence, and every Ounce of Gold should be five and forty Shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth Year, *Sir James Spencer* being Mayor of *London*, the Watch used on *Midsummer* Night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth Year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whosoever should poison any Person should be boiled

Assistants to his Executors.

Every Man sworn what he is worth, and to give the Tenth Part to the King.

Inclosures commanded to be laid open.

Dice and Cards forbidden.

Coin enhanced.



A.D. 1547 *boiled to Death*: By which Statute one *Richard Rouse*, who had poisoned divers Persons in the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Palace, was boiled to Death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible Example of all other. In his two and twentieth Year three Acts were made, one for Probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against Plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by Spiritual Persons. In his thirtieth Year, it was ordained by *Cromwell*, the King's Vicar-General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christening and Burial within the same Parish for ever. In his one and thirtieth Year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen, called Pensioners, to wait upon his Person, assigning to each of them fifty Pounds a Year for the Maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth Year, Proclamation was made for the enhancing of Gold to eight and forty Shillings, and Silver to four Shillings the Ounce; also he caused to be coined base Money, mingling it with Brass, which was since that Time called down the fifth Year of *Edward VI.* and called in the second Year of *Queen Elizabeth*. In his seven and thirtieth Year, the Brothel-houses, called the Stews, on the *Bank-side* in *Southwark*, were put down by the King's Commandment, and it was done by Proclamation and Sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth Year, it was enacted, that Butchers should sell their Meat by Weight, Beef for a Half-penny the Pound, and Mutton for three Farthings: Also at this Time foreign Butchers were permitted to sell their Flesh in *Leaden-Hall Market*, which before was not allowed. In his Time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there was *Tunstal*, Bishop of *Durham*.

#### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the Year 1517, the eighth Year of this King's Reign, *Martin Luther*, of *Wirttemberg* in *Germany*, a Frier of the Order of the *Hermits*, taking Occasion from the Abuse of Indulgences, began to preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion. For repressing of whom, the Council of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul III.* in the Year 1542, which continued above forty Years, but was never received in the Kingdom of *France*: Which Council, by decreeing many Things to be Points of Faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small Distraction amongst Papists themselves. Against this *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a Book with great Bitterness, and with as great Bitterness was answered. At the same Time with *Luther* there arose also in the same Country other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchthon*; who differing from *Luther* in some few Points, made the Difference which is at this Day of *Lutherans* and *Protestants*, so called at first at *Augsburg*, for making a Protestation in Defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendom over. King *Henry* in the six and twentieth Year of his Reign, had excluded the Pope's Authority out of his Realm; but thinking the Work not

sufficiently done, as long as Abbies and Priories kept their Station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars, there was not long after Means found to have them suppressed: For Aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than Truth) of Adulteries and Murthers; they by Act of Parliament, in his eight and twentieth Year, at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth Year, all the rest; and, lastly, in his five and thirtieth Year, all Colleges, Chantryes, and Hospitals. So as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Country. In this King's Time the City of *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to fly to his Castle *St. Angelo*, there kept a Prisoner, till he agreed to such Conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth Year of this King's Reign, a Proclamation was set forth, that no Person should purchase any thing from the Court of *Rome*; and this was the first Blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth Year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a *Præmunire*, were the first that called him Supreme Head of the Church. In his four and twentieth Year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made that Bishops should pay no more Annates or Money for their Bulls to the Pope; and another, that no Person should appeal for any Cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all Causes of the King to be tried in the Upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth Year, in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and with him, at the same Stake, one *Andrew Howet*, a Taylor, both for denying the real Presence in the Sacrament. And in a Parliament holden this Year, an Act was made which authorized the King's Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished; and then also was given to the King the First-fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Livings. And this Year were many put to Death, *Papists* for denying the King's Supremacy, *Protestants* for denying the real Presence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what Number for these two Causes were put to Death in the last ten Years of the King's Reign, of whom, if we should make particular Mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth Year, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Vicar-General under the King over the Spirituality, and sat divers times in the Convocation-House, amongst the Bishops, as Head over them; and in *September*, this Year, he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishoners the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave*, and *Creed*, with the Ten Commandments and the Articles of the Christian Faith, in the *English* Tongue. In his one and thirtieth Year, was set forth by the Bishops the Book of the Six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. That

A Register of all Weddings, Christenings, and Burials, when first kept. The Gentlemen Pensioners, when first ordained.

The Stews put down.

Butchers appointed to sell their Meat by Weight.

The President of the North, when first ordained.

*Luther* brings in a Reformation of Religion.

The Difference between *Lutherans* and *Protestants*.

The King, when first called Supreme Head of the Church. No more Annates to be paid to *Rome*; nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The First-fruits and Tenths given to the King.



1546.

The six Articles set forth by the Bishops

1. That the Body of Christ was not really present in the Sacrament, after Consecration.

2. That the Sacrament might not be truly administered under one kind.

3. That Priests enter'd into Holy Orders might marry.

4. That Vows of Chastity enter'd into upon mature Deliberation, were not to be kept.

5. That private Masses were not to be used.

6. That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.

The Order of St. John's dissolved.

This Year also the Religion of St. John's in England, commonly call'd The Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was dissolv'd; and on Ascension-day Sir William Weston Knight, Prior of St. John's, departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the Dissolution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belong'd to that Order into his own hands. In his six and thirtieth Year the Letany or Procession was set forth in English, with commandment by the King to be generally used in Parish-Churches.

Works of Piety done by him, or Others, in his Time.

UPON the Suppression of Abbeyes, King Henry instituted six new Bishopricks, and six Cathedral Churches, endowing them with convenient Maintenance. He also gave competent Pensions, during their lives, to such Religious Persons as were turn'd out of their Cloysters. He also instituted in both the Universities Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil-Law, and Physick, allowing to each of them Forty Pounds a Year. He also founded a College at Cambridge. He gave at his Death a Thousand Marks to the Poor; and to twelve poor Knights of Windsor each of them twelve Pence a Day for ever, and every Year a long Gown of white Cloth. But his greatest Work of Piety was, his putting down the Stews in Southwark.

Margaret Countess of Richmond, the King's Grandmother, founded two Colleges at Cambridge, Christ's College and St John's. In the fifth Year of this King's Reign, George Monox Mayor of London re-edified the decay'd Steeple of the Church of Walthamstow in Essex, adding thereunto a fine Isle, with a Chapel, where he lieth buried. On the North side of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Almshouse for a Priest and Thirteen poor Men and Women, giving them a Weekly Maintenance. He also, for the commodity of Travellers, made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from Walthamstow to Lock-bridge towards London.

Corpus Christi College in Oxford, when and by whom founded.

In this King's Eighth Year, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester founded Corpus Christi College in Oxford, minding to have made it an House for Monks; but Hugh Oldham Bishop of Exeter persuaded him to make it rather a College for Scholars; and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of Money towards it, contenting himself with only the Name of a Benefactor. In his seventh Year King Henry built the Tower of Greenwich. In this King's time Cardinal Wolsey founded two Colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich. To his College at Oxford he had given Four thousand

pounds Lands a year, but his Lands being all confiscated to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the College a competent Maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows; which College is now call'd Christ-Church, and accounts King Henry for their Founder. His College at Ipswich was demolish'd. This Cardinal also built Hampton-Court, the chiefest at this day of all the King's Houses, and built or enlarg'd White-hall, call'd then York-Place. King Henry, in his Four and twentieth Year, built also his Mansion-house of St. James, where also he made a fair Park. This Place before had been an Hospital of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Pensions during their lives. In his Thirtieth Year Nicholas Gibson, Grocer, then Sheriff of London, built a Free School at Ratcliff, near London, with Maintenance for a Master and an Usher: He also built an Almshouse there for Fourteen poor and aged People. In his One and thirtieth Year Thomas Huntlow, the then Sheriff of London, gave certain Tenements to the Haberdashers, for finding of Ten Alms-men of the same Company. In his Six and thirtieth Year, Sir John Allen, who had been twice Mayor of London, and of the King's Council, gave at his Death to the City of London a rich Collar of Gold, to be worn by the Mayor; which Collar was first worn by Sir William Laxton, on St. Edward's Day, at the election of the new Mayor, who gave to every Ward in London Twenty pounds, to be distributed among poor Housholders; besides the Sixscore Persons, whereof Threescore Men, to every one a Gown of Broadcloth, and a black Cape; and Threescore Women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Handkerchief. In the Eight and thirtieth Year, King Henry gave to the City of London, for the relief of poor People in St. Bartholomew's Spittle, the Church of the Grey-friers, and two Parish-Churches, the one at St. Nicholas in the Shambles, the other St Ewin's in Newgate Market, all to be made one Parish Church of the Grey-friers; and in Lands he gave, for the Maintenance of the same, Five hundred Marks a Year for ever; and this Church to be named Christ-Church, founded by King Henry the Eighth. The Lady Elizabeth Hollys, (Widow of Sir William Hollys Knight, late Lord-Mayor of the City of London) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17th of February 1543, and in the 35th Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and prov'd at London in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury the 28th of March 1544; did will her Executors, her Cousin Mr. Andrew Jud, Alderman, (afterwards Knight and Lord-Mayor of London) and her Brother Thomas Stopham, that they should provide a Place or Plot of Ground whereon should be erected 6 Almshouses for 6 aged folks, Men or Women, or else both, to inhabit and dwell in; for the Maintenance of which she will'd, that her said Executors should purchase as much Land or Tenements within the City of London, or Liberties of the same, as would amount, de claro above all Charges, to the yearly value of Ten Pounds Sterling, to be distributed in this manner; that is to say, to every of the said six

1546.

Hampton-court, by whom built.

St. James's, when first built.

Christ-Church Hospital in the Shambles founded.

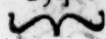
Christ-Church in Oxford founded.

G g g g

Alms-



1546.



Alms-people seven Pence by the Week, to be paid on every *Saturday* or *Sabbath-day* weekly, and the remainder of the said yearly Ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people, and this to continue for ever, whiles the World shall endure; as by the said Will may appear: Which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors. Which said Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys* were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. decess'd.

*Casualties in his Time.*

A Sweating-sickness, of which many Great Men died.

IN his Ninth Year happen'd a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* died, especially in *London*, which was so violent, that in three, and sometimes in two hours, it took away Mens lives, and spar'd neither Rich nor Poor; for in the King's Court the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers died of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his Thirteenth Year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many Men of Honour and Worship died; amongst others, Dr. *Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Dr. *Tunstal* succeeded. In his Fifteenth Year, after great Rains and Winds, there follow'd so fore a Frost, that many died for Cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his Nineteenth Year, by extremity of Rain in Seed-time, there follow'd a great dearth of Corn, which would have caus'd great Calamity, but that it was reliev'd in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand Quarters supply'd out of the King's own Provision. In his Twentieth Year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards infected all places of the Realm, by reason whereof the Term was adjourn'd, and the Circuit of the Assizes also. Many died in the Court, as Sir *Francis Poynes*, Sir *William Compton*, Knights, and *William Carew* Esquire, of the King's Privy-Chamber. The King himself for a space remov'd almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a Place of the Abbot of *St. Alban's*, where he, with the Queen and a small number, remain'd till the Sickness was past. In his Thirtieth Year the manner of casting Pipes of Lead, for conveyance of Water under-ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocke*, Clerk, one of the King's Chaplains: A profitable Invention, for by this two Men and one Boy will do more in one Day than could have been done before by many Men in many Days. *Robert Cooper*, Goldsmith, was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the *North*, in this King's time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that a Day of Battel between them was appointed, it happen'd that the Night before a small Brook call'd *Dun* running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small Rain swell'd to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; a thing which had never happen'd before upon a great Rain,

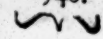
Another Sweating-sickness.

Casting Pipes of Lead without Soder, when and by whom invented.

A miraculous sudden rising of the River *Dun*.

and was then counted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his Three and thirtieth Year was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes, and withal so great a Drought that small Rivers were clean dry'd; much Cattle died for lack of Water, and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt Water flow'd above *London-bridge*, till the Rain had encreas'd the Fresh Waters. In his Five and thirtieth Year the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England* were made at *Buckstead* in *Sussex*, by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his Six and thirtieth Year was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourn'd to *St. Albans*, and there kept. In his Seven and thirtieth Year, on *Tuesday* in *Easter* Week, *William Foxley*, Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower in *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching or burning, till the first Day of the next Term, which was full Fourteen Days; and when he waked, was found in all points as if he had slept but One Night, and liv'd Forty Years after. About his Fifteenth Year it happen'd that diverse Things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhime was made:

1546.



The first cast Pieces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen Days together without waking.

Diverse things newly brought into *England*.

*Turkeys*, *Carps*, *Hopps*, *Piccavel*, and *Beer*, Came into *ENGLAND* all in one Year.

*Of his Wives and Children.*

KING Henry had six Wives: His first was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*. She liv'd his Wife above twenty Years, and then was divorc'd from him; after which she liv'd three Years by the Name of *Katharine Dowager*: She decess'd at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the 8th of *January*, in the Year 1535, and lieth interr'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, under a Hearse of black Say, having a white Cross in the midst. His second Wife was *Ann*, second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was married to him the Five and twentieth Day of *January*, in the Year 1533, liv'd his Wife three Years, three Months, and five and twenty Days, and then was beheaded, and her Body buried in the Choir of the Chapel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Somerfet*: She was married to him the next Day after the beheading of Queen *Ann*, liv'd his Wife one Year, five Months, and four and twenty Days, and then died in Childbed, and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Ann*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*: She liv'd his Wife six Months, and then was divorc'd: She remained in *England* long after the King's Death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* thro' *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Mary's* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Neice of *Thomas Howard* his Brother, Duke of *Norfolk*: She was married to him in the Two and thirtieth Year of his Reign, liv'd his Wife one Year, six Months, and four Days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chapel by



1546.

by Queen Ann Bullen. His sixth Wife was Katharine Daughter of Sir Thomas Parre of Kindal, and Sister to the Lord William Parre Marquis of Northampton: She was first married to John Nevil Lord Latimer, and after his decease to the King, at Hampton-Court, in the 35th Year of his Reign: She was his Wife three Years, six Months, and five Days; and then surviving him, was again married to Thomas Seymour Lord Admiral of England, unto whom she bore a Daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the Year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen Katharine, Henry born at Richmond, who liv'd not full two Months, and was buried at Westminster; also another Son, whose Name is not mention'd, liv'd but a short time neither; then a Daughter, named Mary, born at Greenwich in the eighth Year of his reign, who came afterward to be Queen of England. By his second Wife, Queen Ann Bullen, he had a Daughter named Elizabeth, born at Greenwich, in the Five and twentieth Year of his Reign, who succeeded her Sister Mary in the Crown: He had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen Jane, he had a Son named Edward, born at Hampton-Court in the Nine and twentieth Year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base Son, named Henry Fitz-Roy, begotten of the Lady Talboys, call'd Elizabeth Blount, born at Blackmore in Essex, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, who was made Duke of Richmond and Somerset, married Mary Daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, with whom he liv'd not long, but died at St. James by Westminster, and was buried at Framlingham in Suffolk.

*Of his Personage and Conditions.*

HE was exceeding tall of Stature, and very strong, fair of Complexion, in his latter Days corpulent and burly. Concerning his Conditions; he was a Prince of so many good Parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till Flattery and ill Counsel in his latter time got the upper-hand of him. His Cruelty to his Wives may not only be excus'd, but defended; for, if they were incontinent, he did but Justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfie his Conscience, that he thought he had Cause to think them so: And if the Marriage-bed be honourable in all, in Princes 'tis sacred. In suppressing of Abbeyes he shew'd not a little Piety, but great Prudence; for tho' they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent being abused; and then may the Use be justly suppress'd, when the Abuse scarce possibly can be restrain'd. To think he suppress'd Abbeyes out of Covetousness, and desire of Gain, is to make him extremely deceiv'd in his reckoning; for, if we compare the Profit with the Charge that follow'd, we shall find him certainly a great loser by the Bargain. He was so far from Pride, that he was rather too humble; at least he convers'd with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was usual with Princes: So valiant, that his whole Life almost was nothing but Exercises of Valour; and tho' perform'd amongst his Friends in jest, yet they prepar'd him against his Enemies in

earnest; and they that durst be his Enemies found it. It may be said, the Complexion of his Government for the first Twenty Years was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody; and it may be doubted, whether in the former he were more prodigal of his own Treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects Blood; for as he spent more in Fictions than any other King did in Realities, so in any Distemper of his People he had no other Physick but to open a Vein. But we shall do him extream Wrong to think that all the Blood shed in his time was of his shedding; they were the Bishops that were the *Draco*, to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution, the King oftentimes scarce knowing what was done. Certain 'tis, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemn'd him for such extream Cruelty. As for Religion, tho' he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto*. They who charge him with the Vice of Lust, let them shew such another Example of Continence as was seen in him, to lie Six Months by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for so did he with the Lady Ann of Cleve. But this is to make Nosegays: I like better to leave every Flower growing upon its Stalk, that it be gather'd fresh; which will be done by reading the Story of his Life.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

THIS recorded of him, That in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful that Engines were made to lift and remove him up and down: But howsoever, in the 65th Year of his age, whether by a Dropsie, or by reason of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languishing Fever, which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly despair'd of his Life; whereof none durst speak a Word to him, till Mr. Denny, one of his Privy-Chamber, took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the Danger he was in, and withal putting him in mind to think of his Soul's health: To which he answer'd, That he confess'd his Sins to be exceeding great, yet had such confidence in the Mercy of GOD thro' Christ, that he doubted not of Forgiveness, tho' they had been much greater. And being then ask'd by Mr. Denny, if he would have any Divine brought to him, with whom he might confer; he answer'd, He would willingly have Archbishop Crammer, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little Rest. Whereupon the Archbishop, being then at Croydon, was presently sent for, but before he could come the King was become speechless, only seeming to retain a little Memory, so as putting out his Hand; and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some Sign of his Faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the Hand, and immediately gave up the ghost, the 28th Day of January, in the Year 1547, the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, and of his Reign the Thirty-eighth. His Body with great Solemnity was buried at Windsor, under a most costly and stately Tomb, begun in Copper, and gilt, but never finish'd.

1546.

King Henry's Religious Carriage at his Death.

Men



1546.

## Men of Note in his Time.

**M**EN famous for the Sword were many in his Time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial, unless we shall prefer Dukes of equal Valour before others of meaner calling; and then will the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk hold worthily the first place; and, next to them, the young Earl of Surrey, who had been more fortunate if he had been less valiant.

Of Men of Letters in his Time there were whole Armies in foreign Parts; the most famous were Budans, Ludovicus Vives, John Reuchlin, Erasmus Roterodamus, Ursinus, Cornarius, Sadoleto, Martin Bucer: In England were John Collet Dean of Pauls, and Founder of the School there; William Lilly, born at Odibam in Hampshire, first Schoolmaster of Paul's School; Thomas Linaker, a learned Physician; John Skelton, a pleasant Poet; William Herman, Vice-Provost of Eaton, who wrote divers Works; Sir Thomas More; William Tyndal; John Rastal, a Citizen and Stationer of London; Christopher St. Germane, an excellent Lawyer; Sir Thomas Elliot; John Leland, a diligent Searcher of Antiquities; Sir John Bourchier Knight, Lord Berners, who translated the Chronicles of Froissard out of French into English; Henry Standish Bishop of St. Asaph, who wrote a Book against Erasmus's Translation of the New Testament; Arnold of London, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters; Thomas Lupset, a Londoner, who wrote sundry virtuous Treatises; Henry Bradshaw, a black Monk, who wrote the Life of St. Werborough, and also a certain Chronicle; John Palsgrave, a Londoner, who wrote Instructions for the perfect understanding of the French Tongue; John Skuiss, a Cornish Man, who wrote certain Abbreviations of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of Troy; Anthony Fitz-Herbert, a Judge, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law; Wilfred Hulme, who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire; Thomas Lanquet, who wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, and also of the winning of Buloign; Thomas Soulman, of Guernsey, who wrote divers Notes of History; Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham; Robert Whittington, who wrote divers Treatises for the Instruction of Grammarians; John Russel, who wrote a Treatise entitled *Super jure Caesaris & Papæ*, also Commentaries in Cantica; Simon Fish, a Kentish Man, who wrote a Book call'd *The Supplication of Peggars*; George Bullen, Lord Rochford, Brother to Queen Ann, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets; Francis Bigod Knight, born in Yorkshire, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, entitled *De Impropriationibus*; Henry Lord Morley, who wrote divers Treatises, as, Comedies and Tragedies, the Life of Sectaries, and certain Rhimes; William Boteville alias Thynne, who restor'd the Works of Chaucer; Richard Turpin, who serving in the Garrison of Calais, wrote a Chronicle of his Time, and died in the Year 1541; Sir Thomas Wyatt Knight, who wrote divers Matters in English Metre, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence as he was going Ambassador to the Em-

John Collet  
Dean of  
Pauls.

John Skelton  
the pleasant  
Poet.

Anthony Fitz-  
Herbert, who  
wrote an A-  
bridgment of  
the Law.

Sir Thomas  
Wyat, Knight.

peror, in the Year 1541: Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, who wrote divers Treatises in English Metre; John Field, a Londoner, who wrote a Treatise of Man's Free-will, *De libero Hominis arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common-Laws of England; Robert Shingleton, born in Lancashire, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophecies; William Parry, a Welsh Man, who wrote a Book entitled *Speculum Juvenum*.

## Mayors and Sheriffs of LONDON in this King's time.

In his first Year,  
Thomas Bradbury was Mayor for part of the year, Sir William Capel for the rest.  
George Monox, John Doget, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir Henry Kebble was Mayor.  
John Milbourn, John Rest, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Sir Robert Acheley was Mayor.  
Nicholas Shelton, Thomas Merfine, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir William Copinger was Mayor for part of the year, Sir Richard Haddon for the rest.  
Robert Holdernes or Alderns, Rob. Fenrother, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir William Brown, Mayor.  
John Dawes, John Bruges, Roger Bosford, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir George Monox was Mayor.  
James Tarford, John Mundy, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir William Butler was Mayor.  
Henry Warley, Richard Gray, Will. Baily, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir John Rest was Mayor.  
Thomas Seymour, John (or Rich.) Thurston, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Sir Thomas Exmewe was Mayor.  
Thomas Baldrie, Ralph (or Rich.) Simons, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Sir Thomas Merfine was Mayor.  
John Allen, James Spencer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Sir James Tarford was Mayor.  
John Wilkinson, Nicholas Patrich, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Sir John Burg was Mayor.  
John Shevington, John Kyme alias Keble, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Sir John Milbourn was Mayor.  
John Breton or Britane, Tho. Pargiter, Sheriffs.

In



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In his fourteenth year,  
Sir *John Munday* was Mayor.  
*John Rudston, John Champneis*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Sir *Thomas Baldrie* was Mayor.  
*Michael English, Nicholas Jennings*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Sir *William Baily* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Dodmere, William Roche*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.  
*John Caunton or Calton, Christopher Askew*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Mayor.  
*Stephen Peacock, Nicholas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Sir *James Spencer* was Mayor.  
*John Hardy, William Hollys*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Sir *John Rudston* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Warren, John Long*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first year,  
Sir *Ralph Dodmere* was Mayor.  
*Michael Dormer, Walter Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second year,  
Sir *Thomas Pargiter* was Mayor.  
*Will. Dantesey or Dancy, Rich. Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third year,  
Sir *Nicholas Lambert* was Mayor.  
*Richard Gresham, Edward Altham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth year,  
Sir *Stephen Peacock* was Mayor.  
*Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon,*  
*John Priest*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fifth Year,  
Sir *Christopher Askew* was Mayor.  
*William Foreman, Thomas Kitson*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-sixth year,  
Sir *John Champneis* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Leveson, William Denham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-seventh year,  
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.  
*Humphrey Monmouth, John Cotes*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-eighth year,  
Sir *Ralph Warren* was Mayor.  
*Robert (or Richard) Paget, William Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-ninth year,  
Sir *Richard Gresham* was Mayor.  
*John Gresham, Thomas Lewin*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Sir *William Foreman* was Mayor.  
*William Wilkinson, Nicholas Gibson*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-first year,  
Sir *William Hollys* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-second year,  
Sir *William Roche* was Mayor.  
*William Laxton, Martin Bows*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-third year,  
Sir *Michael Dormer* was Mayor.  
*Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fourth year,  
Sir *John Cotes* was Mayor.  
*Henry Hobbblethorn, Henry Amcoats*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-fifth year,  
Sir *William Bowyer* was Mayor.  
*John Tholouse, Richard Dobbes*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-sixth year,  
Sir *William Laxton* was Mayor.  
*John Wilford, Andrew Jud*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-seventh year,  
Sir *Martin Bows* was Mayor.  
*George Barne, Ralph Allen or Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty-eighth year,  
Sir *Henry Hobbblethorn* was Mayor.  
*Richard Jarveis, Thomas Curteis*, Sheriffs.

1546.



# THE REIGN OF King EDWARD VI.

An. Dom.

1547.

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The Earl of  
Hartford cho-  
sen Protector.Advancement  
of divers in  
Honour.King Edward  
is crown'd.

**I**T was now in the Year 1547, when on the 28th of January King Henry dying, Prince Edward, his Son by his third Wife the Lady Jane Seymour, and the only Son he left behind him, as well by Right of Inheritance as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdom; to whom, as being but Nine Years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assign'd Twenty-eight Counsellors; a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many, if at variance; and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord. The first Work therefore necessary to be done in this new World, was to make choice of such a Man as might be to the Counsellors a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority to the Kingdom. To this Place, by common Consent of the King and Council, Edward Seymour Earl of Hartford, the King's Uncle, was chosen, to hold the Place until the King should accomplish the age of Eighteen Years; in which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King a Knight; who presently thereupon made Henry Hobblethorn, Mayor of London, Knight: And then, King Henry's Obsequies being solemnly perform'd, on the 17th of February were raised in Honour, the Earl of Hartford Protector, to be Duke of Somerset; William Parr Earl of Essex, to be Marquis of Northampton; Dudley Viscount Lisle, to be Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley Lord-Chancellor, to be Earl of Southampton: Sir Thomas Seymour, the Protector's Brother, was made Lord Sudeley, and Admiral of England; Sir Richard Rich was made Lord Rich; Sir William Willoughby was made Lord Willoughby; and Sir Edmund Sheffield was made Lord Sheffield of Butterwick. On the 19th of February the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, where the Day following he was crown'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rites accustomed, in great solemnity; at which time a General Pardon was proclaim'd for all Offenders, six only excepted, namely, the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pool, Edward Courtney eldest Son to the Marquis of Exeter, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Throgmorton, and Dr. Pate Bishop of Worcester, who was fled to Rome, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy; all which six continued unpardon'd till the first Year of Q. Mary, and then were restor'd. A few Days after, the Earl of Southampton, Lord-Chancellor, for being

contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsel, was remov'd both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his Place in Council; and the Great Seal was deliver'd to Sir William Pawlet, Lord St. John, and Lord Great Master of the King's Household.

Within two months after the Death of King Henry died Francis King of France also, for whom solemn Obsequies were kept in Paul's Church, as he likewise had kept before at Paris for King Henry. These two Kings were of so consenting natures, that they had certainly been great Friends while they liv'd if they had not been Kings, and that Jealousie of State had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

King Henry, before his Death, had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means possible to procure a proceeding in the Marriage with the young Queen of Scots; and now, in discharge thereof, the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of 12000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, beside Labourers and Pioneers Thirteen hundred, enter'd Scotland the 3d of September; at which time also Edward Lord Clinton, with a Fleet of Threescore sail, assisted by Sea: But before he would do any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, That his coming was only to have Performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the Marriage, tending to the Good of both Kingdoms, which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner. And the more to draw them on, where before 'twas demanded to have the Queen brought into England, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content she should remain in Scotland till Years of Consent. This Demand the more moderate sort of Scots accounted very reasonable, but those of the French and Papal Faction, who were the greatest Persons and the greatest number, strongly opposed: Whereupon the Lord Protector presently put his Army into array. The Lord Gray and Sir Francis Bryan, with Eight hundred Light-Horse, were sent before to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the Enemy's Approaches; then follow'd the Avant-guard, in number between Three and Four thousand Foot, One hundred Men at Arms, and Six hundred Light-Horse, led by the Earl of Warwick; then follow'd the main Battel, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred Men at Arms, and One thousand Light-Horse,

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Francis King  
of France dies.The Protector  
enters Scotland  
with an Army,  
and why.How he mar-  
shal'd his  
Army.



1547.

1547.

The Profit of  
gaining Time.The Fire-crofs  
erected in  
Scotland, and  
what it was.The Battell of  
Musselborough  
Field.

Horfe, led by the Protector himself; laſtly follow'd the Rear, wherein were between Three and Four thouſand Foot, One hundred Men at Arms, and Six hundred Light-Horſe, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being ſixteen Pieces of great Ordnance; the other Wing was made by Men at Arms and Demilances; for the Avant-guard and half the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their ſide, the other half of the Battel, and the whole flank of the Rear, was cloſed by the Carriages, being Nine hundred Carts beſides Waggon; the reſt of the Men at Arms and the Demilances march'd behind. In this order they march'd two Days, taking in three Caſtles as they went with little reſiſtance. Where 'tis memorable what a ſudden Device the Defendants of one of 'em uſed to ſave themſelves by; for, finding they were no longer able to defend themſelves, and that their Obſtinacy had excluded all hope of Pardon, they made ſuit, that they might not preſently be ſlain, but have ſome time to commend their Souls to GOD, and afterwards be hang'd: Which Reſpite being obtain'd, their Pardon afterwards did more eaſily enſue; ſo much doth the gaining of Time oftentimes prevail, more than any other Policy. The Governor of Scotland hearing of the Protector's approach, and having no ſufficient Army ready to reſiſt him, ſent his Heralds abroad into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-croſs to be carried (an ancient Cuſtom in Caſes of importance) which was two Firebrands ſet in faſhion of a Croſs, and pitch'd upon the point of a Spear, and therewith Proclamation to be made, That all above ſixteen years of age, and under ſixty, ſhould reſort forthwith to *Muſſelborough*, and bring convenient proviſion of Victuals with 'em. By this means having gotten a ſufficient Army, he ſet forward towards the *Engliſh*, who were now come to the River call'd *Linne*: And here the Earl of *Warwick*, being too venturous, was like to have been entrapp'd, but by his Valour came off bravely. And now the *Scottiſh* Horſemen began to hover about the *Engliſh* Army, and to come pricking towards them, ſometimes within length of their Staves, uſing provoking Words to draw the *Engliſh* from their ſtrength; but the Protector, not mov'd with their provocations, maintain'd a cloſe March till he came to *Salt-Preſton* by the *Frith*, where he encamp'd within two Miles of the *Scottiſh* Army: And here the *Scots*, having gotten the advantage of a Hill, came upon the *Engliſh* with the number of Twelve hundred Horſe, beſides Five hundred Foot that lay in ambuſh behind the Hill; at which time the Lord *Gray* and *Francis Bryan*, impatient of ſuch Braveries, obtain'd Leave of the General to encounter them; and ſo, as they came ſcatter'd upon the Spur, within a Stone's caſt of the *Engliſh*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray* with ſome Troops of Light-Horſemen charg'd them home, and was forthwith ſeconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them back'd with a thouſand Men at Arms; yet the *Scots* reſolutely maintain'd the Fight three hours and more; but in the end, overlaid with a number, they were put to flight, and chaſed

almost to the edge of their Camp. In this Fight the chiefſt force of the *Scottiſh* Horſemen was defeated; the Lord *Hume*, by a Fall from his Horſe loſt his Life; his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and ſix Gentlemen, were taken Priſoners, and about Fifteen hundred ſlain. The next Day the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the place where the *Scottiſh* Army lay, to view their manner of encamping: As they return'd an Herald and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them, who having obtain'd an Audience, the Trumpeter ſaid, that the Lord *Huntley*, his Maſter, to ſpare effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, would fight upon the whole Quarrel, either with twenty againſt twenty, or with ten againſt ten, or elſe try it between the Lord-General and himſelf. The Protector answer'd, That for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any Bargain; and as for himſelf, that being in publick charge, it was not fit he ſhould hazard himſelf againſt a Man of private conditions, which otherwiſe he would moſt willingly accept. Here the Earl of *Warwick* entreated the Lord-General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter, (ſaith he) bring me Word that thy Maſter will perform the Combat with me, and thou ſhalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains. Nay, rather (ſaith the Lord-General) bring me Word that thy Maſter will abide and give us Battel, and thou ſhalt have a thouſand Crowns for thy pains. And thereupon, when no other Agreement could be made, a general Battel was reſolv'd on. In the Army of the *Scots* were Five or Six and thirty thouſand Men; in the Avant-guard commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about Fifteen thouſand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord-Governor, about Ten thouſand; and in the Rear as many, led by the valiant *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*. *Hackbutters* they had none, nor Men at Arms, but about Two thouſand Horſemen, (*Prickers*, as they term them) the reſt were all on foot, well furniſh'd with Jacks and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of Board, and ſlicing Swords, broad and thin: Every Man had a long Kercheif folded twice or thrice about his Neck, and many of them had Chains of Latin drawn three or four times about their Hoſe or Doublet-ſleeves. They had alſo, to affright the Enemy's Horſe, great Rattles cover'd with Parchment or Paper, and ſmall Stones within put upon Staffs three Ells long. And now both Armies joyn'd in Battel, where, after a long Fight, and much variety of Fortune on both ſides, at length the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*. In this Fight diverſe of the Nobility of Scotland were ſlain; of the inferior ſort, about Ten or (as ſome ſay) Fourteen thouſand: Of the *Engliſh* were ſlain One and fifty Horſemen, and one Footman, but many hurt. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously thruſt with a Pike in the Mouth, which ſtruck two inches into his Neck. The *Scottiſh* Priſoners, accounted by the Maſhal's Book, were about Fifteen hundred, the chief whereof were the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Yeſter*, *Hobley*, and *Hamilton*, the Maſter of *Sanc-poole*, and the Lord of *Weems*. The Earl of *Huntley* being ask'd, while he was a Priſoner, how he ſtood affected to the Marriage, made this Answer, That he liked

The Lord  
Huntley chal-  
lengeth the  
Protector to a  
Combat, and  
the Protector's  
Answer.How the Scots  
Army was  
maſhal'd.The great  
number of  
Scots ſlain, and  
ſmall number  
of the Engliſh



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Days to some  
Men fortu-  
nate, and un-  
fortunate to  
others.

liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of wooing. This Victory of *Musselborough* against the *Scots* was on the Tenth of *December*, the very same Day on which, Thirty Years before, a Victory had been had against them at *Flodden Field*; so as, it seems, this Day was fatal to the *Scots*, and confirms the Opinion of Astrologers, that there are Days to some Men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known.

This Victory struck such a Terroure into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bothwell*, and divers chief Gentlemen of *Trivale*, submitted themselves to the King of *England*, and were receiv'd by the Protector into his protection. After this the *English* Army took many Towns and Castles, and then, for want of Provision, return'd into *England*, having not stay'd above Five and twenty Days in *Scotland*, and not lost above Threescore Men. After the taking of *Musselborough*, the Duke of *Somerset* made many Knights, but three especially; namely, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treasurer, Sir *Francis Bryan* Captain of the Light-Horse, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horsemen: He made Bannetts, which is a Dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron; and these were the last that from that time to this did ever receive this Dignity. But, notwithstanding this great Overthrow at *Musselborough*, the Governor of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet, but assembling the People, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the Liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any Event of War.

Inclosures  
commanded to  
be laid open.

Injunctions set  
forth in mat-  
ters of Reli-  
gion.

Divers Bishops  
committed to  
Prison.

In this time many Distractions and Troubles happen'd in *England*, partly in matter of Religion, and partly about Inclosures. And first for Inclosures, the Lord Protector caused Proclamation to be set forth, commanding, that they who had inclosed any Lands accusom'd to lie open, should, upon a certain pain, before a Day assign'd, lay them open again. And then in matters of Religion, certain Injunctions were set forth for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were sent with Instructions to dissuade the People from praying to Saints, or for the Dead; from the use of Beads, Ashes, and Processions; from Masses, Dirges, praying in an unknown Tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publickly to be read in Churches: And many, for offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punish'd, or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet for refusing to receive these Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was likewise committed first to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preach'd, 'Twere well these Changes in Religion should be stay'd until the King were of Years to govern by himself. For the like Causes *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Heath* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chicheſter*, were in like manner committed to Prison, and all of them disposseſs'd of their Bishopricks: And that which was worse, the Bishopricks themselves were disposseſs'd of their Revenues, in such sort, that a very small part remain'd to the Bishops that came after.

And now a Parliament was held, in the First Year of the King, and by Prorogation in the Second, wherein divers Chuntries, Colleges, free Chapels, Fraternities, and Guilds, with all their Lands and Goods, were given to the King; which being sold at a low rate, enrich'd many, and ennobled some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change: Also it was then order'd, that no Man should speak against receiving the Eucharist in both Kinds; and, that Bishops should be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters-patent, without any Election preceeding, or Confirmation ensuing; and, that all Procesſes Ecclesiastical should be made in the King's Name, as in Writs at the Common-Law; and, that all Persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should have the King's Arms in the Seals of their Office: And further, the Statute of the Six Articles, and other Statutes concerning punishment of Lollards, were repeal'd, and the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirm'd.

All this while the Wars in *Scotland* continued, and were manag'd by the Lord *Gray of Wilton* with variable success: And now about this time was sent to him in aid the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with Fifteen thousand Men: Against him, in aid of the *Scots*, was sent the *Rhinegrave* with Ten thousand *French*; who entring into consultation how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *English*, provided a Fleet, and sailing round about *Scotland*, notwithstanding the *English* Fleet lay in wait to impede their passage, yet convey'd her safely into *France*, being then but six years old, accompanied in the Journey with *James* her base Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Levison*; and in April following she was married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

1547.

A Parliament  
in which ma-  
ny things are  
order'd con-  
cerning Eccle-  
siastical affairs.

The young  
Queen of Scots  
is convey'd to  
*France*.

She is married  
at 6 years old  
to *Francis* the  
Dauphin of  
*France*.

You heard before the Alterations in Religion, now hear the Troubles: For when the Injunctions were sent abroad into the Country, and Commissioners appointed to see them executed, one Mr. *Boddy*, a Commissioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was suddenly by a Priest stab'd in the Body with a Knife. Hereupon the People flock'd together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit Outrages: And altho' the chief Offender was hang'd and quarter'd in *Smithfield*, and many of his Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withal a Pardon proclaim'd to all that would lay down their Arms, yet neither could that Severity, nor this Lenity, restrain them from their Insolencies, but in divers Countries, as *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Gloucestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Worcestershire*, but especially *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*, great Assemblies of People gather'd to a head, whose chief Leaders were *Humphrey Arundel*, and about six others of inferior note, and many Priests. Some of these (we may say) were Commonwealth Mutineers, and some mutinied for Religion: They who were for the Commonwealth could agree upon nothing; some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Justice; but above all, Inclosures must down; but whether all, or which, or how to be employ'd, none could tell. The Religious Mutineers were not altogether so various in their Voices, as having some few amongst

1548

The Troubles  
that ensued  
on the Altera-  
tion of Reli-  
gion.



1548.

amongst 'em by whom they were guided; these in the name of the People hammer'd up these Articles following, upon granting of which they profess'd, that both their Bodies and Goods should be at the King's devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptism at all times of Necessity, as well on Week-days as on Holy-days.
2. That their Children might be confirm'd by the Bishop.
3. That the Mass might be celebrated, no Man communicating with the Priest.
4. That they might have Reservation of the Lord's Body in their Churches.
5. That they might have holy Bread, and holy Water, in remembrance of Christ's precious Body and Blood.
6. That Priests might live unmarried.
7. That the Six Articles set forth by King Henry the Eighth might be continued, at least till the King should come to full Age.

Upon these Demands, altho' the King knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable Men, yet to discharge the Place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withal a general Pardon, if they would desist and lay down Arms; but the seditious growing the more outrageous the fairer they were entreated, and finding themselves unable to subsist with their own Estates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities: And first they came to Exeter, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire of the Gates; but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in Wood and maintaining the Fire till they had cast up a half-Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewn and cut in pieces. After this they mined the Walls, laid Poudre, and ramm'd the Mouth, but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a Countermine, whereinto they poured such plenty of Water that the wet Poudre could not be fired. All this while the Lord Russel, Lord Privy-Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at Honyton expecting more Forces, whilst the Citizens of Exeter, for twelve Days together, endur'd so great a Famine that they were fain to eat Horses, and make Bread of coarse Bran moulded in Cloths, for otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord Gray came to the Lord Russel with a supply of Forces; who, after many Conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their Siege at Exeter, and thereby freed the City from many Miseries, to whom the King afterward gave the Mannor of Eyland in reward for their Loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the King's Army, and the greatest part of 'em slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law; the chief Leaders were sent to London, and there executed. The Sedition being thus suppress'd, 'tis memorable what sport Sir William Kingsfon the Provost-Martial made, by vertue of his Office, upon Men in misery. One Boyer, Mayor of Bodmyn in Cornwall, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the Provost sent word, *he would come and dine with him*, for whom the Mayor made great Provision: A little before Dinner the Provost took the Mayor

Exeter endur'd a Siege of the Rebels to extreme Famine.

For which Loyalty the King gave 'em the Mannor of Eyland.

Sir William Kingsfon's merry Cruelty.

1549.

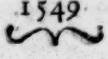
aside, and whisper'd him in the Ear, *That an Execution must that Day be done in the Town, and therefore requir'd to have a pair of Gallows set up against Dinner should be done.* The Mayor fail'd not of his charge. Presently after Dinner the Provost taking the Mayor by the Hand, entreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was; which when he beheld, he ask'd the Mayor if he thought them to be strong enough. Yes, (said the Mayor) doubtless they are. Well then, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answer'd the Mayor) you mean not as you speak. In faith (saith the Provost) there is no Remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel. And so, without respite or defence, he was hang'd to death; a most uncourteous part for a Guest to offer his Host! Near the said place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busie Actor in that Rebellion, who fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his Servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any Man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say, that *himself was the Miller, and had been so for three Years before.* So the Provost came, and call'd for the Miller; when out comes the Servant, and saith *he was the Man.* The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill. *These three Years,* answer'd the Servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree: At this the Fellow cried out, that *he was not the Miller, but the Miller's Man.* Nay, Sir, (said the Provost) *I will take you at your word; and if thou beest the Miller, thou'rt a busie Knave; if thou beest not, thou'rt a false lying Knave; and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better Service than to hang for him.* And so, without more ado, he was dispatch'd.

When this Sedition in Devonshire was appeased, there arose another in Norfolk, and that specially upon a Grievance for Inclosures. The Rebels had got one Robert Ket, a Tanner of Wymondham, to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of 20000, seating themselves at Mount-Surrey, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion; for they had one Conyers, an idle fellow, to be their Chaplain, who Morning and Evening read solemn Prayers; also Sermons they had often: And as for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where Ket usually sate, and with him Two of every Hundred whence their Companions had been rais'd, to hear Complaints, and give Judgment; and from hence were Warrants sent in the King's Name, to bring in Poudre, Shot, Victuals, and all things necessary; which Tree hath ever since been call'd the *Tree of Reformation.* And now being grown to a height, they presented certain Complaints to the King, requiring he would send a Herald to them, to give them Satisfaction. The King, tho' he took it for a great Indignity, to have such base fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the Time, he return'd this Answer, That in October following he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints should be heard, and all their Grievances should be redress'd; requiring them in the mean time to lay down Arms and return to their Houses; and thereupon granting them a

An Insurrection in Norfolk about Inclosures, by Ket, a Tanner.

Their Shews of Religion.



1549.  general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then return'd again to their Station at *Moussbold*. Not long after, *William Parre*, Marquis of *Norhampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wintworth*, divers Knights, and 1500 Horse, with a small Band of *Italians*, was sent against them, whom the Seditious so stoutly oppos'd, that much Mischief was done on both sides. The Lord *Sheffield* falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken Prisoner, and as he pull'd off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher stricken down with a Club, and slain. So as the Marquis with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis*, and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent an Herald to them, offering them the King's Pardon if they would desist; but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turning up his naked Breach towards the Herald, bid him kiss it. Upon this many Skirmishes pass'd between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another: At last they came to Battel, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above Two thousand. And now once again the Earl offer'd them Pardon if they would desist; but, for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon in case he should come in person and assure 'em of it. This mov'd them much; and then they answer'd, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all Joy and Prosperity to the King. Nine of the principal Rebels were hang'd upon the *Tree of Reformation*: *Ket* himself flying away, was taken and hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich Castle*. The Day of this Defeat of the Seditious was a long time after observ'd for a Festival Day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; when at the same time another rose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish-Clerk, and *Stevenson* a Poet, to whom were assembled Four or Five thousand, who took their Encouragement from a certain Prophecy, which did foretell, that the time should come when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroy'd; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governors elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, which should begin at the *South* and *North Seas* of *England*; and that time they understood to be the present; and, that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire* should draw together to accomplish this Prophecy. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found

They take the Town of *Norwich*.

They encounter the King's Forces.

They refuse Pardon offer'd to them.

At last they embrace Pardon, if the E. of *Warwick* will bring it to them himself.

*Ket* is taken and hang'd.

Another Insurrection in *Yorkshire* upon the Conceit of a Prophecy.

that they were deceiv'd in the understanding of the Prophecy; and thereupon presently, upon the King's Pardon, they fell off and dispers'd: Their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others, were executed at *Tyk*; and with this the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of this Kingdom.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these Seditions, tho' he had been in Treaty of Peace with *England* before, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaim'd War, and denounc'd it by his Ambassador to the King. Hereupon all Frenchmen in *England*, not Denizens, were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seiz'd for the King; which the French King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, but was repell'd with the loss of a thousand Men. After this, he levied an Army by Land, and went himself in person against *Buloign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*; but being weary of the Work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege; who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last Assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals: And to this end charg'd a Galley with Gravel and Stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven; but the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the Stones for their own defence. After this they made Faggots of light matter mix'd with Pitch, Tarr, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven; but that Enterprize was defeated by the *Buloigners*, and the Faggots taken from the *French*; and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

But in *England*, in the mean time, an unfortunate Accident happen'd, which beginning upon a very light Occasion, produced afterward very heavy Effects; whereof tho' there were many concurrent Circumstances, yet the original Cause was the Pride of a Woman, upon a point indeed wherein the Natures of Women are commonly most tender, *Precedency of Place*. The Protector had married *Ann Stanhope*, a Woman of a haughty Stomach; and the Lord-Admiral, his Brother the Queen-Dowager, a Lady of great mildness. The nearness of the Husbands gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutcheffs would inwardly murmur, why she, being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better Man, should give place to her who was the Wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner Man. This Envy of hers towards the Queen bred a Malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the Mischief she did to the Husband to be a part of Revenge upon the Wife; and tho' the Queen shortly after died in Childbed, yet the Malice of the Dutcheffs towards the Admiral lived still (so hard a thing it is for Malice, once settled in a Woman's Heart, to be remov'd.) Out of this Malice she puts divers Surmises into her Husband the Protector's Head, against his Brother the Admiral, as tho' he went about to procure his Death, to the end he might aspire to the Place he held; but certainly, as misliking his Government, being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist: In this case Causes of Jealousie against the Admiral were obvious enough; for it was known

1549.

But these also on the King's Pardon lay down their Arms.

The French King taking advantage of these Seditions in *England*, goes with an Army against *Buloign*, which the valiant Sir *Nich. Arnold* defended.

Contention for Place between the Queen-Dowager, Wife of the Lord-Admiral, and the Lady *Ann Stanhope*, Wife of the Protector.

She makes Variance between the two Brothers their Husbands.



1549.

The Admiral  
in Parliament  
is accused of  
divers Crimes.

He is behead-  
ed.

After his  
death the Pro-  
tector is accu-  
sed.

known that in King *Henry's* time, he had aim'd at the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Henry's* second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen *Dowager* being dead, (and not without suspicion of Poyson) he fell upon that Marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend but to some very high-aspiring End. The Protector, a plain Man, and one that had not the deepest insight into Practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest Mind, not willing to patronize Faults, though in a Brother, gave way to Accusations brought against him; so as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King and Government of the Realm; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's Sister; for persuading the King in his tender Years to take upon him the Rule and Ordering of himself. Upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his Answer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned; and within few Days after Condemnation, a Warrant was sent under the Hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head: Wherein (as after it prov'd) he did as much as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block: For whilst these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong Fortrefs one to the other; the Admirals Courage supporting the Protector's Authority, and the Protector's Authority maintaining the Admiral's Stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the Protector's Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruin. Besides, there was at this time, amongst the Nobility, a kind of Faction; Protestants, who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other of the Papal Inclination, who favoured him for his Brother's sake: But his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother. And perhaps more than all this, the Earl of *Warwick*, at this time, was the most powerful Man both in Courage and Council amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him. However, it was not long after the Admiral's Death the Protector was invaded with several Accusations; wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greatest show, but had yet always the greatest hand. One thing the Protector had done, which, though a private act, yet gave a publick Distaste.

To make him a Mansion-house in the *Strand*; (the same which is now called *Somerfet-house*) he pulled down a Church and two Bishops Houses by the *Strand-Bridge*; in digging the Foundation whereof, the Bones of many who had been there buried were cast out, and carried into the Fields: And because the Stones of those Houses and the Church sufficed not for his work, the Steeple and most part of the Church of *St. John's of Jerusalem*, near *Smithfield*, was mined and overthrown with Powder, and the Stones applied to this spacious Building; and more than this, the Cloyster of *Paul's* on the

North side of the Church, in a place called *Par-don Church-yard*, and the Dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chapel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard, also the *Charnel House* that stood on the South side of *Paul's*, (now a Carpenter's Yard) with the Chapel, Timber, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the Bones of the Dead carried into *Finsbury Fields*, and the Stones converted into this Building. This Act of the Protector's did something alienate the Peoples Minds from him; which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy-Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret Consultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries. Whereof when the Protector heard, he sent Secretary *Petre* to them, to know the Causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends: But in the mean time he armed Five hundred Men, and removed the King by Night from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*. On the other side, the Lords at *London*, having first taken Possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of *Warwick's* Lodging at *Ely-House* in *Holbourn*; to whom the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor, made a long Oration, wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many Mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and hereupon required them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him. And presently that Day a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Councillors that subscribed their Names were these; the Lord *Rich* Chancellor, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Master, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Cheney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edmund Montague* Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Watton*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Knights, and Doctor *Watton*, Dean of *Canterbury*. In the Afternoon of the same Day the Lord Mayor assembled a Common-Council in *Guild-hall*, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, one from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand Men to be raised for defence of the King's Person; another from the Lords at *London*, for Two thousand Men to aid them in defence of the King's Person also; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the Complaint of the Lords against the Protector in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side: But one named *George Stallow*, better advised, stept up, and in a long Speech shewed what Mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his Opinion, to suspend giving Aid to the Lords, at least for a time. His Advice was hearkned unto and

1549.

The Earl of  
*Warwick*  
draws many of  
the Lords to  
joyn against  
the Protector.



1549.

The Protector  
is sent to the  
Tower.

and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemen, and Four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters returned submissive, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*; who so well persuaded the King of the Lords loyal Affection towards him, and of their moderate Intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two Days after to be carried to the Tower. In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to wait upon the King's Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his Justification. The chief Article was this, That he took upon him the Office of Protector, with express Condition, that he should do nothing in the King's Affairs but by assent of the late King's Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that, contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws of his own Authority, as well by Letters as by other Command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

Upon his submission he is  
released, but  
no more Protector.

Divers Lords  
made.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by Submission than by contesting, or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed in so great a Place, who can bear himself with such Sincerity, but he will commit Errors wherewith he may be taxed?) subscribed an Acknowledgment with his own Hand, humbly submitting himself to the King's Mercy, and desiring their Lordships Favour towards him. Upon this Submission, three Months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Councillor, but no more Protector. At which time, between him and the Lords a shew at least of perfect Amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Duke's Daughter was afterwards married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; at which Marriage the King was present. And perhaps to honour their Reconciliation and this Marriage, the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of England; Sir *John Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*; the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer; Sir *William Paget*, Comptroller of the King's House, was made Lord *Paget*; Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, was made Comptroller, and Sir *Thomas Darcy* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side, the Earl of *Arundel* and the Earl of *Southampton* were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln-Place* in *Holbourn*, and was buried in St. *Andrew's* Church there.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against un-

lawful Assemblies; but for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also *Trinity* Term did not hold.

About this time also Pope *Paul* the Third died, after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their Voices for Cardinal *Pool*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the Glory of God, and Good of the Church. Upon this stop, some that were no Friends to *Pool*, and perhaps looked for the Place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Emanuel Tremellius*, and *Antonius Flaminus*, great *Lutherans*; and not altogether without blemish of Incontinence, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations *Pool* so cleared himself, that he was afterwards more importuned to take that place than he was before; and thereupon one Night the Cardinals came unto him, being in Bed, and sent him word they came to adore him, (which is one special kind of electing the Pope.) But he being awaked out of his Sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, That this was not a work of Darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next Day, and then to do as God should put into their Minds. But the *Italian* Cardinals, attributing this putting-off to a kind of Stupidity and Sloth in *Pool*, looked no more after him, but the next Day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterwards named *Julius* the Third.

1549.

Cardinal *Pool*  
is chosen  
Pope, but making  
excuses, is rejected.

And now the King of *France*, upon many just Considerations, was grown desirous to have a Peace with *England*; and thereupon sent one *Guidottin*, a *Florentine*, into *England*, to make some overture of his Desire to the Lords of the Council; who addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Ambassadors should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King to treat with them. The Commissioners for the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, and Sir *John Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the *French*, were Monsieur *Rocheport*, Monsieur *Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martier*, and *Rochetelle de Daffie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of meeting; till at last the *English*, to satisfy the *French*, were contented it should be before *Bullogne*, where were many Meetings, and many Differences about Conditions. But in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, That *Bullogne*, and the Places adjacent should be deliver'd up to the *French* within six Weeks after the Peace proclaimed; and, that the *French* should pay for the same Two hundred thousand Crowns within three Days after delivery of the Town, and other Two hundred thousand Crowns upon the Fifth Day of *August* following. Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and to

A Peace between  
*England* and  
*France*, upon  
payment of  
four hundred  
thousand  
Crowns.



1550.

to those Articles the French King was sworn at *Amiens*, and the King of *England* in *London*. The Lord *Clinton*, who had been Deputy at *Buloigne*, was made Lord-Admiral of *England*.

Presently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of *England*, to offer his Service in the King's Wars with Ten thousand Men, and to entreat a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the King's eldest Sister. To his offer of Aid, Answer was made, that the King's Wars were ended; and, touching the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, That the King was in speech for her Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this the Emperor's Ambassador demanded of the King, that the Lady *Mary* might have free exercise of the *Mafs*; which the King not only constantly deny'd, but thereupon Sermons were exercis'd at the Court, and Order taken, that no Man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should preach before him. And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Seammatters, Five thousand Pounds were sent to relieve *Protestants* beyond the Seas. At this time also an Ambassador came from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter League with the King for Intercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of *England* should be administer'd in *Ireland*.

The Laws of  
England first  
administered in  
Ireland.

1551.

About this time the *Queen-Dowager* of *Scotland*, going from *France* to her Country, passed thro' *England*, having first obtain'd a safe Conduct: She arriv'd at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the English Nobility; conducted to *London*, she was lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace. After four Days staying, having been feasted by the King at *White-hall*, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Stewart*, a *Scot*, apprehended in *England*, and imprison'd in the *Tower*, for intending to poison the young *Queen* of *Scots*; whom the King deliver'd to the French King upon the Frontiers of *Calais*, to be by him Justiced at his pleasure.

The Emperor  
seeks to get the  
Lady *Mary* by  
stealth out of  
England.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperor to transport the Lady *Mary*, either by violence or by stealth, out of *England* to *Antwerp*. Whereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into *Essex*, where the Lady lay: And besides, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with Two hundred Men, the Lord Privy-Seal with other Two hundred, and Mr. *Sentleger* with Four hundred more, to several Coasts upon the Sea: And the Lord-Chancellor, and Secretary *Petre* were sent to the Lady *Mary*, who, after some Conference, brought her to the Lord-Chancellor's House at *Lye* in *Essex*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declar'd unto her how long the King had permitted her the Use of the *Mafs*, and, considering her Obstinacy, was resolv'd now no longer to permit it, unless she would put him in hope of some Conformity in short time. To which she answer'd, That her Soul was God's; and, touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, That the King

The Lady  
*Mary* is con-  
stant to her  
Religion.

intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like Interchanges of Speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arriv'd an Ambassador from the Emperor with a threatening Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary* should be denied the free exercise of the *Mafs*. Hereupon the King presently advis'd with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishops of *London* and *Rochester*, who gave their Opinion, that to give License to sin, was Sin; but to connive at Sin, might be allow'd, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then Answer was given to the Ambassadors, That the King would send to the Emperor within a Month or two, and give him such Satisfaction as should besit.

And now the King, being uncertain of the Faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by Alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Barrwick* to the King of *Denmark*, with private Instructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's youngest Sister, and the King of *Denmark*'s eldest Son; but when it came to the point, the Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

After this, the Marquis of *Northampton* was sent Ambassador to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret Affairs. With him were joyn'd in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, and Mr. *Smith* Secretary of State; also the Earl of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond* were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords *Liste*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of Six and twenty: And, for avoiding an immoderate Train, Order was given, that every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number.

Being come to the Court of *France*, they were forthwith brought to the King, he being then in his Bedchamber, to whom the Marquis presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested: Then the Bishop of *Ely*, in a short Speech, declar'd how the King of *England*, out of his Love and Desire of Amity, had sent this Order to his Majesty, desiring withal that some Persons might be authorized to treat with them about some other matters of importance: Whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Memoranci* the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and others. At first the *English* demanded, that the young Queen of *Scots* might be sent to *England*, for perfecting of a Marriage between King *Edward* and her; but to this the *French* answer'd, That conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*. Then the *English* propos'd a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French King's eldest Daughter. To this the *French* did cheerfully incline; but when they came to

1551.

To connive  
at is less than to  
give License.

The Lady *Elizabeth*  
cannot  
be induced to  
marry.

Ambassadors  
are sent to  
*France*,

To treat of  
Marriage be-  
tween King  
*Edward* and  
the French  
King's eldest  
Daughter,  
which is at last  
concluded.

K k k k

talk



1551.

talk of Portion, the *English* demanded at first Fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to Fourteen, and at last to Eight hundred thousand. The *French* offer'd at first One hundred thousand Crowns, then rose to Two hundred thousand; and higher they would not be drawn, saying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of France.

Shortly after, Monsieur the Marshal, and other Commissioners, were sent by the *French* King to deliver to the King of England the Order of St. Michael, and then was further Treaty about the Marriage. And because the *French* would be scrud no higher than Two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and deliver'd under Seal on both sides.

Dukes and  
Earls made.

And now King Edward supposing his State to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his Joy and Love, advanc'd many to New Titles of Honour: The Lord Marquis Dorset, who had married the eldest Daughter of Charles Brandon, was created Duke of Suffolk; the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland; the Earl of Wiltshire was created Marquis of Winchester; Sir William Herbert, Lord of Cardiffe, and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of Pembroke: Also William Cecil the King's Secretary, John Cheek one of his Schoolmasters, Henry Dudley and Henry Nevil were made Knights; and (which perhaps had never been happy if it had never been) Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's Sons, (the same who was afterward the great Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the Six ordinary Gentlemen of the King's Chamber: After whose coming into a Place so near about him, the King enjoy'd his Health but a while.

The Lord Robert Dudley is made of the King's Bed-chamber.

The Duke of Northumberland seeks Accusations against the Duke of Somerset.

The aspiring Thoughts of the Duke of Northumberland were now grown to be put in execution: He was advanc'd in Title of Honour equal with the Highest; in Authority and Power above the Highest: He had placed his politick Son near about the King's Person; the next thing was, to remove the Duke of Somerset out of the Way: And for this also he had prepar'd Instruments, Sir Thomas Palmer, Crane, Hammond, Cecil, and others, who brought several Accusations against the Duke, some trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one specially against the Duke of Northumberland's Person: Whose Practices when the Duke of Somerset found, and had cause to fear, he went one Day into the Duke of Northumberland's Chamber, with a Purpose to kill him; but finding him in his Bed, and being receiv'd with much kind Compliment by him, his Heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company ask'd him if he had done the Deed; he answer'd, No. Then, said he, you are your self undone. And indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refell'd, This only stuck by him, and could not be deny'd. And so on the First of December he was arraign'd at Westminster, where the Lord William Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, and Lord-Treasurer, sat as High-Steward of England,

Who being arraign'd, is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

and with him Peers to the number of Seven and twenty; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Marquis of Northampton; the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke, and Hereford; the Barons Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Porrough, Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcey, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray.

The Lords being sat, the Indictments were read, in number Five, containing a Charge for raising Men in the North parts of the Realm; and at his House, for assembling Men to kill the Duke of Northumberland; for resisting his Attachment; for raising London; for assaulting the Lords, and devising of their Deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not Guilty; and made a satisfactory Answer to every Point, tho' the King's learned Council press'd them hard against him.

This done, the Lords went together, where Exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, should be of the Jury, seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charg'd with Practices against them. But to this the Lawyers made answer, That a Peer of the Realm might not be challeng'd. So, after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was acquitted of Treason, but by most Voices was found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, That if any should attempt to kill a Privy-Councillor, altho' the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punish'd with Death. But upon his being acquitted of Treason, the Axe at the Tower was presently laid down, which made People conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave so great a Shout, that it was heard as far as Charing-Cross. But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony, and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have sav'd his Life, if he had demanded his Clergy; but it is rather thought that in that Statute Clergy was deny'd. Two Months after his Condemnation, (much against the King's Will) he was brought to the Tower-hill to Execution; where, being ascended the Scaffold, he enter'd into a Speech, wherein tho' he justified himself for any matter tending to the Hurt of the King or Kingdom, yet he confess'd he was justly by the Law brought to his Death, and thank'd God, that had given him so large a time of Repentance; especially, that He had open'd his Eyes, to see clearly the Light of the Gospel: And going on in his Speech, a sudden Noise arose of some crying, Away, away; which made some think a Pardon had been come; but it was indeed the Voice of some that had been warn'd to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late. But the Tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech; and at last commending his Soul to God, with a Countenance not shewing any sign of Fear or Perturbation, only his Cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his Head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Axe had it stricken off.

The

1551.

A Peer of the Realm not to be challeng'd in a Jury.

1552.

The Duke of Somerset is beheaded, and his patient suffering it.



1552.

The death of this Duke made the Duke of Northumberland more odious to the People than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his Blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of Northumberland withal, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged at Tower-Hill, Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Thomas Arundel were there beheaded.

George Ferrers  
Lord of Misrule at Christmas.

After the Duke's Condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the King's Mind from taking thought; and to that end, one George Ferrers, a Gentleman of Lincoln's-Inn, was appointed in the Christmas-time to be Lord of Misrule; who so carried himself, that he gave great Delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his Heaviness.

A call of Serjeants.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Grays-Inn, of whom Mr. Robert Brook, Recorder of London, was the first; and the next Mr. Dyer, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

The Lord Paget hath the Garter taken from him, and why.

About this time also the Lord Paget was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest Son. And the Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor, was put off from his Place, and the Seal then delivered to Dr. Thomas Goodrick Bishop of Ely.

Sebastian Cabot sent to discover a Passage to the East-Indies.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the King's Charge, for discovery of a Passage to the East-Indies by the North-Seas. The chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one Sebastian Cabot, an Englishman, born at Bristol, but the Son of a Genovese. These Ships at the last arrived in the County of Muscovia, but not without the loss of their Captain Sir Hugh Willoughby, who being tossed and driven by Tempest, was afterwards found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his People.

Sir Hugh Willoughby frozen to death.

At this time also the Duke of Suffolk's three Daughters, which he had by Frances, Daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary Queen of France, were married at Durham-House: The eldest, Jane, to the Lord Gilsford Dudley, fourth Son to the Duke of Northumberland; the second, Katherine, to Henry, Son and Heir to the Earl of Pembroke; the youngest, Mary, being somewhat deform'd, to Martin Keyes, the King's Gentleman-Porter. And then also Katherine, the Duke of Northumberland's youngest Daughter, to the Lord Hastings, eldest Son of the Earl of Huntington. And now had the Duke of Northumberland gone a great way in his Design: It remain'd to persuade King Edward to exclude his two Sisters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, would come to have a Right. For as for pretenders out of Scotland, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this Persuasion, (being in a

The Duke of Northumberland persuades King Edward to exclude his two Sisters Succession to the Crown, and by what Reasons.

languishing Sickness not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concern'd him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in Purity, not only in his own Life, but as well after his Death, which would not be, if his Sister the Lady Mary should succeed; and she could not be put by, unless her other Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, were put by also, seeing their Rights depended one upon another. But if he pleas'd to appoint the Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that the True Religion should be maintain'd, to God's great Glory, and be a worthy Act of his own Religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right String of the young King's Affection, with whom nothing was so dear as the preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn (contriv'd chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice Montague, and Secretary Cecil) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the Succession, and all other but the Duke of Suffolk's Daughters. And then causing it to be read before his Council, he requir'd them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their Hands; which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops, and Judges did. Only the Archbishop Cranmer refus'd at first; Sir James Hales, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, to the last; and with them also Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of Northumberland's Purpose, but that the King should die; which soon after he did at Greenwich, the sixth of July, in the Year 1553. One Point of the Duke's Policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what Troubles the Lady Mary might raise after the King's decease, if she should be at liberty, he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, us'd all means possible to get her within his Power; to which end Letters are directed to her in the King's Name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a Comfort to him in his Sickness, as to see all Matters well order'd about his Person. Whereupon the Lady, suspecting nothing, address'd herself with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the Way, she was advertis'd of the Duke's Design; and she returned to her House at Hovesdon, and so escaped the Snare: By whose escape the whole Design of the Duke of Northumberland was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

1552.

His Will drawn to that purpose.

King Edward dies.

1553

The Duke of Northumberland seeks to get the Lady Mary into his Hands.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN no King's Reign were ever more Parliaments for the Time, nor fewer Subsidies; the greatest was in his last Year, when yet there was but one Subsidy, with two Fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidy by this Clergy. And indeed, to shew how loth the King was to lay Impositions upon his People this may be a sufficient Argument; and that though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foulket in the Low-Countries for Money upon Loan, at the Interest of fourteen Pounds for a Hundred for a Year. But his ways for raising of Money were, by selling



1553

Delinquent  
Officers fined.Bullion made  
baser to raise  
Money.Priests Child-  
ren made le-  
gitimate.  
Usury forbid-  
den.  
Ulster, King  
at Arms, or-  
dain'd for  
Ireland.Base Monies  
cried down.

selling of Chantry-Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by enquiring after all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezzled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalice, ready Money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one Covering for the Communion-Table, the rest to be applied to his Benefit. He also raised Money by enquiring after Offenders of Offices in great Places; in which enquiry one *Beaumont*, Master of the Rolls, being convicted of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the King's Hands. Also one *Whaley*, Receiver of *Torkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendered his Office, and paid a great Fine besides. Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Dutchy, convicted that he had sold the King's Lands and Timber-wood without Commission, and had applied the King's Fines to his own Use, for these and other Offences surrender'd his Office, and was fined at Four thousand Pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of Money; Twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third Year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth Year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and Usury for Loan of Money was forbidden. In his fifth Year it was ordain'd, that the Law of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*, whose Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the first fourth King at Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth Year base Monies formerly coined were cried down; so as the Shilling went but for Nine-pence, and shortly after but for Six-pence; the Groat but for Three-pence, and shortly after but for Two-pence.

#### Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the first Year of this King's Reign, Injunctions were set forth for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches, also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by learned Men, to be read in Churches, for the Peoples Instruction. And at *Easter* this Year it was order'd, That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be ministr'd to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy-men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the Dead were forbidden. And it is observable, That the very same Day that Images were pull'd down at *London*, the great Overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Musselborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmer's* means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here Entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom

*Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this King's fourth Year all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth Year the Book of Common-Prayer was establish'd.

The Book of  
Common-  
Prayer esta-  
blished.

#### Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his second Year *St. Ann's Church* within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth Year a Sweating-sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North Parts, and afterwards grew most extreme in *London*, so as in the first Week there died Eight hundred Persons; and was so violent that it took Men away in four and twenty Hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less. Amongst others of Account that dy'd of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an Hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the *English Nation*, for it follow'd the *English* wheresoever they were in foreign Parts, but seiz'd upon none of any other Country. In this Year one *Mr. Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murder'd in his own House; being dead, his Body was carried out, and laid upon the Ground in a Close hard by: Where this is memorable, that for two Years after, the Ground where his Body lay bore no Grass, but represented still as it were a Picture of his Body, only in the space between his Legs and Arms there grew Grass, but where any part of his Body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murder, as for the Curses of a Widow-woman, out of whose Hands the said *Mr. Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful Warning to Men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth Year the third of *August*, at *Middleton-stony*, eleven Miles from *Oxford*, a Woman brought forth a Child which had two perfect Bodies from the Navel upward, the Legs for both the Bodies grew out at the midst where the Bodies joyn'd, and it had but one issue for the Excrements of them both; they liv'd eighteen Days, and were Women-children. This Year also were taken at *Queenborough* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A Sweating-  
Sickness pro-  
per only to  
the *English*  
Nation.A miraculous  
effect of a  
Murder.A monstrous  
Birth.  
Dolphins ta-  
ken at *Black-  
Wall*.

#### Works of Piety done by him, or others in his Time.

THIS King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor: First, for the Fatherless and Beggar-Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers*, in *London*, which is now call'd *Christ's Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased Persons, he gave the Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark*, and *St. Bartholomew's* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, For riotous and idle Persons he gave his House of *Bridewell*: And for their Maintenance, he took Six hundred Pounds a Year Land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abus'd) and bestow'd it upon these Houses; to which

*Christ's Hospi-  
tal*, *St. Tho-  
mas's Hospital*,  
*St. Bartholo-  
mew's* and  
*Bridewell*,  
given by this  
King for Cha-  
ritable Uses.



1552.

which he added Four thousand Marks a Year more. By his example Sir *William Chester*, Alderman of *London*, and *John Calthrope Draper*, at their own costs, made the Brick-Walls and Way on the Back-side that leadeth to the Hospital of St. *Bartholomew*, and also cover'd and vaulted the *Town-Ditch*, which before was very noisome. In the Second Year of this King, Sir *John Gresham*, then Mayor of *London*, founded a Free-School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*: Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in *London* Ten Pounds, to be distributed among the Poor; and to Maids Marriages Two hundred Pounds. In his third Year Sir *Rowland Hill*, the then Lord-Mayor of *London*, caus'd to be made a Cawsey, commonly call'd *Overlane Pavement*, in the Highway from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caus'd also a Cawsey to be made from *Dunchurch* in *Warwickshire* more than two miles in length; and gave Twenty pounds towards the making of *Rieton Bridge*, three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewise the Highway to *Kilburn*, near to *London*: Also four Bridges, two of them of *Stone*, containing eighteen Arches in them both, the one over the River of *Severn*, call'd *Acham Bridge*; the other, *Terne Bridge*; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free-School likewise he built at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient Stipends to them both. Also he purchas'd a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen Days a free Market for Cattle. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of *Christ Church* in *London* in his Lifetime Five hundred pounds, and at his Death One hundred. In this King's fourth Year Sir *Andrew Jud*, Mayor of *London*, founded a notable Free-School at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, and gave Threescore pounds Land a year to the Skinners of *London*, for which they be bound to pay Twenty pounds to the Schoolmaster, and Eight pounds to the Usher of his Free-School at *Tunbridge* yearly for ever. In his sixth Year Sir *George Barnes*, who was Mayor of *London*, gave a Windmill in *Finsbury-fields* to the *Haberdashers* of *London*, the Profits thereof to be distributed to the Poor of that Company: Also to St. *Bartholomews the Little*, certain Tenements to the like Use.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

Concerning his Personage it is said, he was of Body beautiful, of a sweet Aspect, and especially in his Eyes, which seem'd to have a Starry liveness and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions in Matter of Fact, there is not much to be said, but in Matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration; for tho' his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardness to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms. For proof of his merciful Disposition, this one Example may be sufficient: When one *Joan Butcher* was to be burnt for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much Importunity, persuaded

him, and then he did it, but not without weeping.

For his Pregnancy of Wit, and knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into *England*, had often Conference with him) reporteth of him, That he was extraordinarily skilful in Languages, and in the Politicks, well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art and Nature. He would answer Ambassadors sometimes upon the sudden, either in *French* or *Latin*. He knew the state of foreign Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account thro' his Kingdom by their Names: And all this when he had scarce yet attain'd to the age of Fifteen Years, and died before Sixteen; that from hence we may gather, 'tis a sign of no long Life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

## Of his Death and Burial.

IN the Sixth Year of his Reign, which was the Year before he died, he fell sick of the Measles; and being well recover'd of them, he fell soon after into the Small-Pox; and of them also was so well recover'd, that the Summer following he rode a Progress with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before, having in his Train no fewer than Four thousand Horse.

In *January* following (whether procur'd by sinister Practice, or growing upon him by natural Infirmary) he fell into an Indisposition of Body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs: Whereupon a Rumour was spread abroad by some, that a Nofegay had been given him at Newyears-tide, which brought him into this slow, but deadly Consumption; by others, that it was done by a Glyster. However it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despair'd of his Life: And when Physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepar'd for the Purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt; for with her Applications his Legs swell'd, his Pulse fail'd, his Skin chang'd colour, and many other Symptoms of approaching Death appear'd. The Hour before his Death he was overheard to pray thus by himself: O Lord God! deliver me out of this miserable and wretched Life. O Lord, thou know'st how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy Chosen's sake, if it be thy will, send me Life and Health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord God! save thy chosen People of England, and defend this Realm from Popery, and maintain thy True Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. So turning his Face, and seeing some by him, he said, I thought you had not been so nigh. Yes, said Dr. Owen, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, I was praying to GOD. O! I am faint, Lord, have Mercy upon me, and receive my Spirit: And on so saying he gave up the Ghost, on the 6th Day of July, in the Year 1553, and in the sixteenth Year of his Age, when he had reign'd six Years, five Months, and nine Days.

1552.

His pregnancy of Wit and Learning.

Suspected to be poyson'd.

His Piety at the time of his Death.

K. Edward's merciful Disposition.



1553

Delinquent  
Officers fined.Bullion made  
baser to raise  
Money.Priests Chil-  
dren made le-  
gitimate.  
Usury forbid-  
den.  
Ulster, King  
at Arms, or-  
dain'd for  
Ireland.Base Monies  
cried down.

selling of Chantry-Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by enquiring after all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezzled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalice, ready Money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one Covering for the Communion-Table, the rest to be applied to his Benefit. He also raised Money by enquiring after Offenders of Offices in great Places; in which enquiry one *Beaumont*, Master of the Rolls, being convicted of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the King's Hands. Also one *Whaley*, Receiver of *Turksbire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendered his Office, and paid a great Fine besides. Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Duchy, convicted that he had sold the King's Lands and Timber-wood without Commission, and had applied the King's Fines to his own Use, for these and other Offences surrender'd his Office, and was fined at Four thousand Pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of Money; Twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

## Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third Year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth Year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and Usury for Loan of Money was forbidden. In his fifth Year it was ordain'd, that the Law of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*, whose Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the first fourth King at Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth Year base Monies formerly coined were cried down; so as the Shilling went but for Nine-pence, and shortly after but for Six-pence; the Groat but for Three-pence, and shortly after but for Two-pence.

## Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the first Year of this King's Reign, Injunctions were set forth for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches, also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by learned Men, to be read in Churches, for the Peoples Instruction. And at *Easter* this Year it was order'd, That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be ministr'd to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy-men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the Dead were forbid'd. And it is observable, That the very same Day that Images were pull'd down at *London*, the great Overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Musselborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmer's* means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here Entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom

*Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this King's fourth Year all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth Year the Book of Common-Prayer was establish'd.

The Book of  
Common-  
Prayer esta-  
blished.

## Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his second Year *St. Ann's Church* within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth Year a Sweating-sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North Parts, and afterwards grew most extreme in *London*, so as in the first Week there died Eight hundred Persons; and was so violent that it took Men away in four and twenty Hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less. Amongst others of Account that dy'd of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an Hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the *English Nation*, for it follow'd the *English* wheresoever they were in foreign Parts, but seiz'd upon none of any other Country. In this Year one *Mr. Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murder'd in his own House; being dead, his Body was carried out, and laid upon the Ground in a Close hard by: Where this is memorable, that for two Years after, the Ground where his Body lay bore no Grass, but represented still as it were a Picture of his Body, only in the space between his Legs and Arms there grew Grass, but where any part of his Body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murder, as for the Curses of a Widow-woman, out of whose Hands the said *Mr. Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful Warning to Men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth Year the third of *August*, at *Middleton-stony*, eleven Miles from *Oxford*, a Woman brought forth a Child which had two perfect Bodies from the Navel upward, the Legs for both the Bodies grew out at the midst where the Bodies joyn'd, and it had but one issue for the Excrements of them both; they liv'd eighteen Days, and were Women-children. This Year also were taken at *Queenborough* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A Sweating-  
Sickness pro-  
per only to  
the *English*  
Nation.A miraculous  
effect of a  
Murder.A monstrous  
Birth.  
Dolphins ta-  
ken at *Black-  
Wall*.

## Works of Piety done by him, or others in his Time.

THIS King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor: First, for the Fatherless and Beggar-Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers*, in *London*, which is now call'd *Christ's Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased Persons, he gave the Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark*, and *St. Bartholomew's* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, For riotous and idle Persons he gave his House of *Bridewell*: And for their Maintenance, he took Six hundred Pounds a Year Land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abus'd) and bestow'd it upon these Houses; to which

*Christ's Hospi-  
tal*, *St. Tho-  
mas's Hospital*,  
*St. Bartholo-  
mew's* and  
*Bridewell*,  
given by this  
King for Cha-  
ritable Uses.



1552.

which he added Four thousand Marks a Year more. By his example Sir *William Chester*, Alderman of *London*, and *John Calthrope Draper*, at their own costs, made the Brick-Walls and Way on the Back-side that leadeth to the Hospital of *St. Bartholomew*, and also cover'd and vaulted the *Town-Ditch*, which before was very noisome. In the Second Year of this King, Sir *John Gresham*, then Mayor of *London*, founded a Free-School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*: Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in *London* Ten Pounds, to be distributed among the Poor; and to Maids Marriages Two hundred Pounds. In his third Year Sir *Rowland Hill*, the then Lord-Mayor of *London*, caus'd to be made a Cawsey, commonly call'd *Overlane Pavement*, in the Highway from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from *Dun-church* in *Warwickshire* more than two miles in length; and gave Twenty pounds towards the making of *Rieton Bridge*, three miles from *Co-ventry*. He made likewise the Highway to *Kilburn*, near to *London*: Also four Bridges, two of them of *Stone*, containing eighteen Arches in them both, the one over the River of *Severn*, call'd *Acham Bridge*; the other, *Terne Bridge*; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free-School likewise he built at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient Stipends to them both. Also he purchas'd a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen Days a free Market for Cattle. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of *Christ-Church* in *London* in his Lifetime Five hundred pounds, and at his Death One hundred. In this King's fourth Year Sir *Andrew Jud*, Mayor of *London*, founded a notable Free-School at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, and gave Threescore pounds Land a year to the Skinners of *London*, for which they be bound to pay Twenty pounds to the Schoolmaster, and Eight pounds to the Usher of his Free-School at *Tunbridge* yearly for ever. In his sixth Year Sir *George Barnes*, who was Mayor of *London*, gave a Windmill in *Finsbury-fields* to the *Haberdashers* of *London*, the Profits thereof to be distributed to the Poor of that Company: Also to *St. Bartholomews the Little*, certain Tenements to the like Use.

## Of his Personage and Conditions:

Concerning his Personage it is said, he was of Body beautiful, of a sweet Aspect, and especially in his Eyes, which seem'd to have a Starry liveliness and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions in Matter of Fact, there is not much to be said, but in Matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration; for tho' his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardness to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms. For proof of his merciful Disposition, this one Example may be sufficient: When one *Joan Butcher* was to be burnt for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much Importunity, persuaded

him, and then he did it, but not without weeping.

For his Pregnancy of Wit, and knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into *England*, had often Conference with him) reporteth of him, That he was extraordinarily skilful in Languages, and in the Politicks, well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art and Nature. He would answer Ambassadors sometimes upon the sudden, either in *French* or *Latin*. He knew the state of foreign Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account thro' his Kingdom by their Names: And all this when he had scarce yet attain'd to the age of Fifteen Years, and died before Sixteen; that from hence we may gather, 'tis a sign of no long Life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

## Of his Death and Burial.

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O Lord God! deliver me out of this miserable and wretched Life. O Lord, thou know'st how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy Chosen's sake, if it be thy will, send me Life and Health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord God! save thy chosen People of England, and defend this Realm from Popery, and maintain thy True Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. So turning his Face, and seeing some by him, he said, I thought you had not been so nigh. Yes, said Dr. Owen, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, I was praying to GOD. O! I am faint, Lord, have Mercy upon me, and receive my Spirit: And on so saying he gave up the Ghost, on the 6th Day of July, in the Year 1553, and in the sixteenth Year of his Age, when he had reign'd six Years, five Months, and nine Days.

1552.

His pregnancy  
of Wit and  
Learning.

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be poyson'd.

His Piety at  
the time of  
his Death.

Edward's  
merciful Di-  
position.



1552.

'Tis observ'd by some, that he died the same Month, and the same Day of the Month, that his Father King Henry the Eighth had put Sir Thomas Moor to Death. His Body was buried upon the Ninth of August, in the Chapel of St. Peter's Church in Westminster, and laid near to the Body of King Henry the Seventh, his Grandfather.

At his Funeral, which was on the Tenth of August following, his Sister Queen Mary shew'd this Respect to him, that tho' Dr. Day, a Popish Bishop, preach'd, yet all the Service, with a Communion, was in English.

Men of Note in his Time.

1552.

THIS King's Reign being short, and having but small Wars, had not many Swordmen famous for any Acts they did. Gownmen there were some; as, Edward Hall, a Counsellor in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the Union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster; William Hugh, a Yorkshire Man, who wrote a notable Treatise, call'd *The Troubled Man's Medicine*; Thomas Sternhold, born in Southampton, who turn'd into English Metre Thirty-seven of David's Psalms.

### The Interregnum between the Death of King Edward, and the Proclaiming at London of Queen Mary.

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland bears all the sway. He causes both the Mayor and Aldermen to swear Allegiance to the Lady Jane,

KING Edward being dead, the Duke of Northumberland took upon him to sit at the Stern, and order'd all things at his pleasure. So, two Days after, he, with others of the Council, sent to the Lord-Mayor, that he, with six of the Aldermen, and twelve principal Commons, should repair presently to the Court; to whom when they came, 'twas signified that King Edward was dead; and, that by his last Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given assent, he had appointed the Lady Jane, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to succeed him, his Letters-Patents whereof were shew'd them; and thereupon they were requir'd to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Lady Jane, and to secure the City in her behalf; which, whether dissemblingly or sincerely, whether for Love or Fear, yet they did, and departed. The next Day the Lady Jane, in great state, was brought to the Tower of London, and there declar'd Queen; and by Edict with the sound of Trumpet proclaim'd so thro' London. At which time, for some Words seeming to be spoke against it, one Gilbert Pot, a Vintner's Servant, was set in the Pillory, and lost both his Ears.

Who is proclaim'd Queen.

The Lady Mary rides post into Norfolk.

Takes upon her the Name of Queen, and is assisted by the Norfolk Men, upon her Promise not to alter Religion.

Before this time, the Lady Mary having heard of her Brother's Death, and of the Duke of Northumberland's Designs, remov'd from Hovesdon to her Mannor of Kenninghall in Norfolk, and under pretence of fearing Infection, (having lately lost one of her Household-servants of the Plague) in one Day she rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Castle at Framlingham in Suffolk; where taking upon her the name of Queen, there resorted to her the most part of the Gentlemen both of Norfolk and Suffolk, offering their Assistance, but upon condition she would make no alteration in Religion; to which she condescended. And thereupon soon after came to her the Earls of Oxford, Bath, and Sussex, the Lord Wentworth, Thomas Wharton, and John Mordaunt, Barons eldest Sons; and of Knights, Cornwallis, Drury, Walgrave, Shelton, Benningfield, Ferningham, Sulliard, Fresken, and many others. The Lady Mary being thus assisted, wrote her Letter, sign'd the 9th of July,

to the Lords of the Council, wherein she claim'd the Crown, as of Right belonging to her, and requir'd them to proclaim her Queen of England in the City of London, as they tender'd her Displeasure.

To this Letter of hers the Lords answer'd, That for what they did they had good Warrant, not only by King Edward's last Will, but by the Laws of the Land, considering her Mother's Divorce, and her own Illegitimation, and therefore required her to submit her self to Queen Jane, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of London, under the Hands of these that follow, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Ely Chancellor, William Marquis of Winchester, John Earl of Bedford, Henry Duke of Suffolk, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, John Duke of Northumberland, William Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Lord Darcy Lord-Chamberlain, Cobham, Rich, Huntington, Cheyney, John Gates, William Petre, William Cecil, John Clark, Mason, Edward North, and Robert Bowes. The Quarrel on both sides being thus begun by Letters, is prosecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their General made choice of the Duke of Suffolk, as a Man most likely to be firm and sure in the Employment. But the Queen, his Daughter, cannot miss his Presence, and besides, is not willing to hazard his Person; and thereupon, she by Entreaties, and the Lords by Persuasions, prevail with the Duke of Northumberland to undertake the Charge; who, before his going, having Conference with the Lords, let them know how sensible he was of the double Danger he underwent in this Enterprize, both in respect of the Lady against whom he went, and in respect of them whom he left behind him; for if they in his absence should by any Accident be drawn to waver in their Resolution, they might work their own Safety with his Destruction, and make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness. To which one of the Lords reply'd, and said, Your Grace makes a Doubt of that which cannot be; for, Which of us all can wash his Hands clean of this Business? And thereof it behoves us to be as resolute as your self. And the Earl of Arundel,

1553.

She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown.

The Lords Answer.

Against whom the Duke of Northumberland is sent with an Army



1553

*Arundel* to testify his Resolution in the matter, said, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose Feet he could find in his Heart to spend his Blood. So the Duke, with the Marquiss of *Northampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and divers others of account, on the fourteenth of *July* set forward on the Journey with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and passing through *Shoreditch*, the Duke said to the Lord *Gray*, See how the People press to see us, but not one of them saith, God speed you. The Duke had every Day's March, how far he should go, appointed by the Commission; which being very slow, whether it were done on purpose by some that favour'd the Lady *Mary's* side, was certainly a great help to her Proceedings; for by this means she had the longer time to make her Preparations. And indeed in this time two Accidents happen'd of great benefit to her: One, that *Edward Hastings*, the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother, having an Army of Four thousand Foot committed to him by the Duke of *Northumberland*, he now left his Party, and went to the Lady *Mary*: The other, that six great Ships which lay before *Yarmouth*, to intercept the Lady *Mary*, if she should attempt to fly, now at the perswasion of Mr. *Ferningham* came to her aid. Which two Revolts so terrified the *Londoners*, that though Dr. *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, on the sixteenth of *July*, at *Paul's Cross*, preach'd a Sermon, wherein he invited the People to stand firm to Queen *Jane*, whose Cause he affirm'd to be most just, yet few or none were perswaded by him; so as the Lords themselves fell off from the Side; who assembling at *Baynard's Castle*, first the Earl of *Arundel*, then the Earl of *Pembroke* fell to Invectives against the Duke of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in Opinion with them, they call'd for the Mayor, and in *London* proclaim'd the Lady *Mary* Queen; as likewise the Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Hastings* did in *Buckinghamshire*; Sir *John Williams* of *Tame* and Sir *Leonard Chamberlain* in *Oxfordshire*, and Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Bury*; who thereby seeing how the World went, thought it his best Course to turn with the Stream; and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himself, for want of a Herald, proclaim'd the Lady *Mary* Queen, and in sign of Joy threw up his Cap: Which yet serv'd not his turn; for the next Morning, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from Queen *Mary*; who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his Feet fell on his Knees, desiring him for God's Love to consider his Case, that had done nothing but by Warrant of him and the Council. My Lord, (saith the Earl) I am sent hither by the Queen

to Arrest you. And I (saith the Duke) obey your Arrest; yet I beseech your Lordship to use Mercy towards him, whose Acts have been no other than were enjoyn'd by Commission. You should have thought of that sooner, (saith the Earl) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queen's Mercy. Thus ended all this great Duke's Designs in his own Destruction, and brought him to fall on his Knees to them who had often before bowed their Knees to him: And the Earl, who at the Duke's going out could have been contented to spend his Blood at his Feet, was now contented to be made an Instrument of his Fall. So sudden are the Turns of Mens Affections, and so unstable is the building upon their Asseverations; at least no Man must look to have his Case be of any weight against him who hath his own Case put in the Ballance. Together with the Duke, his three Sons, *John*, *Ambrose* and *Henry*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates's*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Dr. *Sands*, were convey'd towards *London*, and brought to the Tower; and the next Day the Marquiss of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time the Duke of *Suffolk*, entering his Daughter's the Lady *Jane's* Chamber, told her, She must now put off her Royal Robes, and be contented with a private Life. To which she answer'd, She would much more willingly put them off than she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in Obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the End of the Lady *Jane's* ten Days Reign.

1553

And with him  
divers more.  
The Lady  
*Jane* hearing  
hereof was no-  
thing troubled  
at it. And  
thus ended her  
ten Days  
Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this  
King's Time.

In his first Year,  
Sir *John Gresham* was Mayor.  
*Thomas White*, *Robert Chertsey*, Sheriffs.

In his second Year,  
*Henry Amcoats* was Mayor.  
*William Lock*, Sir *John Ayleph*, Sheriffs.

In his third Year,  
Sir *Rowland Hill* was Mayor.  
*John York*, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth Year,  
Sir *Andrew Jud* was Mayor.  
*Augustine Hinde*, *John Lion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth Year,  
Sir *Richard Dobbes* was Mayor.  
*John Lambert*, *John Courter*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth Year,  
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.  
*William Garret*, or *Gerard*, *John Maynard*, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

1553.  
The Lady Mary having been proclaim'd Queen, comes to London, and so to the Tower.

Where she sets divers Lords at liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been depriv'd.

**T**HE Lady Mary having been proclaim'd Queen in London, and other parts of the Realm, remov'd from her Castle of Framlingham towards London; and being come to Wansted in Essex, on the thirtieth of July, the Lady Elizabeth her Sister, with a Train of a thousand Horse, rode from her Palace in the Strand to meet her. On the third of August the Queen rode through London to the Tower; where at her Entrance were presented to her Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and the Dutchess of Somerset, who all kneeling down, she kiss'd them, and said, *These be my Prisoners*, and then caused them presently to be set at liberty. The next Day she restored the Lord Courtney to the Marquisate of Exeter; and the same Day also she not only restored Stephen Gardiner to his Bishoprick of Winchester, but a few Days after made him Chancellor of England: Yet this was the Man that had subscribed to her Mother's Divorce, and had written Books against the Lawfulness of her Marriage. The fifth of August, Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, Prisoner in the Marshalsea, and Cuthbert Tonstal the old Bishop of Durham, Prisoner in the King's-Bench, had their Pardons, and were restored to their Sees. Shortly after, all the Bishops that had been depriv'd in the Time of Edward the Sixth; were restored to their Bishopricks, and the New remov'd: As Ridley was remov'd from London, and Bonner plac'd; Scory from Chichester, and Day plac'd; Miles Coverdale from Exeter, and West plac'd; John Hooper from Worcester, and Heath plac'd. Also all Beneficed Men that were married, or could not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and others of a contrary Opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirtieth of August, one Mr. Bourne a Canon of Paul's, Preaching at Paul's Cross, not only pray'd for the Dead, but also declar'd, That Dr. Bonner Bishop of London, (late restored, and there in presence) for a Sermon by him made four Years before in the same Place, and on the same Text, had unjustly been cast into the vile Prison of the Marshalsea. Which Speech so offended some of the Auditory, that they cry'd, *Pull him down, pull him down*; and had certainly done him Violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if Mr. Brad-

ford, a Protestant Preacher, had not stepped into his Place and appeas'd the Tumult, and Mr. Rogers, another Protestant Minister, (who were both afterwards burnt for Religion) had not shifted away Bourne into Paul's School.

Hitherto Queen Mary's Reign had been without Blood, but now the Cataracts of Severity will be opened, that will make it rain Blood: For now, on the eighteenth of August, John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, William Parre Marquis of Northampton, and John Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraign'd at Westminster-Hall, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk as High Steward of England. Where the Duke of Northumberland, after his Indictment read, requir'd the Opinion of the Court in two Points: First, Whether a Man doing any Act by Authority of the Prince's Council, and by Warrant of the Great Seal of England, might for any such Act be charg'd with Treason: Secondly, Whether any such Persons as were equally culpable, and by whose Commandments he was directed, might be his Judges, and pass upon his Tryal. Whereunto was answer'd, That concerning the first, the Great Seal, which he alledg'd for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but of an Usurper, and therefore could be no Warrant for him: And as to the second, it was resolv'd, That if any were as deeply to be touch'd in the Case as himself, yet so long as no Attainder were of Record against them, they were Persons able in Law to pass upon his Tryal, and not to challeng'd but at the Prince's pleasure. After which Answers, the Duke us'd few Words, but confess'd the Indictment, and accordingly had Judgment to die. By whose Example, the other Prisoners arraign'd with him confess'd the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of August Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knights, were arraign'd at Westminster; who confess'd their Indictments, had Judgment, which was pronounc'd by the Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, sitting that Day as Chief Justice. After these Condemnations follow'd the Executions; for on the two and twentieth of August John Duke of Northumberland was brought to Tower-Hill, and there beheaded. Being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green-colour'd Damask; he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he ask'd the Queen forgiveness,

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland is arraign'd.

And behead.



1553.

ness, whom he acknowledg'd to have grievously offended; and then making profession of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick, (meaning a *Papist*) he said the Psalms of *Miserere* & *Profundis*, the *Pater noster*, and six of the first Verses of the Psalm *In te Domine speravi*, ending with this Verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*. And this said, he look'd about him, as looking for a Pardon; but none coming, he laid his Head down upon the Block, and at one Blow had it stricken off. His Body, with the Head, was buried in the *Tower*, by the Body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerset*, (mortal Enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good Friends) so as there lieth before the high Altar in *St. Peter's Church* two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerset* and the Duke of *Northumberland* between Queen *Ann* and Queen *Katherine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, seeing at his Death he profess'd himself a *Papist*; and lately before, he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his Successor, lest the Papal Religion should be restored. It seems he was not greatly of either, but for other Ends, a *Protestant* then, when it was to make his Daughter-in-law Queen; now a *Papist*, when it was to save his life, (for it was thought he had a Pardon promis'd if he would recant.) At the same Time and Place were beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who were no such Temporizers, but persisted and died in the *Protestant* Religion, which they had always profess'd.

Latimer and  
Cranmer sent  
to the Tower.

Cranmer and  
the late Queen  
Jane, with the  
Sons of the  
Duke of North-  
umberland,  
arraign'd and  
condemn'd.

Queen Mary  
is crown'd,  
and in what  
order.

After this, a sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for, on the Third of September the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two Chief-Justices Sir *Roger Cholmley* and *Montague*, Sir *John Cheek*, and others, were deliver'd out of the *Tower*, whither they had been committed; but a shewre of Severity follow'd soon after: For, on the 15th of September, Mr. *Latimer* and Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were sent to the *Tower*; and on the Third of November following, the said Archbishop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane*, (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were arraign'd at the *Guild-hall*, found guilty, and had Judgment to die.

All this while Queen *Mary* had contented her self to be Queen by Proclamation; but now that things were something settled, she proceeds to her Coronation; for, on the last of September, she rode in her Chariot thro' *London* towards *Westminster* in this order: First rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom follow'd the Knights of the *Bath*, Thirteen in number, in their Robes, then the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord-Chancellor, and the Marquis of *Winchester* Lord High-Treasurer; next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword; then the Mayor of *London* in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, who bore the Sceptre of Gold; after came the Queen's Chariot, and then follow'd another Chariot, wherein sat the Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, and the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*; and then

came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horses trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came thro' *London* to *Westminster*, where, in many places by the way, were Pageants and stately Shews, and many rich Presents given to the Queen. The next Day she went by Water to the old Palace, and remain'd there till Eleven of the Clock, and then went on foot upon blue Cloth, being rail'd on each side, to *St. Peter's Church*, where she was crown'd and anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, the two Archbishops being then in the *Tower*, with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accusom'd.

After her Coronation a general Pardon was publish'd in her Name, but interlaced with so many Exceptions of Matters and Persons, that very few took Benefit by it: For, after the Pardon publish'd, there were Commissioners assigned to compound with such Persons as were excepted, from some of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, some they fined, and some they depriv'd of their Estates and Livings.

A Pardon  
granted, but  
full of Ex-  
ceptions.

About this time Sir *James Hales*, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refus'd to sign a Writing for disinheriting the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, (a Fact worthy at least of a kind Remembrance from the Lady *Mary*, now Queen) yet now, because at a Quarter Sessions in *Kent* he gave Charge upon the Statute of King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, he was first committed to the *Kings-bench*, then to the *Compter*, and lastly to the *Fleet*, where he grew so troubled in Mind, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himself: And being afterward recover'd of that Hurt, and brought to the Queen's presence, who gave him very comfortable Words, yet could he never come to be quiet in his Mind, but in the end drown'd himself in a River not half a mile from his House, the River being so shallow, that he was fain to lie groveling before he could dispatch himself of Life.

Sir James  
Hales, Justice  
of the Com-  
mon-Pleas,  
drowns him-  
self, and why.

And now another sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for the Marquis of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gates*, lately before condemn'd to die, were now pardon'd, and set at liberty. The Lady *Jane* also was allow'd the liberty of the *Tower*, not without hope of Life and Liberty altogether, if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not a second time been the cause of her Destruction.

The Lady  
Jane, tho'  
condemn'd, is  
allow'd the  
Liberty of the  
Tower.

About this time also a Synod was assembled for consulting about Matters of Religion, and the Point especially of the *Real Presence* in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Dr. *Weston*; and of the *Protestant* side were *John Aylmer* and *Richard Cheyney*, both Bishops afterward in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, also *John Philpot*, afterward burnt, *James Haddon*, and others. After a long Disputation, wherein Reasons were not so much weigh'd as Voices numbred, the Papal side, as having most Voices, carried it; and thereupon was that Religion again restor'd, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be celebrated after the ancient manner.

Upon a Con-  
ference about  
Religion, the  
Mass is again  
restor'd.

It was now, this Year 1553, when Queen *Mary* was come to the age of Seven and thirty Years, and therefore high time now to think of

M m m m

Mar-



1553.

Matches pro-  
posed for  
Queen Mary.

Marriage, at least if she meant to have Issue of her Body; but hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her; yet Three at this time (in common fame at least) were taken into consideration: One was, the Lord Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royal Blood; but there was an Exception against him, because inclining (as 'twas thought) to *Lutheranism*. Another was Cardinal Pool, of a Dignity not much inferior to Kings, and by his Mother descended from Kings; but there was an Exception against him also, because Four and fifty Years old, (as old a Batchelor as Queen Mary was a Maid) and so the less hope of Issue between them: But the third (if he might be had) was without Exception, and that was Philip Prince of Spain, the Emperor Charles's eldest Son, with whom, being a Spaniard, she was the fitter match'd, as being by the Mother a Spaniard her self. And now very opportunely came, in the beginning of January, Ambassadors into England about it; amongst others, the Count of Egmont, Admiral of the Low-Countries, and John of Momorancy (Lord of Curriers, whose Message was so kindly entertain'd, that the Marriage in short time was absolutely concluded; tho' it seem'd something strange to many, that she should now be the Wife to the Son, who Thirty Years before should have been the Wife to the Father: But so it is, Queens are never old, so long as they are within Years of bearing Children. And indeed the Match was concluded with Conditions of far more advantage to Queen Mary than they were to King Philip; as, on the 14th of January, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Lord-Chancellor of England, openly in the Presence-Chamber at Westminster, declar'd to all the Lords and Gentlemen there present: For it was agreed, That after the Marriage King Philip should have the Title of all the Queen's Dominions, and be assumed into fellowship of the Government, but yet with Reservation to the Queen of all Privileges and Customs of the Kingdom, and free disposition of all Offices and Honours. As likewise the Queen would be assumed into the fellowship of all the King's Dominions, and surviving him, should have a Joynture of Two hundred thousand Pounds a Year. Then, for the Issue between them, if she had a Son, That he should inherit the Low-Countries and Burgundy; and King Philip's Son Charles, which he had by a former Wife, should inherit all his Dominions in Italy and Spain: But if his Son Charles should fail without Issue, then the Son he should have by Queen Mary should inherit his Kingdom of Italy, and Spain also. And the like good Provision was also made for Daughters.

But notwithstanding these great Advantages of the Match, yet such was the precipitant Rashness of some, that (thinking themselves wiser than the Queen and the Council) they fought by all means to oppose the Match, giving out, that they intended to bring England under the Yoke of Spain, and to make the Country a Slave to Strangers. This was the general murmuring of the People; but the first that shew'd himself in Arms was Sir Thomas Wyat

Yet is oppos'd  
by divers, spe-  
cially Sir Tho-  
mas Wyat of  
Kent.

of Kent, who having communicated the matter to the Duke of Suffolk, the Lady Jane's Father, with Peter Carew a Knight of Devonshire, and divers others, intended only to make secret provision, but not to stir till Prince Philip should be come, that so their Cause of taking Arms might have the better colour.

On the 15th of January, Robert Dudley; Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was arraign'd at the Guild-hall for High-Treason, who confess'd the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of Suffex, to be drawn, hang'd, bowel'd, and quarter'd.

The Lord  
Robert Dudley  
is arraign'd  
& condemn'd.

But now in Counsels communicated many, 'tis a hard matter to have Counsel kept; and Sir Peter Carew finding that their Plot was discover'd, fled privily into France, where lurking for a time, he was afterwards taken at Brussels, and brought Captive into England; as likewise at the same time and place Sir John Cheek, King Edward's Schoolmaster, was taken; who being drawn by Terrors to embrace the Papal Religion, with very Grief afterward for his Error pined away and died. Sir Peter Carew lived many Years after, and died in Ireland; tho' it be falsly recorded they were both burnt for Religion in June this Year. Wyat hearing of Sir Peter Carew's Flight, and that all their Purpose was discover'd, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the cause, That it was not to attempt any thing against the Queen, but only to remove ill Counsellors, and chiefly to repel Prince Philip, lest by his Marriage the Kingdom should come in subjection to the Spaniard. With Wyat were joyn'd Sir Henry Isle, Sir George Harper, Anthony and William Knevet, and divers other Gentlemen of the County. Against him were the Lord Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Cheyney Lord-Warden of the Ports, Sir Robert Southwel Sheriff of Kent, Sir Warham Saintleger, Sir Thomas Kemp, Sir Thomas Moyle, Sir Thomas Finch, with divers others; yet all these Great Men had such Doubt of the People that they durst not proceed but very warily. The 25th of January News came to London of Wyat's Rising, against whom was presently sent the Duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jerningham Captain of the Guard, Sir Edward Bray, Sir John Fogge, John Covert, Roger Appleton, Esquires, and Five hundred Soldiers out of London appointed to go after him, under the command of Captain Brett. And now see in Times of Sedition how uncertain a thing it is to trust to the People; for before Brett could overtake the Duke, Sir George Harper was secretly got to him, who so persuaded him, that he and his Five hundred Soldiers left the Duke, and went over to Wyat, which made the Duke, and those with him, presently flee, and put such Boldness into Wyat, that now he march'd with great confidence towards London, with so great Terrour to all sorts of People, that at Westminster-hall the Serjeants, and other Lawyers, pleaded in Harness.

In the mean time the Duke of Suffolk was perceiv'd in Warwickshire to be raising of Forces in assistance of Wyat; against whom was presently sent the Earl of Huntington: And the Duke finding himself unable to make resistance,

The Duke of  
Suffolk raiseth  
Forces to assist  
Wyat.



1553.

But is taken,  
and carried to  
the Tower.

Queen Mary  
protels her  
Marriage for  
the good of  
the Kingdom.

stance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty Men, he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped, and had promise to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say, as others, to a Keeper of his Park, call'd *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three Days. But whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of Fear, or out of hope of Reward, he betray'd him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and with a strong Guard carry'd to the Tower. Upon this, Queen *Mary* her self came into London, where calling the Mayor and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shew'd the Insolence of *Wyat*; who, though he pretended but on'y the crossing of the Marriage, yet now was grown to such Presumption, that he requir'd to have the Custody of her Person, and to have Councillors retain'd or remov'd at his pleasure. And as for her Marriage, she there affirm'd she had done nothing in it but by the Advice of her Council; and for her self, that she was not so longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the Good of the Kingdom, than for her own Satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirm'd the Minds of the Citizens, Forces were presently rais'd and placed about the Bridge, and other fit Places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of three or four Thousand came to London hoping for present Entrance; but finding the Bridge broken, and Soldiers placed to resist him, after two Days stay in *Southwark*, he removed to *Kingston*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken; yet with great Industry suddenly repairing it, he pass'd over his Men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court before the Queen should have notice of his coming: And had done so indeed, if a Mischance, and an Error upon that Mischance had not hinder'd him: For being come within six Miles of London, the Carriage of one of his great Ordnance broke; in mending whereof so much time was spent, (and *Wyat* by no persuasions would go forward without it) that the Time was past in which his Friends at London expected his coming; which Disappointment made many in those Parts to fall off, and being perceiv'd by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir *George Harper*, the most intimate of all his Counsel, went to the Queen and discover'd all his Purposes. Whereupon the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him, which made *Wyat* slack his pace, so as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns march'd towards *Ludgate*, and being encounter'd at *Charing-Cross* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*, after a small Fight put them to flight in such sort, that word was carried to the Queen how near *Wyat* approacht, and how wonderfully he prevail'd all the way he came; with which nothing dismay'd, Well then,

(said she) I will go in Person against him myself; and was preparing to do so indeed, (so much was her Father's Valour running in her Veins) but it need'd not; for by this time Sir *Henry Feringham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordnance, and Sir *Philip Parris* had given him Battel, and slain many of his Men. And that which was more, coming to *Ludgate* he was denied Entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Forces were behind at *Charing-Cross*; so as neither able to go forward, nor yet backward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a Stall by the *Bell-Savage*, after a little musing, he return'd toward *Temple-Gate*; where *Clarenceux* the Herald meeting him, fell to persuade him not to be a cause of more effusion of Blood, nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the Queen's Mercy. The Soldiers of *Wyat* were earnest with him to have stood it out; but *Wyat* as fillily ending as he had unadvisedly begun, yielded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and getting up upon his Horse behind him, in that manner rode to the Court; where he had not the Entertainment he expected, for without more ado he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance; few fled, and of the other, many were taken and laid in Prison: and this was done the sixth of *February*. And now Consultation was held what Delinquents should be punish'd; where the first that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten sower Grapes, and the Childrens Teeth are set on edge*; the innocent Lady must suffer for her Father's Fault: For if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not this second time made shipwreck of his Loyalty, his Daughter perhaps had never tasted the Salt-water of the Queen's Displeasure: But now, as a Rock of Offence, she is the first that must be remov'd; and thereupon is Dr. *Fecknam* sent to acquaint her, That she must prepare her self to die the next Day. Which Message was so little unpleasing unto her, that she seem'd rather to rejoyce at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty. And the Dr. being earnest with her to change her new Religion, and to embrace the old; she answer'd, She had now no time to think of any thing but of preparing her self to GOD by Prayer. *Fecknam* thinking she had spoken this to the end she might have some longer time of Life, obtain'd of the Queen three Days longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady *Jane*, whereat she smiling said, You are much deceiv'd, if you think I had any desire of longer Life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my Life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as Death; and since it is the Queen's pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it. Before she was brought to Execution her Husband the Lord *Guilford* had made suit, and obtain'd to see her, and have some conference with her: But she refus'd it, saying, These were rather augmenters of Grief, than Comforts of Death; she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better Place, and in a better condition of Society. So on the twelfth of

1553.

*Wyat* being denied Entrance at *Ludgate*, retires, and at last yields himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and is sent to the Tower.

The Lady *Jane* hath word sent her to prepare her self to die; whereat she seem'd to rejoyce.

Febru-



1553.

*February*, her Husband the Lord *Guilford* first, and then she, an hour or two after, was beheaded within the *Tower*, where she acknowledged her self to have deserv'd Death, not for seeking the Crown, but for not refusing it, being offer'd: And, after Prayers to GOD, unclothing her self, and putting a Handkerchief before her Eyes, she laid her Head down upon the Block, and patiently suffer'd Death, more grievous to the Beholders than to her self.

She's beheaded

Her Piety and Learning.

Judge *Morgan* who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

This End had the Lady *Jane Gray*, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her Years) of incomparable Learning; for, being not past seventeen Years of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latin Tongues, and was so ready in Points of Divinity, as if she knew them by Inspiration rather than by Instruction; no less a Miracle in this kind than King *Edward*, and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdom, who in the Endowments of Mind was so like unto him, that whilst she reign'd it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only in Sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge *Morgan*, who at her Arraignment gave the Sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving cried continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and so ended his Life.

Two Days after the Execution of the Lady *Jane*, namely, the 14th and 15th of *February*, Twenty pair of Gallows were set up, in divers places of the City, whereon were hang'd Fifty of *Wyat's* Faction. On the 18th of *February* *Brett* was hang'd at *Rocheſter* in Chains: Sir *Henry Isle*, who had been taken in an old Frize Coat, and an old pair of Hose, with his Brother *Thomas Isle*, and *Walter Mantell*, were hang'd at *Maidſtone*: *Anthony Knevet*, and his Brother *William*, with another of the *Mantells*, were executed at *Sevenoak*: But then, on the 20th of *February*, a sprinkling of Mercy came; for Four hundred of *Wyat's* followers being brought before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, they were all pardon'd and set at liberty. But then Severity soon after began again, for on the Twenty-third of *February* the Lord *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Father to the Lady *Jane*, who the Week before had been arraign'd and condemn'd, was on the *Tower-Hill* beheaded; and on the Eleventh of *April* in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this Mischief) *Wyat* himself, whose Quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his Head upon the Gallows at *Hay-hill*, beside *Hide-Park*. This Man, in hope of Life, having before accused the Lord *Courtney*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Queen's Sister, to be privy to his Conspiracy, yet at his Death he clear'd them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his Proceedings. Yet was this Matter so urg'd against them by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Wincheſter* and Lord-Chancellor, that both of them, in *March* before, had been committed to the *Tower*, tho' in *May* following they were both again releas'd, but yet confined, the Lady *Elizabeth* to *Woodſtock*, under the Custody of Sir *Henry Bedenfield* of *Oxenborough*, in the County of *Norfolk*; the Lord

The Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded, *Wyat* is beheaded.

*Stephen Gardiner* practises against the Lady *Elizabeth*.

*Courtney* to *Fotheringhay*, under the Custody of Sir *Thomas Tresham*; who after some time was set at liberty, and going into *Italy*, there died. It is as memorable what Malice this Bishop *Gardiner* bore to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by whose only procurement she was not only kept in most hard Durance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Councillors Hands, to put her to Death: Which had been done, but that Mr. *Bruges*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, pitying her Case, went to the Queen to know her Pleasure, who utterly deny'd that she knew any thing of it; by which means her Life was preserv'd. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, *Tho' they cut off Boughs and Branches, yet as long as they let the Root remain, all was nothing.* And 'tis not unworthy the remembring what Trains were laid to ensnare her. The common Net, at that time, for catching of Protestants was, the *Real Presence*; and this Net was used to catch her: For being ask'd one time what she thought of the Words of Christ, *This is my Body*, whether she thought it the true Body of Christ that was in the Sacrament; it is said that after some pausing she thus answer'd,

*Christ was the Word that spake it;  
He took the Bread and brake it;  
And what the Word doth make it,  
That I believe, and take it.*

Which, tho' it may seem but a slight Expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least it serv'd her turn at that time to escape the Net, which by direct Answer she could not have done.

On the 17th of *February*, *Thomas Lord Gray*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, was beheaded; the last, and indeed the least in Delinquency, that suffer'd for having any hand in *Wyat's* Conspiracy. There remain'd yet a fagg-end, and was indeed but a fagg-end, as nothing worth; for on the same Day Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, being accus'd to have been a Party in *Wyat's* Conspiracy, was at the Guild-hall arraign'd before Sir *Thomas White* Lord Mayor, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chief-Justice of England, Sir *Nicholas Hare* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, Sir *Richard Southwell* and Sir *Edward Walgrave* Privy-Councillors, Sir *Roger Cholmley*, Sir *William Portman*, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, Sir *Edward Saunders*, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, Mr. *Stamford* and Mr. *Dyer*, Serjeants at Law, Mr. *Edward Griffin* Attorney-General, Mr. *Sendall* and *Peter Tichborne*, Clerks of the Crown; where the said Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* so fully and discreetly answer'd all Objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury *Not Guilty*, and was clearly acquitted; but the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent Prisoners some of them to the *Tower*, and some to the *Fleet*, and afterward fined to pay a thousand Marks a-piece at least, and some Two thousand Pounds, tho' the sums were afterward something mitigated.

More of *Wyat's* Accomplices had been taken, arraign'd, and adjudg'd to die, but in Judgment the

1553.

He procures a warrant to put her to death, and how she was preserv'd.

*Thomas Lord Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* Brother, beheaded.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* arraign'd, and by the Jury acquitted.



1553.

Divers of  
Wyat's Accom-  
plices pardon-  
ed.

Divers Lords  
created.

the Queen remembred Mercy, and gave them their Pardons; of which number were Mr. Rudston of Kent, Sir James Crofts, the Lord John Gray, Brother to the Duke of Suffolk, and some others.

About this time, a little before and after, were advanc'd in Honour the Lord William Howard, Lord-Admiral of England, who was created Baron Howard of Effingham; Sir John Williams was created Baron of Tame; Sir Edward North was created Baron of Chartleigh; Sir John Bruges was created Baron Chandos of Sudeley; Gerard Fitz-Garret, Earl of Kildare and Baron of Ophelly; and, not long after, Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse, was created Viscount Montague.

The Imposture  
of Eliz. Croft,  
call'd the Spi-  
rit in the Wall.

'Tis scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first Year of the Queen's Reign, one Elizabeth Croft, a Wench of 18 Years old, was by Practice put into a Wall, and thereupon call'd *The Spirit in the Wall*, who, with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious Words against the Queen, the Prince of Spain, the Maf, Confeſſion, and ſuch other Points; for which ſhe did Penance, ſtanding upon a Scaffold at Paul's Croſs all Sermon-time, where ſhe made open Confeſſion of her Fault.

Cranmer, Rid-  
ley, and Latimer  
adjudg'd  
Hereticks, and  
condemn'd to  
die.

There had been good ſtore of Laymens Blood ſhed already, and now the time is coming to have Clergyemens ſhed: And, as a Preparative to it, on the tenth of April, Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley late Biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer late Biſhop of Worceſter, are convey'd from the Tower to Oxford, there to diſpute with Oxford and Cambridge-men in Points of Religion, but eſpecially of the Eucharift. The Oxford men were Cole, Chadſey, Pye, Harpsfield, Smith, and Dr. Weſton Prolocutor; the Cambridge-men, Young, Seaton, Watſon, Atkinſon, Fecknam, and Sedgwick. The Diſputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went againſt the Priſoners. On the 20th of April they were brought again on the Stage, and then demanded, whether they would perſiſt in their Opinion, or elſe recant; and affirming they would perſiſt, they were all three adjudg'd Hereticks, and condemn'd to the Fire; but their Execution we muſt not look for till a Year or two hence: But in the mean time we have John Rogers, the firſt Martyr of theſe Times, burnt at London the 4th of February; after whom, the 9th of February, John Hooper, late Biſhop of Worceſter, burnt at Glouceſter; after him, Robert Ferrar Biſhop of Man, burnt at Caermarthen; after him, John Bradford, with many others; and then the two famous Men, Ridley and Latimer, no leſs famous for their conſtant Deaths than their religious Lives, both burnt at Oxford the 16th of October.

The firſt that  
ſuffer'd for  
Religion in  
Queen Mary's  
time.

This Riſing of Wyat had been a Remora to the Queen's Marriage; and now, to avoid all ſuch Obſtacles hereafter, the Queen in April call'd a Parliament, wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage, the other for reſtoration of the Pope's Primacy. This latter was not aſſented to but with great difficulty; for the Six Years Reign of King Edward had ſpread a plantation of the Proteſtant Religion in the Hearts of many; but the Propoſition of the Marriage was aſſented to readily, but yet with the adding of ſome Conditions which had not been thought of in the former Articles: 1. That King Philip ſhould admit of

no Strangers in any Office, but only Natives.

2. That he ſhould innovate nothing in the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom. 3. That he ſhould not carry the Queen out of the Realm without her conſent, nor any of her Children, without conſent of the Council. 4. That ſurviving the Queen, he ſhould challenge no Right in the Kingdom, but ſuffer it to deſcend to the next Heir. 5. That he ſhould carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor ſuffer any Ship or Ordnance to be remov'd out of the Realm; and laſtly, That neither directly nor indirectly he ſhould cauſe the Realm of England to be entangled with the War between Spain and France.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of Bedford Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Fitzwaters, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are ſent into Spain, to fetch Prince Philip, who arriv'd at Southampton the 20th of July, in the Year 1554, and the 23d came to Wincheſter, where the Queen met him, and the 25th the Marriage between them was there openly ſolemniz'd, (the diſparity of Years, as in Princes, not much regarded, tho' he were then but 27 Years of age, the 38.) at which time the Emperor's Ambaſſadors being preſent, openly declar'd, That in conſideration of that Marriage, the Emperor had given to Prince Philip, his Son, the Kingdoms of Naples and Hieruſalem. And thereupon (the ſolemnity of Marriage being ended) Garter King of Heralds, openly in the Church, in the preſence of the King and Queen, and the Lords both of England and Spain, ſolemnly proclaim'd the Title and Stile of theſe two Princes, as followeth:

Philip and Mary, by the Grace of GOD, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Hieruſalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Habsperg, Flanders, and Tyrol.

After this the King and Queen by eaſie Journeys came to Windſor-Caſtle, where the King was install'd Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of Suffex with him. The 11th of Auguſt they remov'd to Richmond, the 27th to Suffolk-Place in Southwark, and the next day to London, where the ſtately Shews that were made may well enough be conceiv'd without relating. From hence, after four Days, they remov'd again to Richmond, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries; and indeed ſo many departed, that there remain'd not an Engliſh Lord at Court, except the Biſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they remov'd to Hampton-Court, where the Hall-door within the Court was continually kept ſhut, ſo as no Man might enter, unleſs his Errand were firſt known; which might perhaps be the Faſhion of Spain, but to Engliſhmen ſeem'd very ſtrange.

About this time Cardinal Pool, ſent for by the King and Queen, came over into England, and had come ſooner, but that the Emperor, fearing he might prove a Co-rival with his Son Philip, had uſed means to ſtop his paſſage; but now, that his Son's Marriage was paſt, he was content to let him paſs; who, tho' he came from Rome with the great Authority of a Legate a Latere, yet he would not but come privately into London, becauſe his Attainder was yet upon Record. An Act therefore was preſently paſ-

1553.

The Condi-  
tions of the  
Queen's Mar-  
riage with  
Prince Philip.

1554.

The Earl of  
Bedford is ſent  
into Spain to  
fetch Prince  
Philip.

The Marriage  
between him  
and the Queen  
is ſolemniz'd.

Their Stile.

A bare and  
cloſe Court.

Card. Pool  
is ſent for by  
the King and  
Queen to come  
into England.

N n n

fed



1554.

fed to take it off, and to restore him in Blood ; for passing of which Act the King and Queen in Person came to the Parliament-house, whither a few Days after the Cardinal came himself, which was then kept in the great Chamber of *White hall*, because the Queen, by reason of sickness, was not able to go abroad. And here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloth of State, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights, and Burgeses being present, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord-Chancellor, made a short Speech to them, signifying the presence of the Lord-Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate a Latere, to do a Work tending to the Glory of God, and the Benefit of them all ; which (saith he) you may much better hear from his own Mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thank'd them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society ; then exhorting them to return into the Bosom of the Church, for which End he was come ; not to condemn, but to reconcile ; not to compel, but to call and require : And for their first Work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been made in derogation of the *Catholick Religion*. After which Speech the Parliament, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two Days after they presented to the King and Queen ; wherein they shew'd themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desir'd their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord-Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be pardon'd for all they had done amiss, and be receiv'd into the Bosom of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*.

Card. Pool makes a solemn Speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the Bosom of the Church.

The Parliament desire Pardon of their former Errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution.

The Parliament will not yield King Philip should be crown'd.

1555.

The Queen is preach'd in Churches to be with Child, and Prayers made for her safe Delivery, but prov'd no such thing.

This Supplication being deliver'd to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words ; [ *We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the Third, (Christ's Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm, and Dominions thereof, from all Herefie and Schism, and from all Judgments, Censures, and Pains for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church.* ] The Report hereof coming to *Rome*, was cause that a solemn Procession was made, for Joy of the Conversion of *England* to the Church of *Rome*. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King *Philip* crown'd, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent. In *October* this Second Year of her Reign a Rumour was spread of the Queen's being with Child ; and so forward, that she was quick : And hereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, that Prayers and Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches : And the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they enter'd into considering of the Education of the Child, and made an Act, desiring the King, (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleas'd to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child. But after all this, in *June* following it came to be known that it was but a Tympany ; or, at least, the

Queen so miscarried that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any : But howsoever, in hope of the Joy that was expected, in *January* this Year divers of the Council, as, the Lord-Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord-Treasurer, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Comptroller of the Queen's House, Secretary *Bourne*, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the *Tower*, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the *Tower*, as namely, the late Duke of *Northumberland's* Sons, *Ambrose*, *Robert*, and *Henry* ; also Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Santlow*, Sir *Gowen Carew*, *William Gybbs* Esq; *Cuthbert Vaughan*, and others.

Divers that were in the Tower condemn'd are set at liberty.

About this time one *William Featherston*, a Miller's Son, of the age of eighteen Years, named and bruited himself to be King *Edward the Sixth* ; for which being apprehended and examin'd, he answer'd as one lunatick, and thereupon was whipt at the Carts-tail and banish'd into the North : But, the Year after, spreading abroad again, that King *Edward* was alive, and that he had talk'd with him, he was arraign'd and condemn'd of Treason, and at *Tyburn* hang'd and quarter'd.

One Featherston, a Miller's Son, takes upon him to be K. Edward VI

Is taken and hang'd at Tyburn.

In the Month of *March* the Queen was taken with a Fit of Devotion, and thereupon call'd unto her four of her Privy-Council, namely, *William* Marquis of *Winchester* Lord-Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries and Abbeys as of other Churches, and therefore she did freely relinquish them, and leave 'em to be dispos'd as the Pope and the Lord-Cardinal should think fit ; and thereupon charg'd them to acquaint the Cardinal with her Purpose. And shortly after, in performance hereof, *John Fecknam*, late Dean of *Pauls*, was made Abbot of *Westminster*, and had possession deliver'd him, and with him 14 Monks receiv'd the Habit at the same time : On the 20th of *November* Sir *Thomas* was instituted Lord of *St. John's of Hierusalem*, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging to it. And when 'twas told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown, she answer'd, She valued more the Salvation of her Soul than a thousand Crowns. A most religious Speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most pious Princess.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The fourth of *September* this Year King *Philip*, waited on with the Earl of *Arundel* Lord-Steward, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, went over to *Calais*, and from thence to *Brussels* in *Brabant*, to visit the Emperor his Father ; who delivering him possession of the *Low-Countries*, in *March* following he return'd into *England* ; but on the sixth of *July* following, by reason of Wars with *France*, he pass'd again over to *Calais*, and so into *Flanders*, from whence he return'd not till 18 Months after ; which made great muttering among the common People, as tho' he took any little Occasion to be absent, for the little Love he bore to the Queen.

King Philip goes to Flanders, where he staid eighteen months.

In



1556

In the third Year of the Queen died *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, at his Houle in *Southwark*. Of whose death it is memorable, That the same Day in which Bishop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* suffer'd at *Oxford*, he would not go to Dinner till four a Clock in the Afternoon, tho' the old Duke of *Norfolk* was come to dine with him: The reason was, because he would first hear of their being burnt; and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where sitting down, and eating merrily, upon a sudden fell into such extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table and carried to his Bed; where he continu'd fifteen Days, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwise; which caus'd his Tongue to swell in his Mouth, and so he died. After whose death, *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York* was made Lord Chancellor.

*Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* dies a strange death

Bishop *Cranmer* upon hope of Life recants.

And now comes the time of Archbishop *Cranmer*'s Execution, who the Year before had been condemn'd, and degraded by Commission from the Pope: After which, being by the Subtilty of some put in hope of Life, out of Frailty he subscrib'd to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal *Pool* would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he could not be so long as he liv'd) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief Instrument of her Mother's Divorce, his Execution was resolv'd to be the 14th of *February*, in the same Place at *Oxford* where *Ridley* and *Latimer* five Months before had died. Before the Execution, Dr. *Cole* preach'd; who, to make use of *Cranmer*'s Recantation, told the People, They should do well to hearken to this Learned Man's Confession, who now at his Death, and with his Death, would testifie which was the True Religion; never thinking that *Cranmer* would have denied his former Recantation. But *Cranmer* being brought to the Stake (contrary to expectation) acknowledg'd, that thro' Frailty he had subscrib'd it, praying GOD heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that Hand which had done it, should first suffer; and therewithal thrusting his Right-hand into the Fire, he there held it, till it first, and then his whole Body was consum'd; only (which was no small Miracle) his Heart remain'd whole, and not once touch'd with the Fire. The same Year also, no fewer than Eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion. And it was a Cruelty very far extended, that the Bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, some time before dead and buried, were taken up, and publicly burnt in *Cambridge*. No sooner was *Cranmer* dead, but the very same Day Cardinal *Pool* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Yet is brought to the Stake and burnt: Where he burneth his Hand first, When his whole Body was burnt, his Heart remain'd untouched of the Fire.

1557

The Lord *Stourton* for a Murther is hang'd in a filken Halter.

In the fourth Year of the Queen, exemplary Justice was done upon a great Person: For the Lord *Stourton*, a Man much in the Queen's Favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a Murther committed by him, arraign'd and condemn'd, and he (with four of his Servants) carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hang'd, having the Favour to be hang'd in a filken Halter; his Servants in places near adjoining to the Place where the Murther was committed.

The 24th of April *Thomas Stafford* second Son to the Lord *Stafford*, with others to the Number of twenty or thirty Persons, (set on by the French King) attempted to raise Sedition against the Queen, for marrying with King *Philip*; and coming out of *France*, arriv'd at *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, where they took the Castle, but within two Days were driven out by the Earl of *Westmoreland*, and then taken and arraign'd. The 28th of May, *Stafford* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*; and the next Day three of his Associates, *Strelly*, *Bradford* and *Proctor* were drawn from the Tower to *Tyburn*, and there executed. The 1st of May, *Thomas Percy* was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next Day was created Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Ancestor's.

1557

*Thomas Stafford* for raising Sedition arraign'd and beheaded.

*Thomas Percy* made Earl of *Northumberland*.

At this time the Queen entangled her self Queen *Mary* (contrary to her Promise) in her Husband's finds Aid to Quarrel; sent a Defiance to the French King, King *Philip*, by *Clarenceux* King at Arms; and after on the with which he Monday in *Whitsun-week*, by sound of Trumpet, besieges and proclaim'd open War against him in *Cheapside*, takes *St. Quintins*. and other Places of the City: And shortly after caus'd an Army of a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot to be transported over, to the Aid of her Husband King *Philip*, under the leading of the Earl of *Pembroke* Captain-General, Sir *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montague* Lieutenant-General, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marshal, the Earl of *Rutland* General of the Horse, the Earl of *Lincoln* Colonel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of the Ordnance, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Earl *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joyning with King *Philip*'s Forces, they all set down before *St. Quintins*, a Town of the French King's of great importance. To the Rescue whereof the French King sent an Army, under the leading of the Constable of *France*, which consisted of 900 Men at Arms, with as many light Horse, 800 Reysters, 22 Ensigns of Lancequenets, and 16 Ensigns of French Footmen. Their Purpose was not to give Battel, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the *Philipians* perceiving, encounter'd them, and in the Fight slew *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguien*, the Viscount of *Turenne*, the Lord of *Chadenier*, with many Gentlemen of account. They took prisoners the Duke of *Momorancy* Constable of *France*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Duke *Longueville*, the Marshal of *St. Andre*, the Lord *Lewis*, Brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Baron of *Courton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonel of the *Almanes*, Monsieur *d'Aubigny*, Monsieur *de Biron*, and many others; and then pursuing the Victory, under the Government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the 27th of August they took the Town of *St. Quintins*: in the Assault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordnance slain, and some other of account. The Sackage of the Town King *Philip* gave to the English, as by whose Valour chiefly it was won.

The Joy was not so great for winning of *St. Quintins*, but there will be a greater Sorrow presently for other Losses: Many of the Garrison of *Calais* had been drawn from thence for service

The Causes and Means of losing *Calais*.



1557

service of St. Quintins, and no new Supply sent; which being perceiv'd by the *French King*, a Plot is laid how to surprize it, which yet was not so secretly carried but the Officers of *Calais* had Intelligence thereof, who thereupon signified it to the Council of *England*, requiring speedy Succours, without which (against so great an Army as was rais'd against them) they should not be able to hold out: But, whether they gave no credit to the Relations, or whether they apprehended not the Danger so imminent, as indeed it was, they neglected to send Supplies till 'twas too late; for the Duke of *Guise*, with no less Speed than Policy, took such a course, that at one and the same time he set both upon *Newnham Bridge*, and also upon *Ricebank*, (the two main Sconces for defence of the Town) and took 'em both; and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and that with such violence of great Ordnance, that the noise was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred Miles off: But having made the Walls assaultable, the *English* used this Stratagem; they laid trains of Powder, to blow 'em up when they should offer to enter: But this Stratagem succeeded not; for the *French* in passing the Ditch had so wet their Clothes, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would take no Fire, (so all things seem'd to concur against the *English*) and thereupon the Castle was taken also, and with it the Town also had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loss of his own Life and his eldest Son's, valiantly defended it, and for that time repell'd the *French*: But their number encreas'd so fast upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* (the Deputy) seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parley; where a Composition was made, That the Town should presently be yielded to the *French King*, the Lives of the Inhabitants only saved, and safe Conduct to pass away, saving the Lord Deputy, with Fifty others, such as the Duke should name. And here, to be quit with the *English* for their hard usage at St. *Quintins*, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, That all and every Person of the Town should bring their Money, Jewels, and Plate, to the value of a Groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means an inestimable sum of Treasure was there offer'd, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enrich'd a Town. And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out against so great an Army, 'tis said, there were in it but only 500 Soldiers of ordinary, and scarce 200 more of able fighting Men; but of other People, Men, Women, and Children, 4200; all which were suffer'd to depart, save the Lord *Wentworth* Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Castle, *John Hurlstone* Captain of *Ricebank*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnham Bridge*, *Edw. Grimston* the Comptroller, *John Rogers* the Surveyor, with others to the number of Fifty, who were all carried Prisoners into *France*. And thus *Calais*, which had been in possession of the *English* above 200 Years, was won from the *English* in 8 Days, which King *Edward* the Third had not won from the *French* in less than a Year. The Lord *Wentworth* was suspected, and in Queen *Elizabeth's* time arraign'd for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. *Calais* thus won,

1558.

the Duke with his Army march'd to *Guifnes*, five miles distant, whereof was Captain the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the Siege and Batteries five or six days, with so great Valour and Resolution that he appear'd in nothing inferior to the Enemy, but in multitude; yet at last, overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Soldiers, much against his own Will he made composition, That the Town and Castle should be wholly render'd, himself and all Officers remain Prisoners, all others to depart with their Armour and Baggage: The Lord *Gray* was afterward ransom'd for 24000 Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guise* considering that *Guifnes* would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a Neighbour to *Calais* if it should be recover'd, razed it, with the Bulwarks and Fortifications, to the Ground. *Guifnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the *English* Pale but the little Castle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord *Edward Dudley*, who considering that tho' it were naturally strongly situate, as being environ'd with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helps by Art, or Fortification; and being assur'd the Duke of *Guise* would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the Night, with all his Garrison, departed into *Flanders*, so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guise*; and with the loss of this Castle the *English* lost all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

1558.

*Guifnes* also won by the *French*.

And so the *English* lost all their footing in *France*.

Presently after this, the *French King* caused the Marriage between his eldest Son *Francis*, the Dauphin, and *Mary Stuart*, sole Heir of *James* the fifth King of *Scotland*, to be solemniz'd: Whereupon great Wars ensued soon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

The Dauphin of *France* marries *Mary Stuart* Heir of *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in Mind for the loss of *Calais*, sent presently forth her Admiral the Lord *Clinton* with a Fleet of more than a hundred Sail, to recover at least reparation of Honour, by doing some Exploit upon *France*, who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conquest*, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then return'd.

In the mean time many Conflicts having been between King *Philip* and the King of *France*, at last, by mediation of the Dutcheffs of *Lorraine*, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seem'd to be well accorded, but only K. *Philip* by all means requir'd the restitution of *Calais*, to which by no means the *French* would assent.

An agreement of Peace between King *Philip* and the K. of *France*; but only want of restitution of *Calais*.

But whilst they stood on these terms it hapned that first the Emperor *Charles*, K. *Philip's* Father, died, and shortly after Queen *Mary*, and the day after Cardinal *Pool*, and shortly after Sir *John Baker*, of *Sissinghurst* in *Kent*, who had been a Privy-Councillor to *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

Queen *Mary* dies.

#### Of her Taxations.

SHE began with a rare Example, for in the first Year of her Reign was pardon'd by Proclamation the Subsidy of Four Shillings the Pound on Land, and Two Shillings the Pound on Goods, granted in the last Parliament of King *Edward*



1558.

**Edward the Sixth.** In her second Year, in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subsidy on the Laity, from 5 l. to 10 l. of 8 d. in the Pound; from 10 l. to 20 l. of 12 d. in the Pound; from 20 l. and upwards, of 16 d. in the Pound; all Strangers double, and the Clergy 6 s. in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time there came no new Charge upon her People; for one Subsidy remitted, and one receiv'd, made but even. In her last Year she borrow'd 20000 pounds of the City of London, and paid 12 l. a Year Interest for every Hundred pound.

*Laws and Ordinances in her Time.*

New Coins of Gold and Silver.

**I**N her first Year, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September, were proclaim'd certain new Coins of Gold and Silver; a Sovereign of Gold 30 s. the half Sovereign 15 s. an Angel 10 s. the half Angel 5 s. of Silver, the Groat, the half Groat, and Penny: All these Coins to be current as before. In her second Year Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of Weapons. The Year in which she was married to King Philip, a strict Charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners, and Alehouse-keepers that they should sell no Meat, nor Drink, nor any kind of Victuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a Testimonial to shew whose Servant he was. Also in a Parliament holden this Year, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio*, and other Laws made for the punishment of *Heresies*, were reviv'd; but chiefly the Pope's Bull of Dispensation of *Abbey-Lands* was then confirm'd. In her second Year, on *Michaelmas-Eve*, the Prisoners that lay in the Compter in *Breadstreet* were remov'd to a new Compter made in *Woodstreet*, of the City's purchase and building; the which removing was confirm'd by the Common-Council of the City.

*Affairs of the Church in her Time.*

**I**N the first Year of this Queen's Reign, all Bishops which had been depriv'd in the Time of King Edward the Sixth were restor'd to their Bishopricks, and the new remov'd; also all beneficed Men that were married, or would not forsake their Opinion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary Opinion put in their rooms. Also this Year, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of of August, the Service began to be sung in Latin in Paul's Church. Also this Year the Pope's Authority was by Act of Parliament restored in England, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second Year the Realm was absolv'd, and reconciled to the Church of Rome by Cardinal Pool, and First-fruits and Tenths were restor'd to the Clergy; but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the Necessity of it for the Queen's Support. In her fourth year Monasteries were begun to be re-edified, of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of *Black-fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her Time, there are recorded five Bishops, twenty-one Divines, and of all sorts of Men and Women two hundred threescore and seventeen.

The number of those that dy'd for Religion in Queen Mary's Days.

*Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her Time.*

1558.

**T**HIS Queen restor'd a great part of *Abbey-Lands* that were in her possession, and if she had liv'd longer, very likely she would have restor'd more. In her first Year Sir Thomas White, then Mayor, erected a College in Oxford, now call'd St. John's College; before, Bernard College. He also erected Schools at Bristol and Reading, and gave Two thousand pounds to the City of Bristol, to purchase Lands, the Profits whereof to be employ'd for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten Years; and after that, to be employ'd in like manner to the benefit of 22 other Shires and Cities. In her third Year died Sir John Gresham, late Mayor of London, who founded a Free-School at Holt in Norfolk, and gave to every Ward in London Ten pounds, to be distributed to the Poor; also to Maids Marriages Two hundred pounds. Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, erected a goodly Library in Cambridge, storing it with many excellent both printed and written Books; he also bestow'd much upon building at Durham, Alnwick, and Tunbridge.

St. John's College in Oxford founded.

*Casualties happening in her Time.*

**I**N her first year, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, the goodliest Ship in England, call'd *The Great Harry*, being of the Burthen of a thousand Tun, was burnt at Woolwich, by Negligence of the Mariners. In her second year, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, appear'd in the Sky a Rainbow revers'd, the Bow turning downward, and the two Ends standing upward: Also two Suns shined at one time a good distance asunder; which were taken for ill Signs. This year also, in the Month of August, at a place in Suffolk, by the Sea-side, all of hard Stone and Pebble, lying between the Towns of Orford and Aldborough, where never Grass grew, nor any Earth was ever seen, there chanc'd suddenly to spring up, without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gather'd above a hundred Quarters; yet there remain'd some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year hot-burning Agues and other strange Diseases took away much People, so as between the 20<sup>th</sup> of October and the last of December, there died seven Aldermen, namely, Henry Heardson, Sir Richard Dobbs late Mayor, Sir William Laxton late Mayor, Sir Henry Hobblethorn late Mayor, Sir John Champneis late Mayor, Sir John Ayleph late Mayor, and Sir John Gresham late Mayor. In this year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at 2 l. 4 s. the quarter, and Pease at 2 l. 6 s. and 8 d. where, after Harvest, Wheat was sold for 5 s. the quarter, Malt at 6 s. 8 d. Rye at 3 s. 4 d. a quarter: In the Country, Wheat was sold for 4 s. the quarter, Malt at 4 s. 8 d. and, in some places, a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was 4 d. In her fifth year, within a Mile of Nottingham, so marvellous a Tempest of Thunder hapned, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some Webs of Lead 400 foot into the Field, writhen as it had been Leather: The River of Trent running between the two Towns, the Water, with the Mud in the bottom, was carried a quarter of a Mile, and cast against Trees, with the violence

Pease growing plentifully where never sow'd.

The Price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth, and in Plenty.

A marvellous Tempest.

O o o o

where-



1558.

whereof the Trees were pull'd up by the Roots and cast twelve yards off: Also a Child was taken forth of a Man's Hand, and carried two Spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died; five or six Men thereabouts were slain, and neither Flesh nor Skin perish'd: Also there fell some Hailstones that were 15 inches about. This year also in Harvest-time was a great Mortality, especially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserv'd, and much Corn was lost in the Field for want of Workmen, whereupon ensued a great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for 14 s. a quarter, and Wood sold in London for 13 s. a thousand of Billets, and Coals 10 d. a sack. Also this year, on the last of September, fell so great store of Rain, that Westminster-Hall was full of Water, and Boats were row'd over Westminster-Bridge into Kings-Street.

*Of her Personage and Conditions.*

OF her Personage we can make no particular Description, only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without Deformity: But of her Conditions we may say, she was not without Deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we count her Religion a Deformity, yet her Constancy and Devotion in it we must needs count a Beauty. If it were a Deformity to promise the Suffolk-men not to alter their Religion, which King Edward had establish'd, yet it was certainly a pious Dissembling, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and Equivocation (will some say) was there a Virtue, where she deceiv'd 'em into Truth, and did 'em good against their wills. And as for her Sister Elizabeth, if she did not love her, 'twas but a Quality hereditary in her, for their Mothers did not love one another before; and indeed not without some cause in both, for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these each others Birth. We shall not do her Right, if we deny her to be of a merciful Disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the Person where she shed the Blood. She could have found in her Heart to have spared the Lady Jane's Life, if *Ragion di Stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of Suffolk's Life, till his second Offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her Nature might be seen in the badness of her Fortune, who took nothing so much to heart as unkindness of Friends; the Revolt of Calais, and the Absence of King Philip, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

*Of her Death and Burial.*

THE Conceit of her being with Child had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her Body, so that her Distemper, at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropsy, to which was added a Fever, brought upon her by a double Grief, one for the long absence of King Philip, (who had now been away a year and a half) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of Calais; as she forbore not to say to some about her, That if they look'd into her Heart, being dead, they should find Calais there. She began to fall sick in September, and died at her Mannor of St. James on the 17th of November, 1558, having reign'd five years, four months, and eleven

days; liv'd 43 years. Her Body was interr'd in a Chapel in the Minster of St. Peter's Church at Westminster, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

*Men of Note in her Time.*

OF Men of Valour in her Time there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign; but to name some for example, there was William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, chief Assistant of King Philip in winning St. Quintins; there was William Lord Gray of Wilton, Captain of Guisnes, who tho' he yielded the Town, 'twas more out of tenderness to his Soldiers than fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up. And, to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir Anthony Ager, who in defence of the Town of Calais lost his Life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and fly. Of Learned Men also there were very many; as, John Rogers, born in Lancashire, who translated the Bible into English with Notes; Richard Moryson Knight, born in Oxfordshire, who wrote divers Treatises; Robert Record Doctor of Physick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick; Cuthbert Tonstall, of a worshipful Family in Lancashire, tho' base born, whose Ancestor came into England with the Conqueror as his Barber, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms, Bishop first of London, and after of Durham, who wrote divers learned Works: Richard Sampson Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, who wrote certain Treatises; Lucas Shepherd, born at Colchester in Essex, an English Poet; Jane Dudley, Daughter to Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, who wrote divers excellent Treatises; Will. Thomas a Welshman, who wrote the History of Italy, and other things; James Brooks and John Standish, both of them Writers in defence of the Pope's Doctrine; William Peryn a Black-Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Mass, as also divers Sermons; Henry Lord Stafford, Son to Edward Duke of Buckingham, who, among other things that he wrote, translated a Book out of Latin into English, entitled *Utriusq; Potestatis Differentia*, which Book (as some think) was first compiled by Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins, who translated divers of David's Psalms into English Metre, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the Church.

*Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Durham's Ancestor Barber to the Conqueror.*

*John Hopkins translated several of David's Psalms into English Metre.*

*Mayors and Sheriffs of LONDON in her Reign.*

In her first year,

Sir Thomas White was Mayor.

Thomas Offley, William Hewet, Sheriffs.

In her second year,

Sir John Lion was Mayor.

David Woodroffe, William Chester, Sheriffs.

In her third year,

Sir William Garret, or Gervard, was Mayor.

Thomas Lee, or Leigh, John Machel, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,

Sir Thomas Offley was Mayor.

William Harper, John White, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,

Sir Thomas Curteis was Mayor.

Richard Mallory, James Altham, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,

Sir Thomas Lee, or Leigh, was Mayor.

John Halsey, Richard Champion, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF Queen ELIZABETH.

1558.

**Q**UEEN Mary dying on *Thursday* the Seventeenth of *November*, in the Year 1558, her Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, of the age of Five and twenty Years, the only surviving Child of King *Henry* the Eighth, by undoubted Right succeeding her in the Crown; which happening in a time of Parliament, *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and Lord-Chancellor, sent to the Knights and Burgesses in the Lower-House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper-House; to whom he signified, that Queen *Mary* was that Morning dead, and therefore he requir'd their Assents to joyn with the Lords in proclaiming Queen *Elizabeth*: Which accordingly was done by the sound of Trumpet, first at *Westminster*, and after in the City of *London*.

Queen Elizabeth is proclaimed.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, from whence, on *Wednesday* the Three and twentieth of *November*, she remov'd to the Lord North's House in the Charter-house, where she staid till *Monday* the Eight and twentieth of *November*, and then rode in her Chariot thro' *London* to the *Tower*; where she continued till the Fifth of *December*, and then remov'd to *Somerset-house* in the *Strand*; from whence she went to her Palace at *Westminster*, and from thence, on the Twelfth of *January*, to the *Tower*, and on the Fourteenth of *January* to *Westminster* to her Coronation: Whither as she went she said this Prayer:

O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God! I give thee most hearty Thanks that thou hast spared me to this joyful Day: And I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as thou didst with thy faithful Servant *Daniel*, whom Thou deliveredst out of the Den, from the Cruelty of the raging Lyons; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee deliver'd. To thee therefore only be Thanks, Honour, and Praise for ever.

And 'tis incredible what Pageants and Shews were made in the City as she pass'd. On *Sunday* the Five and twentieth of *January* she was crown'd in the Abbey-Church at *Westminster*,

by Dr. *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such Case accustomed.

1558.

At this time, to honour her Coronation, she conferr'd more Honour than in all her Time after: *William Parre*, degraded by Queen *Mary*, she made Marquis of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour*, whose Father had been attainted, she made Earl of *Hartford*; *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, she made Viscount *Bindon*; Sir *Henry Carew*, her Cousin-german, she made Baron of *Hunsdon*; and Sir *Oliver Saint-John* she made Baron of *Bletsoe*.

Divers Lords created.

And now the Queen, tho' she were her self very wise, yet would not trust (and 'twas a great point of Wisdom that she would not trust) to her own Wisdom, and therefore she chose Councillors to assist her; in which number she took *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *William Pawlet* Marquis of *Winchester*, Lord High-Treasurer, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward Lord Clinton* Lord-Admiral, and *William Lord Howard* of *Effingham*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Richard Sackville*, and *Nicholas Winton* Dean of *Canterbury*; all which had been Councillors to Queen *Mary*, and were of her Religion. But then, to make a counterpoise of Councillors of her own Religion, she joyn'd with them *William Parre* Marquis of *Northampton*, *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parvey*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth; and, a little after, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom she made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, she seeks Correspondence with Princes abroad. To the Emperor *Ferdinand* she sent in Embassage Sir *Thomas Chaloner*; to the King of *Spain*, in the Low-Countries, the Lord *Cobham*; to the Princes in *Germany*, Sir *Henry Killigrew*; Sir *Armigill Wade* to the Duke of *Holstein*, and another Ambassador to the King of *Denmark*. There were also Ambassadors sent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the

She makes of her Privy-Council as well Papists as Protestants.

She sends Ambassadors to all Princes abroad.

the



1558.

King Philip  
solicites Queen  
Elizabeth for  
Marriage,

Whom she  
puts off by  
bringing in  
an alteration  
of Religion;  
which yet she  
doth by de-  
grees.

An alteration  
of Religion by  
Parliament, by  
the difference  
of only six  
Voices.

the French King, with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of *France*, *England*, and *Spain*; where for *England* were employ'd the Earl of *Arundel*, *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*, with whom *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was joyn'd by a new Commission.

As soon as King *Philip* heard of the Death of his Wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of Considerations of State, and partly out of Affection of Love, he solicited Queen *Elizabeth* by his Ambassador the Earl of *Feria*, to joyn in Marriage with himself; it being no more for two Sisters to have successively one Husband, than was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one Wife; and for this he promis'd to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion the Queen, tho' she well knew that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate, yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sister's time had done her many Favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer, but putting the Ambassador off for the present in modest terms, she conceiv'd there could be no better Way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion; which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden, (as knowing the great danger of sudden Changes) but by little and little, and by degrees: As, at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the People in the English Tongue; in all other Matters they were to follow the *Roman* Rite and Custom, until Order could be taken for establishment of Religion by Authority of Parliament; and a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be meddled with: By which means she both put the Protestants in Hope, and put not the Papists out of Hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common-Prayer, set forth in the English Tongue under King *Edward* the Sixth, to the Care and Diligence of Dr. *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning, with whom she joyn'd Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight; but the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any but to the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecil*.

The 22d of *March* the Use of the Lord's Supper, in both kinds, was by Parliament allow'd. The 24th of *June* the Sacrifice of the Mass was abolish'd, and the Liturgy in the English Tongue establish'd; tho' (as some say) but with the difference of six Voices. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others; and in *August* Images were remov'd out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the World, bred no disturbance; which, if it had been done at once, and on a sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous Opposition, have been admitted.

During this time a Parliament had been summon'd to begin at *Westminster* upon the 15th of *January*; and now the Queen, for satisfaction of the People, appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm and Protestant Divines now newly return'd, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen *Mary*. For the Prelates were chosen *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Conventry* and *Litchfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Dr. *Langdell*, Archdeacon of *Lewes*; Dr. *Harpfield*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *Chadsey*, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*. For the Protestant side were appointed Dr. *Story*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Sands*, Dr. *Whitehead*, Dr. *Grindall*, Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Gueft*, Mr. *Elmer*, and Mr. *Jewel*. The place was prepar'd in *Westminster* Church; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queen's Council, with other of the Nobility, as also many of the Lower-House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates and their Adherents were these: First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common-prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath Authority to appoint and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to Edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be prov'd by the Word of God that there is in the Mass a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Living and the Dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be perform'd in Writing; and, that the Bishops should deliver in their Writing first. The last of *March* was the first Day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing, but said they would deliver their Minds only by Speech. This breaking of Order much displeas'd the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Dr. *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point: When he had ended the Lords demanded if any of 'em had more to say; who answer'd, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book, which was distinctly read by Mr. *Horne*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article. This again much displeas'd the Lords, yet this also was granted them to do at their next meeting the *Monday* after; but when *Monday* came, so many other Differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing determin'd: But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was enacted, That Queen *Elizabeth* was the lawful and undoubted Queen of *England*, notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, that excluded her and her Sister *Mary* from the Crown, seeing, tho' the Law be not repeal'd, yet it is a Principle in Law, that the Crown once gain'd, taketh away all Defects. Also in this Parliament First-fruits and Tithes were restor'd to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* was confirm'd to the Queen, with so universal Consent, that in the Upper-House none oppos'd these Laws but only the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montague*; and in the Lower-House, only some few of Papal Inclina-

1558.

A Conference  
of Papists and  
Protestants,  
about Matters  
of Religion.

But broke off,  
and why.

The Crown  
once gain'd,  
taketh away  
all Defects.

The Title of  
Supreme Head  
of the Church  
is confirm'd to  
the Queen.



1558.

Inclination murmur'd, saying, that the Parliament was pack'd; and, that the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Cecil, for their own ends, had cunningly begg'd Volces, to make up their Party.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all but a few, and who they were,

Supremacy thus confirm'd to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tender'd to the Bishops and others; of whom as many as refus'd to take it were presently depriv'd of their Livings. And that we may see how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; 'tis said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckon'd above Nine thousand spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refus'd to take the Oath than only fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except Anthony Bishop of Landaffe) as, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonsil Bishop of Durham, Thomas Thursby Bishop of Ely, Gilbert Lorne Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, John White Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Ralph Bayne Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Owen Ogletborp Bishop of Carlisle, James Turberville Bishop of Exeter, and David Pool Bishop of Peterborough, and with these Dr. Fecknam Abbot of Westminster: All which were at first committed to Prison, but soon after deliver'd to the custody of private Friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates, Lincoln and Winchester, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, Cuthbert Scot Bishop of Chester, Richard Pate Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell Bishop of St. Asaph, chang'd their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, Henry Lord Morley, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Robert Peckham, (who had been Privy-Councillors to Queen Mary) Sir Thomas Shelly, and Sir John Gage.

Papal Bishops remov'd, and Protestants placed in their rooms,

In the Sees of the Prelates remov'd were placed Protestant Bishops; as, Matthew Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury, (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the Hands of three that formerly had been Bishops, namely, William Barlow of Bath and Wells, John Scorey of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated Edmund Grindal Bishop of London, Richard Cox Bishop of Ely, Edwin Sands Bishop of Worcester, Rowland Merick Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Young Bishop of St. Davids, Nicholas Bullingham Bishop of Lincoln, John Jewel Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Davis Bishop of St. Asaph, Edward Guesf Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert Barksley Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Bentham Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, William Alley Bishop of Exeter, John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, Robert Horne Bishop of Winchester, Richard Cheyney Bishop of Gloucester, Edmund Scambler Bishop of Peterborough, William Barlow Bishop of Chichester, John Scorey Bishop of Hereford, Young Archbishop of York, James Pilkington Bishop of Durham, John Best Bishop of Carlisle, and William Downham Bishop of Chester.

Whilst these things were done in England, the Treaty of Peace at Cambray continued still, wherein King Philip stood for the restitution of

Calais to the English, as firmly as if it had been his own Interest, and without it would agree to no Peace with France. But when by Meilages he understood that his suit for Marriage with Queen Elizabeth was rejected, and that the Protestant Religion was establish'd in the Kingdom, he then left Queen Elizabeth, seeing she would not be his, to her self; and tho' he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently less than a Friend, and forbore to do any more good Offices in that Business.

Queen Elizabeth, thus left to her self, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own Peace apart; and thereupon Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at Cambray: For the Queen of England were Thursby Bishop of Ely, the Lord Williams, the Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Dr. Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York: For the King of France were Charles Cardinal of Lorraine the first Peer of France, Anne Duke of Momcrancy, James Allon Lord of St Andrews, John Marvilliers Bishop of Orleans, and Claude Aubespine Secretary to the Privy-Council.

The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference was the Restitution of Calais, for which the English Commissioners, by the Queen's appointment, offer'd to remit Two millions of Crowns, that by just account were due from France to England; but the Queen was not more desirous to recover Calais than the French King was to hold it; and thereupon at last it was concluded, That Calais should remain in the possession of the French for the term of Eight Years; and those expir'd, it should be deliver'd to the English, upon forfeiture of Five hundred thousand Crowns, for which Hostages were given.

But all this notwithstanding, tho' the Conditions were seal'd and sworn to, and tho' Hostages were assign'd to remain in England till one or other were perform'd, yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

About this time Henry King of France married his Daughter Isabel to Philip King of Spain, and his Sister Margaret to Emmanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy; at the solemnity of which Marriages he would needs be a Tilter himself, and thereupon commanded the Earl of Montgomery to run against him; who unfortunately breaking his Launce upon the King's Curiafs, a Splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within a few Days he ended his Life; after whose Death Francis his Son, at the age of sixteen Years, succeeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen Mary the Title of Scotland, and upon ground thereof laying Claim to the Crown of England also, and giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him.

And now begins the Game of Faction to be play'd, wherein the whole State of Queen Elizabeth lies at stake; a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not play'd well, will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her were against her. Philip of Spain hath a Quarrel to her, for being rejected in his Suit: The King of France hath a Quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is

P p p p

now

1558.

King Philip stood for restitution of Calais, till he understood of the alteration of Religion in England.

Queen Elizabeth both left to her self, sends Ambassadors about Peace with France.

Where it was concluded, that Calais should be restor'd after Eight Years, but it came to nothing.

Henry King of France unfortunately slain running at Tilt.



1558.

now his Right: The Queen of Scots hath a Quarrel to her for detaining her Inheritance: The Pope hath a Quarrel to her for excluding his Authority: The King of Sweden hath a Quarrel to her for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage. And all these being against her, whom hath she on her Side but her own Subjects, *Papists* yesterday, and to-day *Protestants*! who being scarce settled in their Religion, how shall they be settled in their Loyalty? And, not being loyal, where can she find to cast Anchor for her Safety? But 'tis a true Saying, *Nullum nomen adest, si sit Prudentia*; Wisdom is a Supply for all Defects: And indeed the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she surmounted all these Difficulties, tho' not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

*Knox in Scotland preaches against the Prince's Authority.*

*The Lords of Scotland send for Aid to Qu. Elizabeth.*

1560.

*The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of Scotland.*

It happen'd (if at least it happen'd, and were not rather plotted on purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland, but was indeed an Encroachment upon the Prince's Authority; for at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other headstrong Ministers, not only Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of *St. Andrews*, of *Scone*, of *Strive-ling*, and of *Linlithgow* were overthrown, but it was further put into the Heads of the Nobility, that it pertain'd to them, of their own Authority, to take away Idolatry, and by force to reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws: Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland against the Queen-Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this Case each of 'em fought for Aid. The Queen-Dowager had Aid out of France, the Lords of Scotland sent for Aid to the Queen of England; but this was matter of Consultation. It seem'd a bad Example, for a Prince to give Aid to rebellious Subjects of another Prince: On the other side, it seem'd no less than Impiety not to give Aid to *Protestants* of the same Religion; but most of all, it seem'd plain Madness to suffer Adversaries to be so near Neighbours, and let the French nestle in Scotland, who pretend Title to England. Upon such Considerations 'twas resolv'd to send them Aid: And thereupon an Army of Six thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Gray of Wilton his Lieutenant-General, Sir James Crofts Assistant to him, the Lord Scroop Lord-Marshal, Sir George Howard General of the Men at Arms, Sir Henry Piercy General of the Light-Horse, Thomas Huggens Provost-Marshal, Thomas Gower Master of the Ordnance, Mr. William Pelham Captain of the Pioneers, and Mr. Edward Randal Serjeant-Major, and others. These coming into Scotland, joyn'd with the Scottish Lords, and set down before *Leith*; where pass'd many small Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults; to whom, after some time, a new Supply came of above Two thousand Foot, whereof were Captains Sir Andrew Corbet, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Thomas Hesbith, Sir Arthur Manwaring, Sir Lawrence Smith, and others; yet with this Supply there was little more done than before, many light Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults; so long, till at last the young French King, finding these Broils of

Scotland to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of England, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these Differences: Whereupon were dispatch'd into Scotland, Sir William Cecil, her principal Secretary, with Dr. Wotton Dean of Canterbury, who concluded a Peace between England and France upon these Conditions: That neither the King of France, nor the Queen of Scotland, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of England or Ireland; and, That both the English and the French should depart out of Scotland, and a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament for all such as had been Actors in those Stirs.

This Peace was scarce concluded when Francis K. of France died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother Charles, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and molested with the Civil-Dissentions between the Princes of Guise and Conde; for whose Reconcilement the Queen sent Sir Henry Sydney, Lord-President of Wales; and shortly after an Army, under the Leading of the Lord Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick; who arriving at New-haven, was receiv'd into the Town.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her. To which purpose Thomas Gargrave, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen Men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the Motion to her, a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desir'd, seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince than out of her Loins: Whereunto the Queen answer'd in effect thus: That she was already married, namely, to the Kingdom of England; and behold (saith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband; and thereupon she held out her Finger, and shew'd the Ring wherewith at the time of her Coronation she gave herself in Wedlock to the Kingdom: And if (saith she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other, I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings as if they were born of me; forasmuch as we see by daily Experience that the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate. And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble Stone declare, that a Queen having reign'd such a time, liv'd and died a Virgin.

Indeed, before this time, many Matches had been offer'd her: First, King Philip; and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperor Ferdinand his Uncle, to commend his younger Son Charles Duke of Austria to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then John Duke of Finland, second Son to Gustavus King of Sweden was sent by his Father, to sollicite for his eldest Brother Ericus, who was honourably receiv'd, but the Match rejected. Then Adolphus Duke of Holstein, Uncle to Frederick King of Denmark, came into England, upon a great hope of speeding, but the Queen bestow'd upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not herself. Then James Earl of Arran was commended to her by the Protestants of Scotland, but neither

1560.

*A Peace is concluded between the K. of France and the Queen, upon what Terms.*

*Francis K. of France dieth, and leaveth Mary Queen of Scots a Widow.*

*New-haven taken by the English, but soon surrendered.*

*The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.*

*Her Answer.*

*The many Matches that had been offer'd to her.*



1560

neither the Man nor the Motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes there were some at Home that pleas'd themselves with hopes of her Marriage: First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but what most commended him was, his studiousness of Letters, and sweet demeanor. Then *Henry Earl of Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of Northumberland, of an excellent Feature of Face, and now in the flower of his age. But these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension; they might receive from her good testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of her Nuptial love.

Great Offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

About this time the Earl of *Feria*, (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied Leave of the Queen for some of his Wife's friends to live out of *England*, grew so incens'd, that he made means to *Persuade* the 4th, then Pope, to have her excommunicated as an Heretick and Usurper: But the Pope, inclining rather to save than to destroy, and knowing that gentle Courses prevail more with generous Minds than Roughness and Violence, in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to turn to the Unity of the Catholick Church; and, as is said, made her great Offers, if she would hearken to his Counsel; particularly, that he would recall the Sentence pronounc'd against her Mother's Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-prayer in *English*, and permit to her People the Use of the Sacrament in both kinds. But *Q. Elizabeth*, neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria's* Practices, nor alured with the Pope's great Offers, according to her Motto, *semper eadem*, persisted constant in her Resolution to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was persuaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

Whilst these Grounds of Troubles are sowing in *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lie fallow, tho' indeed it be a Country that will bring forth Troubles of it self, without sowing; but however, to make the more plentiful harvest of Troubles at this time, *John O-Neal*, (whose Father *K. Henry VIII* made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince; and tho' his Attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely Opposition, yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queen's Reign sow'd the Seeds of that Trouble in *Ireland*, which afterward took so deep root, that till the ending of her Reign it could never thoroughly be rooted out; tho' this Man, a Year or two after, came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queen's Feet, acknowledged his Fault, and obtain'd Pardon.

*John O-Neal*, E. of *Tyrone*, began to rebel.

*Q. Elizabeth* requires the Treaty of *Edinburgh* to be confirm'd by the Queen Dowager, and her Answer.

The Treaty of *Edinburgh* should by promise have been confirm'd by *Francis* the French King while he liv'd, but he not having done it, *Queen Elizabeth* requires his Dowager the Queen of Scots to confirm it; but she, solicited often to it by *Throgmorton*, the Queen's Leiger in *France*, made always answer, She could not do't without the Counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon *Queen Elizabeth* suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amusement while

some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randal* into *Scotland*, to persuade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her and other Protestant Princes; and farther, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any foreign Prince; for which she alledg'd many great Reasons. In the mean while the Queen of Scots, purposing to return again into *Scotland*, sent beforehand *d'Oysette*, a French Lord, to entreat *Queen Elizabeth*, that with her Leave she her self might pass by Sea into *Scotland*, and *d'Oysette* might pass by Land; but *Queen Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty at *Edinburgh*, saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of Scots courtesie, if the Queen of Scots would not do her right.

The Queen of Scots, much troubled at this Answer, expostulates the matter with her Leiger *Throgmorton*, and much complains of the unkindness; but in the mean time providing Shipping, she loosed from *Calais*, and under couvert of a Mist, notwithstanding Ships were laid to intercept her, she arriv'd safe in *Scotland*, where she treated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom, as well to the Protestant Party as the other, and then sent Letters to *Queen Elizabeth*, proffering all Observance, and readiness to enter League with her, so she might by authority of Parliament be declar'd her Successor, which was but her Right. To this *Queen Elizabeth* answer'd, That tho' she would no way derogate from her Right, yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as 'twere to cover her own Eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; and then fell to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. And now, to shew the respect she bore her, when her Uncles the Dukes *d'Aumale*, *d'Elbeuf*, and other Lords of *France*, that had brought her home, return'd thro' *England*, she gave them most bountiful and loving Entertainment.

The Queen of Scots passes safely into Scotland, tho' laid wait for to be intercepted.

She offers all Observance to *Q. Elizabeth*, so she might be declar'd her Successor.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise, but there grew such Jealousies of State between 'em, (the Queen of Scots doubting lest *Queen Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession, *Qu. Eliz.* doubting lest the other meant to frustrate her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in Love than they were near in Blood, and was cause of many unkind passages between 'em; in all which, tho' the Q. of Scots was a very near Match to the Q. of Eng. in the abilities of her Mind, yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her Inferior.

But now for all the Courtesie which *Queen Elizabeth* shew'd to the Queen of Scots's Uncles, at their returning thro' *England*, yet new practices were again set on foot against her at *Rome*, the Duke of *Guise* especially labouring to have her excommunicated: But Pope *Pius*, still averse to such roughness, meant to try the Queen another way, and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinuzzi*: And when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caus'd the Bishop of *Viterbo*, his Nuncio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queen's Leiger *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*, which he before had call'd: But the Queen, nothing rendring this

The Pope invites *Q. Eliz.* to send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*.



1560.  
The Queen's  
Answer.

this point, made peremptory answer, That a *Papish* Assembly she did not acknowledge to be a General Council; nor did she think the Pope to have any more right or power to call it than any other *Bishop*. This Answer not only exasperated the Pope, but also alienated the K. of Spain's mind from her, that he was never after so kind a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Ambassadors ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now, as the Abbot *Martinenghi* was the last Nuncio that ever was sent from the Pope into England, so Sir *Edward Carne* now dying at Rome, was the last Leiger that ever was sent to the Pope from the Kings of England.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* knowing well that she had drawn many ill-willers against her State, she endeavour'd to strengthen it by all the means she could devise. She caused many great Ordnance of Brasse and Iron to be cast: She repair'd Fortifications on the Borders of Scotland: She increas'd the number of Ships, so as England never had such a Navy before: She provided great store of Armour and Weapons out of Germany: She caused Musters to be held, and Youth to be train'd in exercises of Artillery; and to please the People (whose love is the greatest strength of all) she gave leave to have Corn and Grain transported, and call'd in all base Coins and brasse Money.

All base Money call'd in.

1563.  
Divers great  
Persons question'd  
and condemn'd,  
but had their  
Lives spar'd.

It was now the Fifth Year of Qu. *Elizabeth's* Reign, when divers great persons were call'd in question: *Margaret* Countess of *Lenox*, Neice to King *Henry VIII*, by his eldest Sister, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for having had secret Conference by Letters with the Queen of Scots, were deliver'd Prisoners to Sir *Richard Sackville* Master of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in custody. Also *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, whose Great Grandfather was *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward IV*. *Anthony Fortescue*, who had married their Sister, and others, were arraign'd for conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of *Guise* in France, and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to declare the Queen of Scots Queen of England, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*; which particulars they confess'd at the Bar, and were thereupon condemn'd to die, but had their Lives spar'd in regard they were of the Blood Royal. Also the Lady *Katherine Gray*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, by the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, having formerly been married to the Earl of *Pembroke's* eldest Son, and from him soon after lawfully divorced, was some years after found to be with Child by *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*; who being at that time in France, was presently sent for, and being examin'd before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able, within a limited time, to produce Witnesses of their Marriage, were both committed to the Tower, where she was brought to bed; and after, by the connivance or corruption of their Keepers, being suffer'd sometimes to come together, she was with Child by him again, which made the Queen more angry than before, so that Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-Chamber Five thousand pounds, and kept in Prison Nine Years after; tho' in pleading of his Case one *John Hales* ar-

gued they were lawful Man and Wife, by vertue of their own bare consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after falling thro' grief into a mortal Sickness, humbly desir'd the Queen's Pardon for having married without her knowledge, and commending her Children to her Clemency, died in the Tower.

At this time (the King being under-age) Dissensions among the Peers grew hot in France, of which there were two Factions, both pretending the cause of Religion: Of one the Duke of *Guise* (a *Papist*) was Head; of t'other the Prince of *Conde* a Protestant: But while, *delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi*, these Princes are at variance, the People suffer for it, and chiefly the Protestant Party: Upon which Queen *Elizabeth* (having well learnt the Lesson, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, and fearing lest the Flame of their Dissention might kindle a Fire within her own Kingdom) sent over Sir *Henry Sydney*, Lord-President of *Wales*, into France, to endeavour by all possible means their reconciliation: Which when he could not effect, (and perhaps 'twas never meant he should, but only to see what Invitation would be made to the Queen for her assistance) she thereupon at the moan of the afflicted Protestants, sent over an Army of 6000 Soldiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, in assistance of the Prince of *Conde* and other Protestant Lords, who deliver'd to him the Town of *Newhaven*, to hold in the King of France's Name, until such time as *Calais* was restor'd: But the Prince of *Conde* marching to joyn with the English Forces, was by the Duke of *Guise* intercepted and taken Prisoner; which had been a great Disappointment to the English, but that the Adm. *Caligny* joyn'd with him, besieg'd *Caen* in *Normandy*, and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaise*, and *St. Loo*. The French Hostages that were pledges for the payment of Five hundred thousand Crowns if *Calais* were not restor'd, were remaining still in England; who perceiving there was like to be War with France, prepar'd secretly to get away, but being ready to take shipping, were discover'd, and brought back again.

1563.

Qu. Elizabeth sends over an Army to assist the Protestants in France.

In the mean while the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with a hope to marry the Queen of Scots, and to have the chief Government in France during the King's minority, concluded a Peace with the King and with the *Guises*, so as now all French, as well Protestants as *Papists*, requir'd to have *Newhaven* deliver'd up: But the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the fickleness of the French Protestants, first to make suit to draw him into France, and now upon so slight occasion to require him to be gone, he shutteth all French, both Protestants and *Papists*, out of the Town, and lays hold of their Ships. The French on the other side make ready to set upon the Town, saying, *They fought not now for Religion, but for their Country; wherefore 'twas mete that both Protestants and Papists should joyn their Forces, seeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themselves*. And hereupon the Duke of *Montmorancy* sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to yield the Town; who making answer by Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, That he would never yield it without the Queen's Leave; he thereupon besieg'd the Town, and with a great violence of Battery sought to get it by force: Which

The Prince of Conde concludes a Peace with the King of France.

*Newhaven* deliver'd up to the French by the Queen's Leave.



1563.

Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of, she sent a Commission to the Earl of *Warwick* to yeild it up, if upon honourable Conditions, which soon after was accordingly done, after the *English* had held it eleven Months: And then the Earl, without any Dishonour for yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, return'd into *England*. But that which was more doleful than the loss of *Newhaven*, he brought the Pestilence with him into *England*. The Recovery of this Town not only made the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* declar'd openly, That by this War the *English* had lost all their Right to *Calais*, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make War upon the other: Which was the Point stood upon by the King of *France* and his Mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Calais* to be restor'd.

At this time there was such cross Designs amongst the Princes of *Christendom*, that a very good Politician could hardly understand their Aims. The Duke of *Guise* being slain in the Civil War, the Queen of *Scots* Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the *Scots* were put off from being the King's Guard. This exceedingly displeas'd the Queen of *Scots*. But then to please her again, and for fear lest hereupon she should apply her self to the Friendship of the *English*, her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorraine* solicites her afresh, to marry *Charles Duke of Austria*; offering for her Dowry the County of *Tyrol*.

The Queen of Scots requires Q. Elizabeth's Advice about her Marriage. Who persuades her to marry the Lord Robert Dudley. But this motion was scorn'd by her French Friends.

The Queen of *Scots*, to make use of her Uncle's fear, and perhaps to bring Q. *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion; and thereupon requires her Advice. Queen *Elizabeth*, not willing she should marry with any foreign Prince, persuades her to take a Husband out of *England*, and particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley* (whose Wife a little before had with a Fall broke her Neck;) promising withal, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of the Parliament be declar'd her Successor, in case she died without Issue. But when her Uncle and the Queen's Mother were inform'd of this motion, they so much disdain'd the Marriage with *Dudley*, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship with the *French*; they offer'd to pay her the Dowry-money that was behind, and to restore the *Scots* to all their former Liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Ambassador here in *England*, but rather by way of Complement, and to watch Advantages, than for any sincere Love; which he began to withdraw from the *English*, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the *West-Indies*.

It was now the sixth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, a Year fatal for the Death of many great Personages. First died *William Lord Gray of Wilton*, Governour of *Berwick*, a Man famous for his great Services in War; then *William Lord Paget*, a Man of as great Services in Peace, who by his great Deservings had wrought his Advancement to sundry Dig-

nities and honourable Places; and tho' zealous in the *Roman Religion*, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great Estimation to his dying-day: Then *Henry Manners Earl of Rutland*, descended by his Mother from King *Edward the Fourth*: And lastly, *Frances the Dutchess of Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk*, and Mother to Queen *Jane*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth*, finding how A Peace made with the King of *France*, and upon what Conditions. fickle the *French* Protestants had carried themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joyning *Throgmorton* in Commission with him. And in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles this was one, That the Hostages in *England*, should be freed, upon the payment of Six hundred thousand Crowns. And this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England* and the King of *France*.

About this time the *English* Merchants were hardly used both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civil Differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: Whereupon the *English* remov'd the Seat of their Trading to *Emden* in *Friesland*. But *Gusman*, the *Spanish* Leiger newly come into *England*, finding the great Damages that the *Netherlands* sustain'd by these Differences, endeavour'd by all means to compose them: And thereupon Viscount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Master of the Requests, were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who, after many Interruptions, brought the Matter at last to some indifferent Agreement.

It was now the seventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when making a Progress, she went to see *Cambridge*; where after she had view'd the Colleges, and been entertain'd with Comedies and Scholastical Disputations, she made herself a *Latin Oration*, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then return'd. Presently after her return she made the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of her Horse, first, Baron of *Denbigh* (given him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of *Leicester*, to him and the Heirs-males of his Body, lawfully begotten: Which Honour was conferr'd upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now *Leicester*, to endear himself to the Queen of *Scots*, accus'd Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, for being privy to the Libel of *Hales*, who affirmed the Right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk*, in case the Queen should die without Issue: And thereupon was *Bacon* cast into Prison; till afterward, upon his Purgation, and the Mediation of Sir *William Cecil*, he was set at liberty, and restor'd to his Place.

And now for a while we must cast our Eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all great Business of State were acted. *Matthew Stuart Earl of Lenox*, who had married *Margaret Dowglas King Henry the Eighth's Neice* by his eldest Sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty Years. Him the Queen of *Scots* invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darnley*; for he being re-

1564.

A Peace made with the King of France, and upon what Conditions.

1565.

Qu. Elizabeth makes a Progress to Cambridge. She makes the Lord Robert Dudley, first, Baron of Denbigh; and then Earl of Leicester.

The Queen of Scots seeks to marry the Lord Darnley, Son to the Earl of Lenox

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puted

1564.  
Many great Personages die.



1565.

puted Heir of the Crown of *England*, next after herself, she thought, by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the Hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon Suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go, but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of *Scots* intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the Proceeding, sent Sir *Thomas Randal* to her, to let her know, that if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the *English*, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declar'd her next Heir. Hereupon, in the Month of November, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randal* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Liddington* for the Queen of *Scots*, at *Berwick* enter'd into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The *English* Commissioners urg'd the great Benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of *Scots* her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Scottish*, on the other side, urg'd the great Disparagement it would be to the Queen of *Scots*, if, refusing the Offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the *English* Commissioners were so appointed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly for that the *Scottish* Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all: And perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of *Leicester* being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warn'd the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen *Scots* too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darnley* under-hand. The Matter being in this manner protracted for two whole Years together, the Queen of *Scots*, impatient of longer delay, and being resolv'd in her Mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord *Darnley* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three Months only, under colour to be put in possession of his Father's Lands. (Tho' it be strange the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the Marriage: But such was the Destiny, if there were not a Plot in it.) And so in February he came to *Edinburgh*; who being a young Man of not above nineteen Years of Age, of a comely Countenance, and most princely Presence, the Queen of *Scots*, as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him; yet modestly dissembling it for the present, she thought to get a Dispensation from the *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her Inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Liddington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, desiring her consent. But she through the Suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induc'd to believe that the Queen of *Scotland*'s Intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, enter'd into Consultation with her Privy

Queen *Elizabeth* dissuades her from it, and perswades her to marry the Earl of *Leicester*.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of *Scots* impatient of delay, gets the Lord *Darnley* to come into *Scotland*.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Queen *Elizabeth* for her consent to marry him.

Council, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage: Who all concluded that these were the best ways; First to have a Company of Soldiers levied for Terror sake about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to Prison the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darnley*'s Mother; and to recal from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darnley*, upon pain of the loss of all their Goods in *England*: Then that the *Scots*, who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be reliev'd and assisted: And lastly, That *Katherine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, should be receiv'd into some Grace, about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsel her in the Queen's Name not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many Inconveniencies that would accrew unto her by it. But she return'd Anger, That the Matter was too far past to be recall'd; and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeas'd with it, seeing herein she follow'd her Advice, not to match with a Stranger, but with an *Englishman* born.

Queen *Elizabeth*, being inform'd of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return. The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself: The Son humbly entreateth her not to be a hinderance to his Preferment; which he vows to employ in her Majesty's Service, to the utmost of his Power.

And now, to make him the fitter Match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honour'd him with Knighthood, then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and the Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedom by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*.

After this, when he had not been above five Months in *Scotland*, she married him; and, with the Consent of most of the Peers, declar'd him King. At this the Earl of *Murray*, and others whom he drew to his Party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent Questions; whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King: Whether the Queen of *Scots* might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure: And, whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her. But however, they rais'd Arms, and had disturb'd the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them: With which she pursu'd them so closely, that they were fain to fly into *England* for Protection. Where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Yardley*, *Standon* and *Walch*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had always been found addicted to the *English*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubl'd at the Marriage; partly, as knowing the mild Disposition on the Lord *Darnley*, and how little access of Strength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would Troubles arise in *Scotland* upon it, and the Troubles of *Scotland* would be the Quietness of *England*, which, as a good Mother

1565.  
Q. Elizabeth opposeth it.

The Queen of *Scots* makes the Lord *Darnley* Duke of *Rothsay*, and marries him.

The Earl of *Murray* raiseth an Army against him.

But being encounter'd, he flies into *England*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* receives.



1565.

of her Country, was the Mark she aim'd at : Yet she made a shew of being offended with it ; but rather to conceal her Aim, than that she was offended with it indeed.

Queen Elizabeth is mov'd again to marry Charles the Emperor's Brother.

At this time the Emperor Maximilian sent to Queen Elizabeth his Ambassador, Adam Smiricote, renewing the former suit for his Brother Charles of Austria ; for which Marriage the Earl of Sussex was very earnest ; the Earl of Leicester as much against it : So as it grew to a Quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into Factions about it : But the Queen, who never lik'd the Dissention of her Peers (though it be a Rule with some, *Divide and Reign*) made them Friends, at least in Countenance.

Cecill Sister of the King of Sweden, comes into England on purpose to see the Queen.

We may now leave Scotland a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen Elizabeth, not much inferior to the Honour done to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba ; for now Cecill, the Sister of Erick King of Sweden, and Wife of Christopher Marquis of Baden, being great with Child, came from the farthest Part of the North (a long Journey) through Germany, on purpose to see her, for the great Fame she had heard of her Wisdom : At her being here, she was deliver'd of a Child, to whom, in requital of her Kindness, Queen Elizabeth was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus* ; giving to her and her Husband, besides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her Wisdom, Donald Mac Carti More, a great Potentate of Ireland, came and deliver'd up into her Hands all his most ample Territories ; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs-males lawfully begotten ; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of England. The Queen in requital invested him with the Honour of Earl of Glukare, and Baron of Valence ; and besides many Presents given him, paid the Charges of his Journey.

Also Mac Carti a great Potentate of Ireland.

An. Reg. 8.  
1566.

The Governours of Ireland, what Titles they had.

It was now the eighth Year of Elizabeth's Reign, when Nicholas Arnold, a Knight of Gloucestershire, governing Ireland under the Title of a Justice, was call'd home, and Sir Henry Sidney plac'd his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of Ireland, after it came under the English, were at first call'd Justices of Ireland ; afterwards Lieutenants, and their Vice-gerents were call'd Deputies. Afterwards at the Prince's pleasure, sometimes Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lieutenants ; which last Title, tho' it be of greatest Honour, yet in Power is in a manner but the same. Sir Henry Sidney at his coming into Ireland, found the Province of Munster in much disorder, by reason of Strife between Gyrald Earl of Desmond, and Thomas Earl of Ormond : Whereupon the Queen sending for the Earl of Desmond into England, ordain'd a new Government in that Province, appointed a President to administer Justice, together with an Assistant on the Bench, two Lawers and a Notary : And the first President she made in this Place, was Sir William Sentleger.

A President of Munster, when first ordain'd.

Queen Elizabeth makes a Progress to Oxford.

And now Queen Elizabeth in a Progress went to Oxford ; where she took pleasure in viewing the Colleges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of Palemon and

Arcturion'd into a Tragedy ; for by the fall of a Wall, thro' the multitude of People that press'd in to see it, three Men were slain. At her coming away she made an Oration in Latin to the Scholars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this Year was a Call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Gray's-Inn in Holbourn.

1566.

Upon the Queen's return from Oxford the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of Succession, and moving the Queen to marry ; in which Points some went so far, that they spar'd not to accuse the Queen as one careless of Posterity ; to defame Cecill with Libels and Reproaches, as if he were her Counsellor in this matter ; but above all, to curse Dr. Huic, her Physician, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what womanish Insufficiency. At least in the Upper House it was agreed, That Sir Nich. Bacon, Lord Keeper, their Orator, should in all their Names beseech the Queen to marry, and withal, to declare a Successor to the Crown, if she should happen to die without Issue ; for which he gave many Reasons, declaring what Mischiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if she should declare a Successor were design'd. But in the Lowe-House there were some, amongst whom were Bell and Mounson, (two Lawers of great account) Dutton, Sir Paul Wentworth, and others who grew to far higher Terms, disparaging the Queen's Authority, and saying, That Princes were bound to design a Successor ; and that in not doing it, the Queen should shew her self no better than a Parasite of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with Words spoken in Parliament, which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endur'd ; but not willing to expostulate the Matter with the whole Number, she commanded, that Thirty of the Higher-House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her ; to whom she deliver'd her Mind to this Effect ; That she knew what Danger hangeth over a Prince's Head, when once a Successor is declar'd : She knew that even Children themselves, out of a hasty desire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers, and how could better Conditions be expected from Kindred ? She had by reading observ'd, That Successors in a collateral Line have seldom been declar'd ; and that Lewis of Orleance, and Francis of Angoulesme were never declar'd Successors, and yet obtain'd the Crown without any noise.

A call of seven Serjeants at Law.

In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is mov'd again to marry.

And to declare a Successor.

The Queen's Answer to their Motions.

Lastly, she said, Tho' I have been content to let you debate the Matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Prince's Patience. With these and the like Reasons, she gave so great Satisfaction, that they never after troubl'd her with making any such Motion : And tho' she consented not in plain terms to declare a Successor, yet soon after she gave some Intimation of it ; for one Thornton, a Reader of the Civil Law in London, who in his Lectures call'd the Queen of Scots Right in question, was clapt up in Prison for his labour.

In the Beginning of her ninth Year Charles the 9th King of France sent his Ambassador

Raim.



1567. *Rambouillet* into England to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of St. Michael, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleas'd; and she making choice of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester, they were by *Rambouillet* invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferr'd upon any English, but only King Henry the 8th, King Edward the 6th, and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, tho' afterward prostituted almost to any, without deference.

The Queen of Scots is deliver'd of a Son. And now to return to the Affairs of Scotland: The nineteenth of June last past, the Queen of Scots, in a happy Hour, was at Edinburgh Castle deliver'd of a Son, that was afterward James the 6th of Scotland, and the first Monarch of Great Britain; whereof she presently sent word to Queen Elizabeth, by James Melvyn; who thereupon sent Sir Henry Killigrew to congratulate her safe Deliverance, and her young Son, with all Demonstration of Love and Amity.

She grows cold in her love to the King. But now the Love of the Queen of Scots to her Husband the Lord Darnley was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heap'd Honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she taketh them off: For, where before in publick Acts she had us'd to place her Husband's Name first, now she caus'd it to be plac'd last, and in the Coining of Money began to leave it quite out.

David Rizio an Italian, grows a great Favourite to the Queen of Scots. This unkindness between them was fomented by one David Rizio an Italian, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the French Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret Conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This Indignity the King, himself being given to his Pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resent not so much, as some Lords that were his Friends; who told him plainly, That it stood not with his Honour to suffer this Fellow to live. By whose

The King set on by his Lords, murders him.

Especially by the Animation of the Earl of Murray.

The Earl's Rising and Carriage.

Instigation the King is drawn to plot his Death: One Day taking with him the Earl of Reuvon, and others, he rush'd into the Queen's Chamber at Supper-time, where finding David Rizio at a Cupboard tasting some Meat that had been taken from the Table, he seiz'd upon him, dragg'd him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murder'd him; the Queen at that time being great with Child, and like by that Affright to have miscarried. But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The Man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of Murray, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his Part will be the greatest of all the Scottish Actions of his time. He was the base Son of King James the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of St. Andrews; but not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour; which when the Queen (being then in France) deny'd him, then in an angry mood he return'd into Scotland, where, by the Advice of Knox, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the Matter

so to pass, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was alter'd, and the French were banish'd out of Scotland: Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into France, and so insinuated with her, that she created him Earl of Murray, and promoted him to an honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he return'd into Scotland; where, for the growth of his ambitious Designs, he sow'd Seeds of Sedition, affirming often, What a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tied to any Stock or Kindred, but to Virtue only, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course, making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he us'd all the Means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought ways how to make Discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murder Rizio. Of the Foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be reveng'd of Murray, who had counselled him to do it: Which Murray understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been deliver'd of a Son, and the Day appointed for the Christning being come; where the Godfathers were Charles King of France, and Philibert Duke of Savoy; Queen Elizabeth being requested to be Godmother, sent thither the Earl of Bedford as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a Present, in value 1043*l*. but gave him express Command, That he should not honour Darnley with the Title of King. But before a Month or two, after the Christning were pass'd, the King in a stormy and tempestuous Night was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the House immediately blown up with Gunpowder.

1567.

The King intends to be reveng'd on him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his Bed.

The Rumour of this Murther being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon Murray and Morton, and their Confederates; Murray laid upon Morton upon the Queen: But we must not here give ear to that which Buchanan writes, who to curry Favour with the Earl of Murray, lays most impudent Scandals upon the Queen, whereof, before his Death, he repented himself extremely. The King thus murder'd, and the Queen left alone to her self, she is counsel'd to marry with some that might be able to assist her against all her Opposites: James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his Valour; and tho' he were the Man that had acted the Murther, yet is he by Murray and his Confederates commended to the Queen: To which motion, as being destitute of Friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents, but upon these Conditions, That above all things, Respect might be had to her young Son, and that Bothwell might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former Marriage, and also of the King's Murther. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which Bothwell is call'd to the Bar; and Morton being his Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of Orkney, and by consent of many of the Nobility, he is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many,

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl Bothwell.



1566.

Against whom  
Murray takes  
Arms, and for-  
ces him to fly,  
and then seizes  
on the Queen.

Queen Eliza-  
beth hearing  
of it, sends to  
expostulate  
with the Con-  
federates about  
it; and their  
Answer.

many, that the Queen was conscious of the mur-  
ther; which was the thing that by Marriage they  
intended: And the Suspicion once rais'd, they  
seek by all means to encrease, that they may have  
the better colour against her; and so, the same  
Man who had absolv'd *Bothwell*, and consented  
to the Marriage, now takes Arms against her, as  
a Delinquent in both; force him to fly, and then  
seize upon the Queen, whom (clad in a very  
homely garment) they thrust into Prison in *Loch-  
lewyn*, under the custody of *Murray's* Mother, who  
had been the Harlot of K. *James V.* but boast-  
ing her self to have been his lawful Wife, and  
her Son his lawful Issue. Queen *Elizabeth* hav-  
ing at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas  
Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expostulate with the  
Confederates touching this insolent usage of the  
Queen, and to consult by what means she might  
be restor'd to her liberty: But *Throgmorton* com-  
ing into *Scotland*, found the Confederates in more  
insolent terms than had been reported; being  
divided in Opinion what to do with the Queen,  
some would have her banish'd perpetually into  
*England* or *France*, some would have her question-  
ed before the Judges, committed to perpetual  
custody, and her Son proclaim'd King; others  
more inhumane, who would have her at once  
depriv'd of Princely Authority, of Life and all;  
and this *Knox*, and some other Ministers, thun-  
der'd out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the o-  
ther side alledg'd many passages out of the holy  
Scriptures touching Obedience to the higher  
Powers, maintaining, That the Queen was sub-  
ject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That  
no Judge on Earth might call her in question;  
That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in  
*Scotland*, which was not deriv'd from her Autho-  
rity, and revokable at her pleasure. They again  
oppos'd the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of  
*Scotland*; and, that in extraordinary Cases they  
were to proceed besides order; taking up *Buchan-  
an's* Arguments, who in those Days, by insti-  
gation of *Murray*, wrote that damn'd Dialogue,  
*De jure Regni apud Scotos*, wherein, against the  
verity of *Scottish* History, he endeavours to prove,  
That the People have power both to create and  
to depose their King. After all their debating,  
all that *Throgmorton* could get of 'em was a Wri-  
ting without any Subscription, wherein they  
protested, They had shut up the Queen for no  
other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*,  
whom she lov'd so desperately, that to enjoy  
him she regarded not all their Ruins; willing  
him to rest satisfied with this Answer till such  
time as the rest of the Peers met together. And  
notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up  
the Queen daily in more strait custody, tho' with  
Tears she besought them to deal more mildly  
with her, and to let her but once have a sight of  
her Son; which would not be granted her. At  
last, when fair Persuasions would not serve to  
make her freely give over the Kingdom, they  
threatned to question her openly for incontinent  
living, for the King's Murther, and for Tyranny,  
so as thro' fear of Death they compel'd her, un-  
heard, to set her Hand to three Instruments; in  
the first whereof she gave over her Kingdom to  
her young Son, at that time scarce 13 Months  
old: In the second, she constituted *Murray* Vice-  
roy during the minority of her Son: In the  
third, in case he refus'd the Charge, these Go-

The Queen of  
Scots, out of  
Fear, sets her  
Hand to three  
Instruments to  
her own Pre-  
judice.

vernours were nominated: *James Duke of  
Chastellau-heraut*, *Giles Spike Earl of Argyle*, *Matthew  
Earl of Lenox*, *John Earl of Athol*, *James Earl  
of Morton*, *Alexander Earl of Glencarn*, and *John  
Earl of Marre*. And presently she signified to  
Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Throgmorton*, That she had  
made these Grants by Compulsion; thro' the  
Counsel of *Throgmorton*; telling her, That a  
Grant extorted from one in Prison (which is  
a just Fear) is actually void, and of no effect.

Five Days after the Queen had made this  
Resignation, *James the Sixth*, the Queen's Son,  
was anointed and crown'd King, *John Knox*  
preaching at the same time; but a Protestation  
was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, That all this  
ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of *Chas-  
teau-heraut*, in his Right of Succession against  
the Family of *Lenox*; but *Q. Elizabeth* had forbid  
*Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might  
not seem, by her Ambassador's presence, to approve  
their Proceeding in displacing the Queen.

Fifteen Days after this Transaction, *Murray*  
himself return'd out of *France* into *Scotland*, and  
within three days went to the Queen, with  
some other of the Confederates, who charg'd  
her with many Crimes, and wish'd her, if she  
tender'd her Life and Honour, to observe these  
Prescriptions: Not to disturb the Peace of the  
Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty; nor to  
stir up the Queen of *England*, or the King of  
*France*, to molest *Scotland* with any War; nor  
to think any more on *Bothwell's* Love, or meditate  
Revenge upon any of *Bothwell's* Adversaries.

*Murray* being now proclaim'd Regent of *Scot-  
land*, bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to  
do nothing which shall concern War or Peace,  
the King's Person, or his Marriage, or the Li-  
berty of the Queen, without the Consent of the  
Confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* war-  
ning by *Lydington*, not to make any further In-  
tercession for the Queen's Liberty, for that he  
and the rest had rather run any hazard than to  
suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John  
Hepburn*, *Daglas*, and others that were *Bothwell's*  
Servants, for having a hand in the Murther of  
the King: But they, (which he little expected)  
when they were at the Gallows ready to die,  
protested before God and his holy Angels, that  
*Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray*  
were the first Authors of the Murther. They  
freed the Queen from all suspicion, like as *Both-  
well* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, both li-  
ving and dying, often protested with deep asse-  
verations, That the Queen was innocent. And  
Fourteen Years after, *Morton* going to execution,  
confess'd, That *Bothwell* dealt with him to con-  
sent to the Murder of the King; which when he  
refus'd utterly, unless the Queen, under her  
Hand-writing, would allow of it, *Bothwell* made  
answer, That could not be, but the Fact must  
be done without her knowledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the  
same Day, died two of the Privy-Council, Sir *John Ma-  
son* Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, and Sir *Rich-  
ard Sackville* Vice-Treasurer of the Ex-  
chequer, a Man both prudent and provident,  
and ally'd to the Queen by her Mother *Ann Bul-  
len*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a  
Man of Wisdom and Integrity: In *Mason's* Of-  
fice

1568.

*Murray* is  
proclaim'd Re-  
gent of *Scot-  
land*.

*Bothwell's*  
Servants at the  
Gallows pro-  
test that *Mur-  
ray* & *Morton*  
were the first  
Authors of the  
King's Mur-  
der, and the  
Queen was  
innocent.

Sir *John Ma-  
son* and Sir *Rich-  
ard Sackville*  
die.



1567  
 fice came Sir Francis Knolles, who married Katherine Carew, the Daughter of Mary Bullen, the Queen's Mother's Sister.

The Marriage of *Stolberg* came into England from the Emperor of *Q. Elizabeth* *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage of the Queen with the Archduke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of *Suffex* to the Emperor with the Order of the Garter: But in the Treaty of Marriage there fell out so many Difficulties about Religion, Maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning Succession, that after it had been treated of Seven whole Years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married Mary Daughter to *Albert* the Fifth, Duke of *Bavaria*; yet both he and the Emperor continued ever after a good Correspondence with the Queen.

The *Mosovia* company have their Privileges enlarg'd by the Emperor of *Mosovia*.

Sir *Tho. Sackville* is created Baron *Buckhurst*.

The Queen of *Scots*, after eleven months Imprisonment, escapes, and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by *Murray*.

Whereupon she gets into England, and requires access to *Qu. Elizabeth*'s presence.

About this time there came from *John Basil* Emperor of *Russia* and *Moscow*, *Stephen Twerdico* and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tendring all Service and Obsequiousness to the Queen and the English. The Merchants, by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they call'd *The Moscovia Company*; and having large Privileges granted 'em from the Emperor, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful Voyage: But then it prov'd most gainful, when for the Queen's sake they obtain'd at the Emperor's hands, in the Year 1569, That none but the English of that Company should traffick in the North parts of *Russia*. With these *Russian* Ambassadors there return'd into England, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Observations of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the English that sail'd thro the *Caspian* Sea. And this Year, the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, Sir *Thomas Sackville* was created Baron of *Buckhurst*, at *White-hall*.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy; now comes in the second. Having been eleven months kept a Prisoner, at last, by the help of *George Douglas*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from *Locheley* to *Hamilton's* Castle; where, upon the Testimonies of *Robert Melvyn*, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a Sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in Prison (which is *Justus metum*) was actually void from the beginning: Upon which Declaration great multitudes flock'd to her, so as within a day or two she had got an Army of at least Six thousand; but when they joyn'd Battel with *Murray*, being but raw unexpert Soldiers, they were soon defeated. In this case the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journeying in one Day three-score Miles; and coming at Night to the House of *Maxwel Lord Heris*, from thence she sent *John Beton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly receiv'd from her as a Pledge of mutual Amity; intimating, that she would come into England and implore her Aid, if her Subjects offer'd to prosecute her any further. Queen *Elizabeth* return'd answer, That she should expect from her, in abun-

dant manner, all loving and friendly Offices.

But before the Messenger was return'd, she, contrary to the Advice of her Friends, enter'd into a small Bark, and with the Lords *Heris* and *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at *Wickington* in *Cumberland*, near the Mouth of the River of *Derwent*, the 17<sup>th</sup> of May; and the same Day wrote Letters to the Queen in French with her own Hand, the import whereof was, That having made an Escape from the hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into England, upon certain hope of her approv'd Clemency, and therefore humbly desir'd she might forthwith be conducted to her Presence. Queen *Elizabeth* sending Letters by Sir *Francis Knolles*, comforted her, and promised her Aid and Defence according to the Equity of her Cause, but denied her Access, for that she was held guilty of many Crimes, giving Command to have her brought to *Carlisle*, as a place of better safety. The Queen of *Scots* receiving this Answer, and finding access to the Queen denied her, made request again by Letter, that she might have Leave both to unfold the Injuries she had receiv'd, and to answer the Crimes objected, in her own Presence; humbly entreating her, that either she might be admitted to have Conference and Assistance, or else have free Leave to depart out of England, to gain Supply elsewhere, and not to be held a Prisoner in the Castle at *Carlisle*, forasmuch as she came voluntarily into England, relying upon her Love, so often profess'd. Upon these Letters Queen *Elizabeth* exceedingly commiserated her Case, and could have found in her Heart to admit her to her Presence, but that her Councillors conceiv'd it to be matter for Consultation what to do in this Case: To detain her in England had many Mischiefs attending on it; to send her into France, as many; to send her back into Scotland many more; so that, in the conclusion, most were of opinion to have her detain'd, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismiss'd till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of England, and for the Death of *Darnley* her Husband, who was born one of the Queen's Subjects. In this diversity of Opinions Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her own Judgment, sent word by *Middlemore* to the Regent of Scotland, that he should come himself, in Person, or else depute some fit Persons, to answer the Complaints of the Queen of *Scots* against him and his Confederates, and render sufficient Reasons wherefore they had depriv'd her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, and with all the Forces she could, settle her in her Kingdom.

This Summons *Murray* obeys, and comes to York, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate Friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant-King, namely, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, *Robert* of *Dunferm*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lindsey*, *James* *Macgilly*, and *Henry* *Badinary*; and with these, *Lydington* the Secretary, and *George* *Buchanan*. And the very same Day came thither *Thomas* *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph* *Sadler*, a Privy-Councillor, appointed Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scots* (who took

Qu. Elizabeth promises her Aid, but denies Access, yet commands her to be brought to *Carlisle*.

Reasons for detaining the Qu. of Scots.

Qu. Elizabeth appoints Commissioners to hear the Cause of the Queen of Scots.



1568.

took it heinously that Queen Elizabeth would not hear the Cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not ty'd to their Proceedings) there appear'd John Lesley Bishop of Ross, William Lord Lewington, Robert Lord Boyde, Corwen of Kilwinning, John Gordon, and James Cockburn. Being met, Lydington turning himself to the Scots, in a wondrous liberty of Speech gave them this Advice; maturely to consider what Prejudice they should draw upon themselves by accusing the Queen of Scots, and calling her Reputation in question publicly before the English, profess'd Enemies of the Scottish Nation: Likewise what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper Years, and shall see what an Injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own Person: Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this Business altogether, unless the Queen of England will enter into a mutual League of Offence and Defence, against all those which under this Pretence shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of Scots made Protestation, That altho' it pleas'd the Queen of Scots to have the Cause between her and her disloyal Subjects debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and Command of any Person. On the contrary the English protested, that they did in no wise admit that Protestation in prejudice to the Right which the Kings of England have anciently challeng'd as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland. The Day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of Morton, Murray, Marne, Glencarn, Humes, and others against the Queen; and how they had compell'd her, for fear of Death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. Murray and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing but by consent of the Peers in Parliament, and that in prosecuting of Bothwell, the Author of the King's Murder, whom the Queen protected: And as for her Resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answer'd and confuted, affirming in particular, that where there are one hundred Earls, Bishops, and Barons (more or less) that had Voices in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultuous Assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons: Wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of England would be sensible of these Indignities offer'd her, and take some course for a speedy Redress.

The Queen of Scots requires to have the French and Spanish Ambassadors to be added to the Commissioners

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth were added to the former, to some of whom the Qu. of Scots took exception, unless the French and Spanish Ambassadors might be taken in, and herself admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publicly to defend her own Innocence; and, that Murray might be detain'd and cited, whom she affirm'd she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the Murder of her Husband Darnley. This was held to be a just Demand by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Suffex, Leicester, and the

Lord Clinton: But Queen Elizabeth waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as Norfolk liv'd. 'Twas seen here which is said, that the Heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen Elizabeth stood affected in this Case of the Queen of Scots, no Man could well discern; she detested the Insolence of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no Assistance to restore her.

After long agitation of this Business, and nothing concluded, Murray, a little before his return into Scotland, slyly propounded the Marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he with a modest Answer rejected, as a thing full of Danger: But withal Murray, the more to alienate Queen Elizabeth's Mind from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of Anjou her Right to the Crown of England, and that the Transaction was confirm'd at Rome. He shew'd Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some Friends whom she trusted, wherein she accus'd the Queen for not dealing with her according to her Promise, and boasting of Succours she expected from some others. This last Clause something troubled Queen Elizabeth, neither could she conjecture from whence any such Succour should come, seeing both France with the Civil-Wars, and the King of Spain in the Low-Countries, had enough to do at home: But at last it broke out, that one Robert Ridolph, a

Murray propounds the Marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

Florentine, under the habit of a Merchant in London, was suborn'd by Pope Pius the Fifth to make a secret Commotion of the Papists in England against the Queen; which he perform'd indeed with a deal of Secrecy, and much Cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was remov'd from Bolton, (a Castle of the Lord Scroop's) where all the neighbouring People were Papists, to Tutbury, more toward the heart of the Country, under the Custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Protestants persecuted in France by the Guises, flee into England.

About this time the Guises in France, and the Duke d'Alva in the Low-Countries, began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion: In France the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen Elizabeth, forgetting the Fickleness of the Protestants at Newhaven, once again takes upon her their protection, supplies 'em with Two hundred thousand Crowns in Money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the French that fled into England; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation they took not up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-Countries likewise the Duke d'Alva, breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, made the Dutch come flocking into England, as into a Sanctuary, where with all Courtesie they were receiv'd.

How the War in the Low-Countries first began.

And here 'twill be fit to shew how the War in the Low-Countries began.



1568.

rashness of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion, sent amongst them *Ferdinando Alvarez*. Duke *d'Alva*, a bloody and fierce Man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and Customs of the Country) took away all Authority from the ordinary Courts of Justice, erected new Consistories, condemn'd and put to death the Peers without Tryal by their lawful Judges, placed Garrisons of *Spaniards* throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the 20th part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the 10th of the Movables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty mass of Money borrow'd of the *Genoese*, and other *Italian* Merchants, was sent out of *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, there to be imploy'd to Interest, which being brought by Shipping, was pursued by the *French*, and forced to flee for Succour into Havens of *England*, whom the Queen commanded to be succour'd, as conceiving the Money to be the King of *Spain's*, as 'twas given out: But at the same time Cardinal *Odet de Chastillon* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving notice to the Queen, that the Money was not the King of *Spain's*, but belong'd to certain Merchants of *Genoa*, from whence the Duke *d'Alva* had taken it against their Will, with a purpose to imploy it to the ruin of the Protestants; and Information also being given her by one that had a Property in the Money that it was so; she determin'd to put in Security, and to borrow the Money of the Merchants her self, which is a usual thing with *Princes* when the Goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of *Spain* himself had lately done the like. The Duke *d'Alva* being inform'd of this dealing of the Queen's, by *Gerard de Spese*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador in *England*, seizeth presently upon all the Goods of the *English* in the *Low-Countries*, and kept the Men prisoners: The Queen did the like with the *Dutch* Merchants in *England*: Letters of Mart were granted on both sides, and this grew to such a Quarrel between both Nations, that being nourish'd with other Differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty-eight that *Spanish* Invasion, which is and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Letters of  
Mart granted  
against *Spain*.

1569

Sir *Will. Cecil*  
accus'd by the  
D. of *Norfolk*  
and others, is  
protected by  
the Queen.

Upon occasion of this Money detain'd, certain Peers of *England*, among whom were, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Leicester*, and others, accus'd Sir *William Cecil* for sending away Money into *France*, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great Favour with the Queen, and suspecting him to incline to the House of *Suffolk* in the matter of Succession: Hereupon they consult secretly how to get him imprison'd; and *Throgmorton* (who envied him as much as they) suggested, that if he were once clapt up, they might soon find out a Way to crush him; but the Queen (by what means 'tis uncertain) coming to have Notice hereof, gave a check to their purpose, and protected *Cecil* against their combined practices.

The Earl of *Murray* being return'd into *Scotland*, makes the Lords believe that he desires a meeting at *Edinburgh*, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty, but as *Hamilton* Duke of *Chastellau-heraut* (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord *Heris*

were coming thither, he circumvented 'em, and before any of the rest came cast them into Prison, and forthwith in an open War oppresseth all her Favourites. It may be thought *Murray* could have been content the Queen should have been set at liberty, but that he knew her liberty could not be without his servitude; and Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps would willingly have had her restor'd to her Kingdom, but that she doubted such restoring would endanger her own security. And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the Fortune to be pitied, but not the Happiness to be reliev'd; and all she could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her Bonds the faster; if she could have fate still, they would perhaps have loosen'd of themselves; but now, the more she stirr'd, the more she was entangled.

And now the Destiny of the Duke of *Norfolk* began to work: It was in every one's Mouth, that the Duke would marry the Queen of *Scots*; and, 'tis true, there had been Motions made, but the matter not so forward as the Voice of the People, which commonly presageth what will follow. It had been mention'd to the Duke at *York*, by the Bp of *Ross*, and afterward (in presence at least) by *Murray* himself at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earl of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Suffex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Leicester* himself, who all judg'd it fit he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking.

Within a few Days, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* meeting the Duke in the Palace of *Westminster*, advis'd him to move the Earl of *Leicester* himself to embrace the Match, seeing he had formerly sued for it, but if he refus'd it, then at least to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queen's Consent. A day or two after, the Earl of *Leicester* propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, who thereupon, together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, commending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband; the Duke himself likewise writeth to her, tending his singular Love and Respect unto her. Upon this Articles were drawn, written with *Leicester's* own Hand, and sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to which if she consented, they then promis'd to procure that Queen *Elizabeth* should give her Assent, and, that forthwith she should be re-invested in her Kingdom, and the Succession of *England* should be confirm'd upon her. We may easily believe the Queen of *Scots* was not hardly drawn to give Consent to her own Desire: But in the mean time the Duke had imparted to the Lord *Lumley* the whole Proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of *Leicester's* Consent that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet, a little after, he open'd the matter to *Cecil* also.

The rumour of this Marriage was soon come to the Queen's Ears; which the Duke understanding, he dealt earnestly with the Earl of *Leicester* to have the matter propounded to the Queen out of hand. *Leicester* makes delays, and pretends Causes to put it off; which *Cecil* seeing, he advises the Duke to go and acquaint the

1569.

The Duke of  
*Norfolk's* first  
proceeding a-  
bout the Mar-  
riage with the  
Qu. of *Scots*.

Articles be-  
tween them  
are drawn by  
*Leicester*.

*Leicester* pro-  
misseth to ac-  
quaint Q. *Eliz-  
abeth* with  
the matter,  
but delays.



1567.

But coming at last to her knowledge, she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance to desist; which he promiseth.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earl of Northumberland and Westmoreland raise Arms in the North, and why.

the Queen with it himself. This Counsel Leicester oppos'd, promising to open it to the Queen as she went in Progress. At length at Farnham, the Duke standing by as the Queen sat at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he had best take heed upon what Pillow he rested his Head. After this, at Titchfield, Leicester fell sick, or at least counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him to be of good cheer, he with Sighs and Tears crav'd pardon for his Fault, and unfolded to her the whole Story from the very Beginning. Whereupon, the Queen call'd the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply for going about the Marriage without acquainting her; & commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of Obedience, and spar'd not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of Scots) that his Revenues in England were not much less than hers in Scotland; and that when he was at his House at Norwich, he thought himself in a sort not inferior to some Kings; but notwithstanding, finding the Queen's Anger by her Countenance, and perceiving Leicester to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him, he grew extremely dejected, and prepar'd presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at Norwich till, by his Friends Intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queen's Heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while the Court was suspiciously fearful lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of Scots should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret Commerce by Letters with the Bishop of Ross, Throgmorton, and Leicester (for they were sent to and fro in Bottles) being examin'd touching the Marriage of the Qu. of Scots, and certain secret Conferences with the Bishop of Ross, confess'd most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevill; within two Days after the Bishop of Ross likewise is examin'd, and together with the Florentine Robert Ridolph is deliver'd to the custody of Sir Francis Walsingham; the Earl of Pembroke is confin'd to his House, and examin'd privately; but his Confession was not committed to writing, it being his Request, because he could not write himself. At this time the rumor of Insurrection in the North began in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earl of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance sent for to repair presently to the Queen, make delays; (for they stay'd waiting for Supplies, both from the Scots and from the Duke d'Alva) when the Earl of Northumberland doubting what to do, was frighted on purpose by his Servant telling him, that Men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; who thereupon, in a tempestuous Night, riseth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at Topcliff, and the Night following to Branspith, to the Earl of Westmoreland's House, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprize: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being press'd forward by one Nicholas Morton a Romish Priest, sent by the Pope to

pronounce Queen Elizabeth a Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By-and-by they send forth a Writing, wherein they declare, that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their Fore-fathers might be restor'd, wicked Counsellors remov'd from the Queen, the Duke of Norfolk and others of the Loyal Nobility reliev'd who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen professing themselves most dutiful Subjects: Withal they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyn-ing with them, that many sent both the Letters and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their Aids and Purse against them, no less than the best Protestants; even the Duke of Norfolk himself was not backward in it.

These Rebels go first to Durham, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer they could find in Churches of the English Tongue: When they had been twelve Days in Rebellion, they number'd their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: Whereupon being certainly inform'd, that the Earl of Sussex with Seven thousand, and the Earl of Warwick with Twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to Rabie, the chief House of the Earl of Westmoreland; going from thence, they besieg'd Bernard's Castle, which for lack of Provision was yielded to them. At which time being proclaim'd Traytors, and hearing afresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small Company get presently into Scotland, hard by where the Earl of Northumberland hid himself at Harclow in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Grahams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betray'd him to the Earl of Murray: Westmoreland made a shift to get into the Low-Countries, where he had a slender Pension from the King of Spain, and there liv'd even to old Age. Of the Rest, for Terror and Example sake, there was hang'd at Durham threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom *Plomtree* a noted Priest. At York were executed *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthorp*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Penyman*; and at London a few Months after, *Christpher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the rest of the Rebels being convicted of High-Treason, were proscrib'd; namely, *Charles Earl of Westmoreland*, *Thomas Earl of Northumberland*, *Ann Countess of Northumberland*, *Edward Dacres of Morton*, *John Nevill of Lever-sege*, *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Egremont Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of Sussex, *Christopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Christopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the Ashes of this Rebellion a new Fire was kindl'd at *Nayworth* in *Cumberland* by *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to the Lord *Dacres of Gillingland*: He was a party with the Earl in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner than he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiss the Queen's Hand, tendred his service to go against them, and to that purpose was sent home; but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and

1567.

But pursu'd by the Queen's Army, they fly.

Westmoreland and Westmoreland, where he liv'd poorly to old Age.

Northumberland was taken and proscrib'd.

After this Leonard Dacres raiseth an Army, but is defeated; and flieth into the Low-Countries

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1567.

encourag'd them to go on : And by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surpriz'd the Castle of *Gresstock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gather'd together an Army of Three thousand Men : But being encounter'd by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, tho' he were crook-backt, he behav'd himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after he pass'd over to the *Low Countries*, and in great Misery and Poverty died at *Louvain*.

Queen Elizabeth assisteth the Protestants in France.

But tho' the Queen were thus entangl'd with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France* : For she stirr'd up the Protestant Princes to defend the Common Cause ; supplied them with Money, taking in pawn the Queen of *Navarre's* Jewels ; and gave leave to *Henry Champernon* to lead into *France* a Troop of an hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries ; amongst whom were *Philip Buissed*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young Man, who now began to look into the World. But as the Queen of *England* assist-ed the *French*, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the *Scots*, but that he was taken away by Death.

There was at that time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, rais'd by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond* ; but after many Outrages by them committed, the Earl of *Ormond* first by Perswasions, obtain'd of them to submit themselves, and when notwithstanding they were committed to Prison, he then obtain'd of the Queen they should not be call'd to the Bar, being exceedingly griev'd that any of his Blood should be attain'd of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursu'd by Sir *Humphery Gilbert*, and soon dispers'd.

The Earl of Murray Regent of Scotland, is murdered riding in the Street.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, when he had brought all things to his Heart's desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithgo*, riding along the Streets, was shot into the Belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navel, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private Revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife ; who there-upon falling Lunatick, he in a great Rage committed this Slaughter.

After *Murray's* Death, the Country being without a Regent, was the cause of many Disorders. *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal Men amongst the Scottish Borders, and devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, made Inrodes into *England*, wasting all Places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Sussex* and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated : In whose Pursuit were Three hundred Villages fired, and above fifty Holds were overturn'd. For which Service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Robert Constable*, and others, and then return'd. And now to prevent further Disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the Election of a new Regent, they ask'd Counsel of Queen *Elizabeth* in the Matter ; but she making answer, She would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *Scots*, whose Case was not

yet tried, they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent ; which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not chuse out of natural Affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

But while Qu. *Elizabeth* favour'd the King's Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chateau-heraut*, and the Earl of *Argyle* (the Queen of *Scots* Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke *D'Alva*, requiring him for many great Reasons to vindicate the Queen of *Scots* liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church : Whereunto the Duke made answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their Request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose ; and the *Spanish* Embassador in his Master's Name urg'd it no less extremely : But Queen *Elizabeth*, assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety ; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour requir'd at her Hands. And now, when these Princes prevail'd not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the Night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other Duty ; and all that obey her, accur'd with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the Matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffer'd himself to be apprehended, confess'd and justify'd the Fact, and thereupon arraign'd, was condemn'd, and hang'd near the Place where he had fastned the Writing.

The same Day that *Felton* was arraign'd, the Duke of *Norfolk* seem'd now extreme penitent for his Fault, and utterly to abhor the Marriage, was deliver'd out of the *Tower*, and suffer'd to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir *Henry Nevil* still. Indeed *Cecil* being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25 of *Edward* the Third could not take hold upon him : And now being in a kind of liberty, *Cecil* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other, thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf, yet some again thought that this liberty of the Duke's was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grandfather to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Paul's* under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription testifying his great Deservings while he liv'd.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Qu. of *Scots* at liberty ; amongst others, there conspir'd *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others ; but the Matter discover'd, they were soon suppress'd, and some of them executed. And now the

1567.

Matthew Earl of Lenox is made Regent in his place.

Many Princes entreat Queen Elizabeth to set the Queen of Scots at liberty ; and her Answer.

A Bull of Pius Quintus against Queen Elizabeth, for detaining the Queen of Scots.

Felton that brought the Bull, hang'd.

The Duke of Norfolk upon his penitence is deliver'd out of the Tower, and Cecil's Counsel to him.

Many Conspiracies to set the Queen of Scots at liberty.

Lords



1569.

Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of *Suffex* once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entereth *Scotland*, burneth the Villages all-along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compels the Duke of *Chateau-heraut*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing sign'd with their own Hands and Seals, to forsake the English Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Suffex* returning home, the Queen made these Knights, *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Russel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapylton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Musgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Mind being now in great suspension, by reason of that Bull from *Rome* and the late Conspiracy in *Norfolk*, sent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of Scots, who was then at *Chattsworth* in *Derbyshire*, to consult with her by what means the Breach in *Scotland* might best be made up, she re-invested in her former Dignity, and her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* might be secur'd. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted Condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queen's Clemency; when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the Treaty of *Edinburgh* should be confirm'd; then, That she should renounce her Right and Title to *England* during Queen *Elizabeth's* Life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten; then, That she should send her Son for a Hostage into *England*, with other six Hostages, such as the Queen should nominate; then, That the Castles of *Humes* and *East-castle* should be held by the English for Three Years, with some other: To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident Answer, but refer'd the fuller Answer to the Bishop of *Ross*, her Ambassador in *England*, and some other Delegates; who afterwards allowing some of the Propositions, and not allowing others, the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter rested in the state it was before.

Propositions made to the Queen of Scots for setting her at liberty,

But came to nothing.

At this time *Philip* King of *Spain* had contracted a Marriage with *Ann* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, his own Niece by his Sister, who was now setting sail from *Zealand* towards *Spain*; when Queen *Elizabeth*, to testify her Love and Respect to the House of *Austria*, sent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy Royal, to conduct her thro' the *British* Sea.

1570.

And now was the twelfth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign finish'd, which certain Wizards had made Papists believe should be her last; but contrary, as if 'twere but her first, a new Custom began of celebrating the 17th Day of *November* (the Anniversary Day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings, and Bonfires; which Custom, as it now began, so 'twas never given over as long as she liv'd, and is not yet forbore so long after her Death.

The 17th of November began to be celebrated in honour of Queen *Elizabeth's* coming to the Crown.

The Earl of *Thomond* intending Rebellion, is strangely discovered.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O-Bryan* Earl of *Thomond*, not brooking the severe Government of *Edward Fitton* President of *Connaught*, enter'd into Consultation with some few, to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discover'd: For the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Earl word in a friendly manner, That the next

day he and a few friends with him would be his Guests. The Earl, convinc'd by his own Conscience, imagin'd that his Intendments were reveal'd; that *Fitton* would come as an Enemy, rather than a Guest; out of which fear he presently set sail into *France*, where repenting him seriously of his Fault, he confess'd the whole Business to *Norris*, the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, and by his Intercession was afterward pardon'd and restor'd.

In *January*, the Thirteenth Year of her reign, Queen *Elizabeth* in royal Pomp entering the City of *London*, went to see the Bourse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with sound of Trumpets and the voice of an Herald, solemnly named it *The Royal Exchange*. A few Days after, for his many great Services, she made Sir *William Cecil* Baron *Burghley*.

1570.

A guilty Conscience betrays it self.

1571.

There were now about the Scottish affairs, in the name of the King of Scots, the Earl of *Morton*, *Pernare* Abbot of *Dumferlin*, and *James Mac-Gray*, whom when Queen *Elizabeth* requir'd to shew more clearly for what causes they had depos'd the Queen, they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary, wherein with a certain insolent liberty they endeavour'd to prove, by the ancient Right of that Kingdom, that the People of *Scotland* were above the King; and urg'd *Calvin's* Authority also, That Popular Magistrates are constituted for the moderation of the Licentiousness of Princes; and, that 'tis lawful for them both to imprison Kings, and upon just causes to depose 'em. This Writing the Queen could not read without Indignation; but to the Delegates she gave this Answer: She saw no just Cause yet why they should handle the Queen in such manner, and therefore will'd them to think upon some course out of hand how to allay the Dissentions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* House, Keeper of the Great-Seal, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Ross*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Lewington*, Delegates for the Queen of Scots, That for the security of the Kingdom and the Queen of *England* 'twere requisite, that before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of *Chateau-heraut*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and another of the Barons, should be deliver'd for Hostages, and the Castles of *Dumbrition* and *Humes* yielded up into the hands of the English for three Years: But they made answer, That to yield up great Personages, and such Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing else but to leave the miserable Queen utterly destitute of faithful Friends, and naked of all Places fit for guard and defence; yet they offer'd to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages till two Years were expired: Which not being accepted, they straightway gather'd, and spoke it openly, That now they plainly perceiv'd the English meant to keep the Queen of Scots perpetually Prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty, seeing they rigorously demanded such Security as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth*, seeing that nothing could be done for her own, nor the King and Queen of Scots Safety, unless both Factions in *Scotland* consented, she held it fit that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint

Q. Elizabeth requireth the Scottish Lords to shew for what Cause they had depos'd their Queen; and what was done in it.

Sir Will. Cecil made Baron of Burghley.



1571.

point some chosen Persons to compound the matter.

While matters in *England* proceeded in this sort, the Queen's Party in *Scotland* was hardly used: *Dumbarton Friith*, the strongest Castle in *Scotland*, was taken; and *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Duke of *Chateau-heraut's* Brother, as an Accessary to the Murder of *Darnley*, was hang'd without being arraign'd according to Law. In *England* the Queen of *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten only and a Priest to say Mass; with which Indignities the Q. of *Scots* provok'd, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain Love-letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carried to the Pope and the King of *Spain* by *Ridolphus*; which being brought first to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his Bedchamber) had copied out; but being commanded to burn 'em, he hid 'em under a Mat in the Duke's Bedchamber, and that (it should seem) purposely. *Ridolphus*, to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented Party in *England*, aggravated to him the Wrongs he had suffer'd; how against all Law he had been kept a long time in Prison, and now, to his great disgrace, was not summon'd to Parliament: He exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility who had vow'd to assist him: He shew'd how the Pope (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the Charge of the War, and had already laid down an Hundred thousand Crowns, whereof himself had distributed Twelve thousand among the English that were fled: He promis'd, that the King of *Spain* would send Four thousand Horse, and Six thousand Foot, to his assistance: To these Reasons the Bishop of *Rosi* added, That it was an easie matter for him to surprize the Queen, whom when he had in his hands, he might set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen *Elizabeth* a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took somewhat with the Duke, but this point of surprizing the Queen he abhor'd as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected, as pernicious and dangerous.

In *France*, a little before this, was the Marriage solemniz'd between *Charles* the 9th, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof Queen *Elizabeth* sent into *France*, *Thomas Lord Buckhurst*, who with great Magnificence was receiv'd, and perhaps the more in regard of a Motion now intended to be made: For the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his Retinue one *Guido Cavalcanti*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, the Queen-Mother of *France*, as being a *Florentine* her self, had often conference with him, when she would many times say, *What a Happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of England and her Son Henry Duke of Anjou!* and at last desir'd him to recommend the Motion to the Queen of *England*, both from her, and from her Son the King of *France*, as a thing they both exceedingly desir'd. The Lord *Buckhurst* return'd, having for a Present from the King of *France* a Chain weighing a thousand *French* Crowns; and *Cavalcanti* at his return made the Motion to the Queen, who see-

med not unwilling to hearken to it, for by this Match there should be added to the Kingdom of *England* the wealthy Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon*, and *Arvergne*, and possibly the Kingdom of *France* itself. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the *French* propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another concerning the joint Administration of the Kingdom; a third concerning a toleration of his Religion; to which 'twas answer'd, That the two first Articles might in some sort be composed, but the third scarce possibly; for tho' a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdom, yet between a Wife and her Husband it seem'd very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he should not be compell'd to use the English Rites, but at his pleasure use the Roman, not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these *Punctilio's* they could not accord, and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a Year, broke off. 'Twas indeed generally thought the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it only for their own Ends; for the Earl of *Leicester*, who knew more of the Queen's Mind than any Man, wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, That he found the Queen's Inclination so cool in the matter, that tho' the Point of Religion were fully accorded, yet she would find some Point or other to break it off.

At this time the Continuance of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Affection towards the Queen of *Scots* came to be discover'd, by a Pacquet of Letters sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Rosi*, and by *Bayliff's* Confession, (who brought the Letters) being set upon the Rack, so as the Bishop of *Rosi* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*; *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolston* were cast into the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* keeping.

At the same time the Queen of *Scots* sent Money to her Confederates in *Scotland*, which being by *Higford* deliver'd to one *Brown* to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight 'twas Gold, he began to suspect something, and therefore went and deliver'd both the Money and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this *Higford* being examin'd, confess'd the whole matter, and withal gave notice of that Commentary of the Queen of *Scots*, which is mention'd before. Two Days after, the Duke himself being examin'd, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confess'd, denied every particular, and thereupon was brought again to the Tower by *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Newil*, and *Dr. Wilson*; and after him *Bannister*, who was the Duke's Counsel at Law; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Piercy*, *Lowther*, *Powel*, *Goodyer*, and others, were committed to Prison, who, upon hope of Pardon, confess'd all they knew concerning the matter; when these things, and especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shew'd

1571.

The Articles of the Match.

But could not be agreed, and so the Treaty broke utterly off.

The Duke of Norfolk's Affection to the Queen of Scots is discover'd to by what means

He is committed again to the Tower.

A motion of a Match between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou.



1571.

shew'd him, he then cry'd out, *I am betray'd by my own Servants, not having learnt to be distrustful, which is the very Sinew of Wisdom: And then with all Submission he besought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen, towards whom he protested he never had the least Thought of doing any Hurt.*

The Civilians deliver their Opinions what may be done with an Ambassador if he prove a Practicer against the State.

And now, seeing it appear'd that the Bishop of Ross had been the sole Contriver of the Business, 'twas deliberated what to do to him, because he was an Ambassador. Hereupon divers Civilians are call'd, as, *David Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones*, of whom these Questions were ask'd:

First, *Whether an Ambassador who raiseth Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is an Ambassador, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is not liable to Punishment?*

They answer'd, *That such an Ambassador hath forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is liable to Punishment.*

Secondly, *Whether a Minister (or Protector) of a Prince who is deposed by publick Authority, and in whose room another is inaugurated, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador?*

They answer'd, *That if such a Prince be lawfully depos'd, his Protector cannot challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambassadors.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Prince's Country, and held in Custody, may have his Protector; and, if he shall be held an Ambassador?*

They answer'd, *If such a Prince hath not lost his Sovereignty, he may have his Protector; but whether that Protector shall be reputed as an Ambassador, or no, this dependeth on the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave Warning to such a Protector, and to his Prince who is under Custody, that this Protector shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambassador; whether that Protector may by Law challenge the Privilege of an Ambassador?*

They answer'd, *A Prince may forbid an Ambassador to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom if he contain not himself within his due limits, yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador.*

What the Bishop of Ross pleadeth for himself.

Upon these Answers the Bishop of Ross is warn'd by the Lords of the Council, that he shall no longer be esteem'd an Ambassador, but be punish'd as his Fault shall deserve. The Bishop alledg'd for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassador *via Juris*, but *via Facti*, (to use his own Words) and therefore advis'd them not to use harder measure to him than was used to the English Ambassadors, *Throgmoton in France, Randal and Tamworth in*

*Scotland*, who had raised Rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same, and yet had no greater Punishment than to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge to him what the *English* had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it, forasmuch as by a receiv'd Custom, which hath the force of a Law, the Testimony of an *Englishman* against a *Scot*, or of a *Scot* against an *Englishman*, is not to be admitted: But, after some altercations, the Bishop is led away to the Tower, and kept close Prisoner.

At this very season *Matthew Earl of Lenox*, *Matthew Earl* Regent of *Scotland*, the King's Grandfather, was of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, by the adverse Party set upon unawares, who having yielded himself to *David Spense of Warminster*, (who was then careful to defend him) together with him was slain by *Bell and Caulder*, when with great Industry he had govern'd the Kingdom for his Grandchild about fourteen Months; in whose room *John Ereskine Earl of Marre*, by common consent of the King's Faction, was chosen Regent of *Scotland*; but he being a Man of a quiet disposition, thro' extreme Grief for the many Troubles he sustain'd in the Place, departed this Life when he had govern'd thirteen Months.

And now a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein, besides a Law for preventing the treacherous Endeavours of seditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one, during the Queen's Life, by Books written or printed, shall expressly affirm that any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen, (besides the natural Offspring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or disperse any Book or Schedules, he and his favourers shall for the first Offence suffer a Years Imprisonment, and the loss of one half of his Goods; and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Præmunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconcil'd to the See of *Rome* was made Treason; and it was pronounc'd against the Queen of *Scots*, That if she offended again against the Laws of *England*, it might be lawful to question her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of *England*. But here the Queen interpos'd her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in *May*, a solemn Tilting was perform'd at *Westminster*, where the Challenggers were *Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton Esq;* who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* best.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolv'd, a Consultation was held, whether *John Story* Doctor of the Laws, the Duke d'Alva's Searcher (who some time before was by a Wile brought into *England*) being an *Englishman* born, and having in *Brabant* consulted with a foreign Prince about the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of High-Treason? It was resolv'd affirmatively; whereupon he is call'd to the Bar, and indicted of Treason, That he had consulted with one *Presball*, a Conjuror, to make away the Queen: That he curs'd her daily when he said Grace at Table: That he shew'd a Way to the Secretary of the Duke d'Alva how to invade *England*, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no Power to meddle with him, for that he

1571.

In his Place is set the Earl of Marre, who died within 13 Months.

To be reconciled to the See of Rome made Treason.

*John Story*, Dr. of Laws, executed for Treason, and why.



belong'd not to the Queen of England, but was the King of Spain's sworn Subject, is nevertheless condemn'd by the Form of *Nihil dicit*, (forasmuch as no Man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet, for John Perrot, President of Munster, had brought James Fitzmorris to submit himself, and crave Pardon; Sidney Lord-Deputy return'd into England, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

1573. 'Twas now the Fifteenth Year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, on the Sixteenth Day of January, was brought to his Tryal at Westminster-hall, where sate as Commissioners, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, (made High-Steward of England for that Day) Reginald Gray Earl of Kent, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex, Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Edward Seymour Earl of Hartford, Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester; Walter Devereux Viscount of Hereford, Edward Lord Clinton, Admiral; William Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain; William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary; Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, James Blount Lord Montjoy, William Lord Sands, Thomas Lord Wentworth, William Lord Borough, Lewis Lord Mordaunt, John Pawlet Lord St. John of Basing, Robert Lord Rich, Roger Lord North, Edmund Bruges Lord Chandos, Oliver Lord St. John of Bletsoe, Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, and William West Lord de la Ware. After Silence bidden, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar, and then the Clerk of the Crown said, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Keningale in the County of Norfolk, hold up thy Hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud Voice readeth the Crimes laid to his charge: That in the Eleventh Year of the Queen's Reign he had traiterously consulted to make her away, and to bring in foreign Forces for invading the Kingdom; also, That he dealt with the Queen of Scots concerning Marriage, contrary to his Promise made to the Queen under his Hand-writing; also, That he reliev'd with Money the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, that had stirr'd up Rebellion against the Queen; also, That in the Thirteenth Year of the Queen's Reign he implor'd Auxiliary Forces of Pope Pius the Fifth, the Queen's profess'd Enemy, of the King of Spain, and the Duke d'Alva, for the freeing of the Queen of Scots, and restoring of the Popish Religion; and lastly, That he sent Supply to the Lord Heris, and other the Queen's Enemies in Scotland.

No Counsel to be allow'd in Case of Treason.

These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these Crimes, or not. Here the Duke requested he might be allow'd to have Counsel; but Catiline Chief-Justice made answer, That it was not lawful: Yet (said the Duke) I have heard that Humphry Stafford, in the Reign of King Henry the seventh, in a Case of Treason, had one assign'd to plead for him: To which Dyer, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas made answer, That

Stafford had Counsel assign'd him concerning the Right of Sanctuary from whence he was taken by force, but in the Indictment for Treason he pleaded his own Cause. After this, the Duke yielded to be try'd by the Peers; first, Barham Serjeant at Law; then Gerrard the Queen's Attorney; and lastly, Bromley, the Queen's Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected against him; to all which the Duke made colourable Answers, but most of them being prov'd by sufficient Testimony, he ask'd upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies? To which Catiline answer'd, They were; and, that the Queen of England might wage War with any Duke of France, and yet hold firm Peace with the French King. When it grew towards Night, the Lord High-Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself; who answer'd, I rely upon the Equity of the Laws. After this the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord-Steward beginning at the lowermost, ask'd them, My Lord de la Ware, is Thomas Duke of Norfolk guilty of these Crimes of High-Treason for which he is call'd in question? He rising up, and laying his Hand upon his Breast, answer'd, Guilty: In like manner they answer'd all. After this, the Lord-Steward, with Tears in his Eyes, pronounc'd Sentence in form usual.

A few days after were Barnes and Mather executed, who conspir'd with one Herle to make away certain of the Councillors, and to free the Duke; but Herle reveal'd the business presently, to whom Barnes, (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) smilingly said, *Thou wert but one hour before me, else I had been in thy place for the Accuser, and thou in my room to be hang'd*. At the same time with them was hang'd also Henry Rolf for counterfeiting the Queen's Hand. But tho' the Duke was now condemn'd, yet the Queen was so tender of his Case, that it was 4 months after e're he was executed: At last, on the second of June, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon Tower-hill, and there beheaded.

The Duke is beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was assembled, wherein amongst other Laws 'twas enacted, That if any Man should go about to free any Person imprison'd by the Queen's Commandment for Treason, or suspicion of Treason, and not yet arraign'd, he shall lose all his Goods for his lifetime, and be imprison'd during the Queen's pleasure; if the said Person hath been arraign'd, the Rescuer shall forfeit his Life; if condemn'd, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament the Queen created Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, being before but Viscount Hereford, because he was descended by his Great-Grandmother from the Bourchiers; and made the Lord Clinton (who had large Revenues in Lincolnshire) Earl of Lincoln: Also she call'd forth John Pawlet of Basing, the Marquis of Winchester's Son, Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, and Henry Norris, for Barons by Summons.

Walter Devereux is created Earl of Essex, and by what Right; the Lord Clinton is made Earl of Lincoln; Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, and Henry Norris are Barons by Summons.

Within ten Days after the Duke's death, William Lord de la Ware, Sir Ralph Sadler, Thomas Wilson Doctor of the Laws, and Thomas Bromley the



1573.

Q. Elizabeth  
fends the Lord  
de la Ware  
and others to  
the Queen, to  
charge her  
with many  
Crimes; and  
what Answer.

the Queen's Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of Scots to expostulate with her, That she had usurp'd the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of England, and had not renounc'd the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty of Edinburgh: That she had endeavour'd the Marriage of the Duke of Norfolk, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of Prison; had rais'd the Rebellion in the North; had reliev'd the Rebels both in Scotland and in the Low-Countries; had implor'd aids from the Pope, the King of Spain, and others; had conspir'd with certain of the English to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of England: Lastly, That she had procur'd the Pope's Bull against the Queen, and suffer'd her self to be publickly named Queen of England in foreign Countries. All which Accusations she either absolutely denied, or else fairly extenuated; and tho' (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature, yet she was contented, and requested that she might make her personal Answer at the next Parliament.

How the Dutch  
got possession  
of their Sea-  
Towns.

About this time the King of Spain, by his Ambassador here, complain'd to the Queen, that the Rebels of the Netherlands were harbour'd and entertain'd in England, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the Dutch, who could any ways be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turn'd little to d'Alva's or the King of Spain's benefit; for hereupon Count Vandermark, and other Dutch, going out of England, surpriz'd the Brill first, then Flushing, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke d'Alva in a manner from the Sea. And this Error, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of Spain. And now many military Men having little to do at home, got 'em into the Netherlands, some to Duke d'Alva, but the far greater number to the Prince of Orange; the first of whom was Thomas Morgan, who carried Three hundred English to Flushing; then follow'd by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of Humphrey Gilbert; and afterwards it became the Nursery of all our English Soldiers.

A League con-  
cluded 'twixt  
Q. Elizabeth  
and the King  
of France.

At this time Charles the French King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the Low-Country War, concluding a Peace, enter'd into a League with Queen Elizabeth, which was to remain firm, not only during their two Lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signify to the Survivor within a Year that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. 'Twas likewise agreed what aid by Sea or Land they should each of 'em afford to other upon occasion: And, for ratification of this League, Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln and Admiral of England, was sent into France, with whom went the Lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sands, and others. The French King likewise sent the Duke of Momorancy and Paul Foix into England, with a great Train, that the Queen, in presence of them and the Ambassador in Ordinary, might

swear to the League, which she did at Westminster the 17th of May, in the Year 1572, the Day after she made Momorancy Knight of the Garter.

Momorancy, whilst he tarried in England, made Intercession in his King's name, that what Favour could be without danger might be shew'd to the Queen of Scots; and then made much ado again about the Marriage with the Duke of Anjou; but being hopeless to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he return'd into France, for now was great provision making ready for the Marriage between Henry King of Navarre and the Lady Margaret the French King's Sister, to which Solemnity with notable dissimulation the Queen of Navarre and the chief of all the Protestants were alured, being born in hand that there should be a renovation of Love, and a perpetual Peace establish'd. The Earl of Leicester likewise, and the Lord Burleigh, were invited out of England; and out of Germany, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of Honour, but indeed that they might be entrap'd, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the Marriage being celebrated, there presently follow'd that cruel Massacre at Paris, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of France; but, to set a shew of Equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, That the Protestants had plotted a wicked Conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the Brethren, the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the Blood-Royal; and, to keep the thing in memory, Coin was presently stamp'd, upon one side whereof was the King's Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, and the other side *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; but the King of France, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escap'd not the Divine Revenge; for before the Year came about he fell sick of a Bloody-flux, and afterwards with long and grievous Torments ended his Life.

A little before this Motte-Fenelon Ambassador to the K. of France being in England by vertue of an Order from the Queen-Mother of France, propounded to Q. Elizabeth at Kenelworth (two days before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son Francis Duke of Alanson (for the Queen-Mother had been told by some cunning-men that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no Way for it but this) but Queen Elizabeth, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excus'd her self (for he was scarce 17 Years old, and she was now past 38) yet she promis'd to consider of it, and Alanson did not leave to prosecute the Suit.

At this time Thomas Piercy Duke of Northumberland, who first rebel'd and afterwards fled into Scotland, was for a sum of Money deliver'd by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Hunsdon Governor of Berwick, and a while after was beheaded at York. And now as these two great Personages, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Northumberland were taken away by violent Death, so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural Death; first William Pawlet, who from a private Man came by

1573.

Great prepara-  
tion for the  
Marriage of  
Henry King of  
Navarre with  
the King of  
France's Sister

At which  
Marriage was  
the Massacre  
of the Prote-  
stants at Paris,  
and thro' all  
France.

The King of  
France, for this  
Bloodshed falls  
into a Bloody-  
flux, and in  
grievous tor-  
ment dies.

A Motion is  
now made to  
Q. Elizabeth,  
to marry Fran-  
cis Duke of  
Alanson, and  
her Answer.

Tho Piercy  
Earl of Nor-  
thumberland  
is beheaded.

degrees



1573. degrees to be Marquis of *Winchester*, lived to the age of within three Years of a hundred, and could reckon 103 of his Children and his Childrens Issue, after he had held the Place of Lord-Treasurer of *England* above 20 Years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*: Then died *Edmund* Earl of *Derby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good Housekeeping, as for his Skill in Surgery and Bone-setting: Then died Sir *William Petre*, who being descended from an honest Stock at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, was Privy Councillor and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*; who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchas'd great Possessions; and whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that County.

Good Acts of Q. Elizabeth. And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrow'd Money of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid it, which won her no less Love than if she had given it; and more Love she gain'd also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which she commanded Noblemen to observe the Law of keeping Retainers; by the other she restrain'd Informers, who under colour of 'spy-ing out Crown-land conceal'd by private Persons, sacrilegiously seiz'd upon the Lands of Parish-Churches and Almshouses, piously endow'd by the Queen's Ancestors: and more Love and Honour also she gain'd at this time by two Acts of Justice; the one, that she satisfied the English Merchants out of the Goods which were detain'd belonging to the *Dutch*, and restor'd the rest to the Duke d'Alva, and made a full Transaction with the Merchants of *Genoa*, for the Money intercepted: The other, that she freed *England* at this time of the Debts which her Father and her Brother had run it into in foreign parts, and were encreas'd by yearly Interest; and caused the Obligations of the City of *London*, which had so often been renew'd, to be given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

The *Spanish* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spanish* Navy vanquish'd by the *Zealanders*, Duke d'Alva against his Will began to shew more Kindness towards the *English*, so as in the Month of *January* the Trade which in *Anno* 1568 had been forbidden, was now allow'd again between the *Dutch* and the *English* for two Years; but those two Years expir'd, the *English* remov'd their Trading to the Confederate States.

The last Year, in the Month of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France*, with a Font of massy Gold, to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promis'd to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and Queen-Mother began to affect her more and more; and the Duke d'Alanson wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceded for the Marriage with all earnestness. 'Tis true, the Queen conceiv'd divers Reasons why 'twas fit for her to marry, but the Courtiers, for their own ends, dissuaded her as much from it: At last the Queen-Mother

of *France* was wonderfully importunate that her Son *Alanson* might have leave to come to see her; whereupon being wearied with continual Letters and Messages, she gave her Consent, but on condition that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he return'd without obtaining his Suit. But as soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very sick, she gave information to *Alanson* by *Edward Horsey* Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*, but should first procure a Peace, by some means or other, in *France*, and declare by some notable Argument his Goodwill towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allow'd to exercise their Religion; and then again the *French* King and the Queen-Mother used all their Endeavour to have the Marriage go forward; for they were very desirous that *Alanson* (who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise Tumults) might be remov'd out of *France*; and withal they request-ed of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick caution to sail thro' the *British* Ocean. To this last Request she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. Mean while *Alanson* fell sick of the Measles, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Retz*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determin'd. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal Entertainment; and *Matth. Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury* royal Entertainment to them both.

All this while, since the Death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now, by the procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* is made Regent, who, when his Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was establish'd, enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King; but the protection and keeping of the King's Person he confirm'd to *Alexander Eveskin* Earl of *Marre*, (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tender Years, by special Privilege belongeth) tho' he were himself in his minority, upon these Conditions, That no Papists, nor factious Persons, should be admitted into his presence; an Earl should come with only two Servants attending him; a Baron, with only one; all others single, and every one unarm'd.

The *French* King in the mean time sent his Ambassador *Monsieur Verrier* to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley*, with large Promises, to oppose the Regent; Queen *Elizabeth* as much labour'd to defend him: But tho' by the Ministry of *Killigrew* she had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chateauheraut*, and *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald*, Lord *Graunge*, (whom *Murray*, when he was Regent, had made Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle) the Lord *Humes*, the Lord *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*,

1573. The Duke d'Alanson may come and see her; but with Condition.

In hope of this match the Protestants are better used in France than before.

Fam. Douglas E. of Morton is made Regent of Scotland, but is oppos'd by divers Lords.

It belongs to the E. of Marre to have the custody of the King's Person in his minority.



1569

Queen Elizabeth sendeth Aid to the Regent of Scotland, with which he repressed the adverse Faction.

Lydinton for his variable Disposition called the Chamælion.

The Duke d'Alva is called home, and Zuniga sent Governour in his place.

*Dunkeld*, and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but held that Castle, and fortified it in the Queen of Scot's Name, having *Lydington* for their Counsellor herein, and trusting to the natural strength of the Place, and to the Duke d'Alva's and the French King's Promises, to send them Supplies both of Men and Money. Now when these Persons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Castle to the Regent, Queen Elizabeth (who could in no case endure the French in Scotland) suffer'd herself at length to be entreated by the Regent to send Forces, Guns, and Ammunition for assailing the Castle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, That ten Hostages should be sent into England, to be security for returning the Men and Ammunition, unless by the common Hazard of the War they should chance to miscarry. The Conditions being agreed upon, *William Drury* Marshal of the Garrison at *Berwick*, with some great Ordnance, and Fifteen hundred Soldiers (amongst whom were some Noble Volunteers, *George Carew*, *Henry Carew*, *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knowls*, *Sutton*, *Cutton*, *Kelway*, *William Killigrew*, and others) enter'd into Scotland, and besieg'd the Castle; which, after three and thirty Days siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the King's use, with all the Persons that were in it, amongst whom *Kircald* Lord *Graunge*, and *James* his Brother, *Musman* and *Cook* Goldsmiths (who had counterfeited Coin in the Castle) were hang'd; altho' to redeem *Graunge's* life, an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offer'd themselves to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Pension of Three thousand Marks, and Twenty thousand Pounds of Scottish Money in present; and to put in caution, that from thenceforth he should continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. *Humes* and the rest were sav'd, thro' Queen Elizabeth's merciful Intercession: *Lydington* was sent to *Leith*, where he died, and was suspected to be poisoned; a Man of the greatest Understanding in the Scottish Nation, and of an excellent Wit, but very variable; for which *George Buchanan* called him the Chamælion.

And now from this time Scotland began to breathe, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both Parties, as the Soldiers, betook themselves into *Sweedland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, where they valourously behaved themselves, and won great Commendation. As for *John Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse*, he was now set at liberty, but commanded to depart presently out of England; and being beyond the Sea, he continued still to sollicite his Mistress the Queen of Scot's Cause with the Emperor, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Popish Religion; who all led him on with fair Promises, but performed nothing: For indeed he, in whom he had greatest confidence, which was the Duke d'Alva, was at that time called away, partly out of jealousy of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion that by his Cruelty he made the People to revolt; and therefore in his place was sent *Ludovicus Zuniga*, a Man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable Disposition than d'Alva: And now this Man did all good Offices to

win Queen Elizabeth to him, and minding his own Affairs only, would not intermeddle with the Scottish or English Matters.

About this time a frantick Opinion was held by one *Peter Bouchet*, a Gentleman of the *Middle-Temple*, That it was Lawful to kill them that opposed the Truth of the Gospel; & so far was he possess'd with this Opinion, that he assaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, and wounded him with a Dagger, taking him for *Horton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen and of the Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adversary to Innovations. The Queen grew so angry hereat, that she commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till her Counsel advised her, that Martial Law was not to be used but in the field, and turbulent times; but at home, and in time of Peace there must be legal proceedings: Hereupon *Bouchet* was sent to the Tower, where taking a Brand out of the Fire, he struck it into the Brains of one of his Keepers, named *Hugh Longworth*, and killed him; for which Fact he was condemn'd of murther, had his right-hand cut off and nail'd to the Gallows, and himself hang'd.

After the violent Death of this Varlet, we may speak of the natural death of two great Persons: First *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Son of the warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admiral of England, and by Queen Elizabeth Lord Chamberlain, till such time that being taken with Age, he yielded up that Place to the Earl of *Suffex*, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the Fourth Degree of Honour in England. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was afterward made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of England. A while after him died *Reginald Gray* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen a Year before of a private Man had made Earl of *Kent*, when as that Title, from the Death of *Richard Gray* Earl of *Kent*, who had wasted his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this Man's Grandfather, had lain asleep for fifteen Years together.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in Ireland, the *O-Connors* and *O-Moors* took Arms, and committed many Outrages: In *Munster* *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the Industry of Sir *John Perrot* President of *Munster*, were suppressed. In *Ulster*, *Bryan Mac-Philym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many others joyned in Rebellion with him. Against these *Walter Devereux* (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of *Essex*) desired leave to go; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland opposed, as fearing that the Glory of so great an Earl would eclipse his Light. But for this the Queen finds a Remedy, by appointing *Essex* to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of *Ulster*. But this Remedy for *Fitz-Williams* might have made a sore in the Mind of *Essex* (to receive his Authority from his inferior) but that the Nobleness of his Mind made him more to regard the Virtue than the Glory. And so, in the End of August, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knowls* and

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1569.

A frantick opinion of Peter Bouchet.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal, the fourth Degree of Honour in England.

Reginald Gray of a private Man made Earl of Kent.

Many Rebellions are in Ireland.

Walter Devereux Earl of Essex is made Governour of Ulster, by a Patent from the Deputy.

his



1573.

his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carnes*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norris* : At his landing *Bryan Mac-Phelym* welcom'd him, tendering unto him all manner of Dutifulness and Service ; but presently after falls from him, and joyns with *Turlogh Leynigh*. After this Revolt, the Earl of *Essex* finding many Difficulties in the Business, and himself not well provided of skilful Soldiers, makes suit to the Queen for leave to come home, which the Earl of *Leicester* (who liked his room better than his Company) opposed ; till after expence of a Year's time and much treasure, he at last obtain'd leave, and return'd home.

1574.

An. Reg. 17.  
The Duke  
Alanfon con-  
tinues his suit  
to Queen  
Elizabeth.

The next Year, being 1574, and the 17th Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Duke *Alanfon* grew more importunate in his Suit than at any time before ; so he obtain'd of the Queen to come into *England*, any time before the 20th of *May* ; and this she rather did, because she perceiv'd him now to be really bent against the *Guises* her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Dr. of the Civil Law, the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, gave Intimation to the Queen. That *Alanfon* and *Navarre* were in restraint, and committed to Keepers : For the *Guises* had suggested that *Alanfon* held intimate friendship with the chief Leaders of the Protestants in *France* ; and indeed, *Alanfon* being examin'd, freely confessed, that he had now for a good while desir'd the Marriage of the Queen of *England*, and conceiving that good Correspondence with the Protestants might be useful to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with them thereabout, and concerning the *Low-Country* War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dale's* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanfon*, and in the Queen's Name made promise both to him and to *Navarre*, that she would omit no opportunity of procuring their Enlargement. For which the subtil Queen-Mother so complain'd of him to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was fain to go into *France*, and there crave pardon for his Fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindful of this kindness in *Wilkes*, when above five and twenty Years after, being King of *France*, he saw him in *Normandy*, and Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen sent *Thomas Randol* into *France*, to the Queen-Mother, that if it were possible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanfon* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in *France*, *Charles* the then French King died, whose Funeral Rites were solemnly perform'd in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*.

Charles the  
French King  
dies.

Henry the new  
King of France  
solicites the  
Queen for  
Alanfon.

As soon as *Henry* the Third King of *France*, was come from *Poland*, *Roger Lord North* was sent into *France* to congratulate his return and happy Inauguration into the Kingdom ; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joint Letters into *England*, strongly soliciting the business of Marriage between *Alanfon* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithstanding, they used all possible Device (and left no means unsought) to get the young King of *Scotland* to be sent into *France*, and to deprive *Morton*, who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of *Scots* also was desirous ; she being perswaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into *France*, she and the Catholics in *England* should be more mildly used. At which time, an aspersion was cast upon the

Queen of *Scots*, as if she had made the Match between *Charles* Uncle to the Queen of *Scots* (who had lately the Earldom of *Lenox* confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendish* the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Daughter by a former Husband ; upon which ground, both their Mothers, and some others also were kept in Prison for a time, and being doubted whereunto this Marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, President of the Council in the North, is authoriz'd with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North ; which from small beginnings is now become so eminent as it is at this Day, whereof this was the Original : When as in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* after that the Rebellion in the northern Parts about the subversion of Abbies was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolk* tarried in those Quarters, and many Complaints of Injuries done were tender'd unto him, whereof some he compos'd himself, and others he commended under his Seal for Men of Wisdom to determine : Hereof when King *Henry* heard he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, and calling home the Duke, committed the same to *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistants with Authority to hear and determine the Complaints of the Poor, and was the first that was called President ; and from that time the Authority of his Successors grew in credit.

It was now the Year 1575, and the 18th Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *Henry* the Third King of *France* being return'd from *Poland*, and crown'd at *Rhemes*, was careful to have the League of *Blois* confirm'd : Which in the Year 1572. had been concluded between his Brother *Charles* and the most Illustrious Queen *Elizabeth* : Now therefore he confirm'd it with his own Subscription, and deliver'd it to *Dale* the Queen's Leiger, as the Queen likewise ratified it at *St. James's* near *Westminster* : But a little after he demanded by Letters, Whether the mutual defence against all the Persons mentioned in the League was intended to comprehend the Case of Religion also ? Whereunto she answer'd, That it did comprehend it : He thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and *Alanfon* being drawn to the adverse Party, there was no Speech of the Marriage for a long time.

In the *Netherlands* at this time, *Lodowick Zuniga*, who was Successor unto Duke *d'Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which *d'Alva* had neglected ; but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent *Boischoit* into *England*, that with the Queen's leave he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* ; but this she would not grant : Then he made suit that the Queen would please not to take it in evil part, if the banished Persons of the *English* in the *Low-Countries* served the King of *Spain* in a Sea-fight against the *Hollanders* ; and that they might have free access to the Ports of *England*, to buy Provision for ready Money ; but this she would not grant neither : Then he made request, That the *Dutch*, who were Rebels against the King of *Spain*, might be put out of *England* ; but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of

1574.

How the Pre-  
sident of the  
North came  
first to be or-  
dain'd.

1575.

An. Reg. 18.

Henry King of  
France pre-  
pares War a-  
gainst the Pro-  
testants.



1575.

of Humanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality; yet because she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian Law*, she commanded by Proclamation, That the Ships of the *Dutch*, which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the *Dutch*, who had taken up Arms against the King of *Spain*, enter into the Ports of *England*, and by Name the Prince of *Orange*, and fifty other the prime of that Faction. And this she did the more willingly, because *Zuniga*, at the Intercession of *Wilson* the *English* Ambassador, had remov'd the Earl of *Westmoreland*, and other *English* Fugitives out of the Dominion of the K. of *Spain*, and had also dissolv'd the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; tho' instead thereof, the *Guises*, thro' the Procurement of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, set up another Seminary at *Rhemes*.

The *English* Seminary at *Doway* is dissolved, and another set up at *Rhemes*.

The States of the *Low-Countries* makes Queen *Elizabeth* to be their Protector, and why.

And at this time the Prince of *Orange* perceiving his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of *Spain*, and little hope of aid from *England*, he enter'd into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose Protection they were best and in most security to betake themselves. The Princes of *Germany* they knew were not all of one mind, parted from Money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion; and there they were not so fit. Then the *French*, they say, were entangled in a Civil War, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old Grudges and Heart-burnings that were between the *French* and *Dutch*; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remain'd then the *English*, as fittest of any (if it might be obtain'd) seeing they were Neighbours of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in Shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the Commodiousness of the *English* Nation) they sent into *England*, *Philip Marnize* of Saint *Aldegond*, *Janus Dousa*, *William Nyvell*, and Dr. *Melsen*; who in an honourable Embassage offer'd the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possess'd and protected by the Queen, for as much as she was descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa* Wife of *Edward* the Third, Daughter of *William* of *Barbaria*, Count of *Hainault* and *Holland*; by whose other Sister the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer, and at last, having maturely advis'd of the Matter, her Answer was this; That as yet she conceiv'd not how, with the safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much less assume them into her possession; but promised she would deal earnestly with the King of *Spain*, that a well-conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this *Zuniga* Governour of the *Low-Countries* died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration & Authority in the Commonwealth; which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he determin'd to make Governour there. In the mean time, Q. *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the K. of *Spain*, sent *William Davison* in Embassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet, which yet, by reason of the *Spanish*

The Queen's Answer to their offer.

*Zuniga* dying, *John* of *Austria* is sent Governour into the *Netherlands*.

Soldiers were so outrageous, little prevailed.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this Year, only a difference fell out between Sir *John Foster* Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Carmichael* Keeper of *Liddisdale* in *Scotland*: In composing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* some Discontentment, was fain to come unarm'd before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England* at *Bonderod*, and so the Matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great Commendation, restrain'd the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great Good of both Kingdoms.

This Year there died in *Scotland*, *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chastell-heraut*, and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-child of *James* the Second K. of *Scots*, by his Daughter appointed Tutor to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and designed Heir and Governor of the Kingdom, during her Minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ireland* again, where having done good Services, and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sudden commanded to resign his Authority in *Ulster*: And as tho' he were an ordinary Commander, is set over 300 Soldiers, which Disgrace was wrought by his Adversaries at Court, to the continual perplexing of his mild Spirit. And now is Sir *Henry Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ulster*, there came to him and submitted themselves, *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Guyre*, *Torlogh Leynegh*, the *O'Connors* and *O'Moors*, the Earl of *Desmond*, and the rebellious Sons of the Earl of *Clauricard*, all whom he receiv'd into Favour, and with great Commendation administered the Province.

At this time the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries* began to deal roughly with the People, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of Spoil and Injury: *Antwerp*, the most famous Town of Traffick in all *Europe*, was miserably pillaged, the *English* Merchants Houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Q. *Elizabeth* was sent Monsieur *Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just Causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a Sum of Money, the better to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*. But she being certainly informed, that they first sued to the *French* K. for help, denied the Request, yet promised to intercede earnestly with the K. of *Spain* for Peace. And in that employment, she address'd into *Spain*, *John Smith*, Cousin-german to King *Edward* the Sixth, a Man of *Spanish* Behaviour, and well known to the K. of *Spain*, who was liberally received by the King, and with such Wisdom retorted the contumelious Speech of *Gasper Quirago* Archbishop of *Toledo*, and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queen's Title the Attribute of Defender of the Faith; that he gained great Thanks from the King of *Spain* himself, who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

And now by this time was *John* of *Austria* come into the *Low-Countries* with a large Commission; for he was the Natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, to whom the Queen sent *Edward Horsey*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*,

The Earl of *Essex* going into *Ireland* again, is disgraced with being made an ordinary Commander.

*John Smith* Ambassador into *Spain*, his stout Carriage.

to



1575

to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help if the States called the *French* into the *Netherlands*; yet at the same time, *Swevingham* being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, she sent them twenty thousand Pounds of *English* Money, (so well she could play her Game on both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the *French* into the *Low-Countries*, nor refuse a Peace, if *John of Austria* should condescend to indifferent Conditions; but if he embraced a Peace, then the Money should be paid back to the *Spanish* Soldiers, who were ready to Mutiny for lack of Pay. So careful she was to retain these declining Provinces in obedience to the King of *Spain*.

Martin Forbisher sent to discover the North part of America.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of *America*, leading to the wealthy Coast of *Cathaya*, whereby in one Commerce might be joyn'd the Riches of both the East and West parts of the World; in which Voyage was employ'd *Martin Forbisher*, who set Sail from *Harwich* the 18th of *June*, and the 9th of *August* entred into that Bay, or Sea, but could pass no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand two Years after with no better success.

About this time died the Emperor *Maximilian*, a Prince that deserved well of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *English*, who thereupon sent Sir *William Sidney* to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Father's death, and congratulate his Succession: As likewise to do the like for the decease of the Count *Electo Palatine*, named *Frederick the Third*, with his surviving Son.

Walter Devereux Earl of Essex out of discontentment dieth in Ireland.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, who out of *Leicester's* Envy had been recall'd out of *Ireland*, was out of *Leicester's* fear, (as being threatned by him) sent back again into *Ireland*, but with the empty Title of Earl Marshal of *Ireland*; with the Grief whereof he fell into a bloody Flux, and in most grievous Torments ended his Life: When he had first desired the standers-by to admonish his Son (scarce ten Years old at that time) to have always before his Eyes the 36th Year of his Age, as the utmost term of his Life, which neither himself, nor his Father before him could outgo, and the Son indeed attain'd not to it, as shall hereafter be declar'd. He was suspected to be poysoned; but Sir *Henry Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, that the Earl often said, It was familiar to him upon any great Discontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part he had no suspicion of his being poyson'd: Yet was this suspicion increased, for that presently after his Death the Earl of *Leicester*, with a great Sum of Money, and large Promises, putting away *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had a Son, openly married *Essex's* Widdow. For altho' it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leicester's* roving Loves, would not believe it, unless he himself were present at the Marriage, and had it testified by a publick Notary. At this time also died Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Gyddy-hall* in *Essex*, who had been School-

The Earl of Leicester marries his Widdow.

master to King *Edward* the 6th, and was no less Schoolmaster to his own Daughters, whom he made skilful in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; married all to Men of great Honour; one to Sir *William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; a second to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to Sir *Thomas Hobby*, who died Ambassador in *France*; a fourth to Sir *Ralph Rowlet*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

1575. Sir Anthony Cook dies, and how his learned Daughters were bewo'd.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clanriccard*, who scarce two Month before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again, but were by the Deputy soon suppress'd; and *William Drury* newly made President of *Munster*, reduc'd the whole Province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, trusting to the Immunities of the Place. For King *Edward* the 3d made *Kerry* a County *Palatine*, and granted to the Earls of *Desmond* all the Royal Liberties which the K. of *England* had in that County, excepting four Pleas, viz. Of *Burning*, *Rape*, *Fire-stall*, and *Treasure Trove*. The Governor, notwithstanding wisely judging, that these Liberties were granted for the better preservation of Justice, and not for maintenance of outrageous Malefactors, enter'd into it, and violently put to flight and vanquish'd the mischievous Crew which the Earl of *Desmond* had placed there in ambush. The Earl in the mean while made great Complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly of the Tax which they call *Ceasse*, which is an exaction of Provision of Victuals at a certain rate for the Deputy's Family, and the Soldiers in Garrison. This Tax not he only, but in *Leinster* also many Lords refused to pay, alledging, that it was not to be enacted but by Parliament; but the Matter being examin'd in *England*, it appear'd by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently impos'd; and that by a certain right of Majesty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not subjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wise Civilians have observed. Yet the Queen commanded to use a moderation in exactions of this nature, saying, She would have her Subjects shorn, but not devour'd.

The County of Kerry in Ireland, a County Palatine.

The Tax in Ireland called the Ceasse.

It was now the Year 1577, and the 20th of Qu. *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *John of Austria*, pretending to Qu. *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal secretly with the Pope, to derive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: Of which his Practices the Prince of *Orange* gives Qu. *Elizabeth* the first Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep dissembling) she enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (because she would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as tho' she meant to foster a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) she sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with these Informations, That she had always endeavour'd to keep the *Low-Countries* in Obedience to the King of *Spain*; had perswaded (even with Threatnings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withal, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, she then requests him to restore their Privileges, and to remove *John of Austria* from the Government, who

1577.

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not only was her deadly Enemy, but labour'd by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter Servitude. If this be granted by the King of *Spain*, she then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their Promise to her they are engag'd to do, she will utterly forsake 'em, and bend her self with all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sends to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for Disobedience, and making a large Declaration of the Causes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princess) sate as an honourable Arbitress between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States; inasmuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, *That France and Spain were Ballances in the Scale of Europe, and England the Beam to turn them either way*; for they still got the better to whom she adhered.

An. Reg. 9.  
a sudden Mortality at the Assizes at Oxford.

About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenks* a Bookseller was question'd for speaking opprobrious Words against the Queen, suddenly they were surpriz'd with a pestilent Savour, whether rising from the noisome Smell of the Prisoners, or from the damp of the Ground, is uncertain; but all that were there present, almost every one, within Forty Hours died, except Women and Children; and the Contagion went no farther. There died *Robert Bell* Lord Chief-Baron, *Robert d'Oily*, Sir *William Babington*, d'Oily Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Pettiplace*, most of 'em Men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer, almost all the Jurors, and Three hundred other, more or less.

The Lord Latimer's Family in Issue-male extinct; and how his four Daughters were bestow'd.

This Year the Title of the Lord *Latimer* (which had flourish'd in the Family of the *Nevils* even since the Days of K. *Henry VI.*) was extinct in *John Nevil*, who died without Issue-male, and left a fair Estate to four Daughters, whereof the eldest married *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*; the second *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the third Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth Sir *John Davers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Connors*, and others, whose Ancestors the Earl of *Suffex*, in Queen *Mary's* day, had for their Rebellion depriv'd of their Patrimony in *Leyse* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the Conduct of *Rorie Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger, set on fire the Village of *Naasse*, assault *Lochlin*; from whence being driven back by the Valour of *George Carew* the Governor, he was afterward slain.

English Volunteers go to the Low Countries, and do valiantly.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low Countries*, *John North*, the Lord *North's* eldest Son; *John Norris*, second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan*, Colonels, with many Volunteers to learn military Experience. Thither also came *Casmire* the Eleâor-Palatine's Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queen's charges. Upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, flieth furiously before they expected him, yet after a long Fight was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break thro' the Hedges and Brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers

had placed themselves, was again repuls'd; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their Garments, by reason of the hot Weather, they fought in their Shirts, which they made fast about 'em. In this Battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him; as also *Steward* the Scot, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now, for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands* the Count *Swarzenburg* from the Emperor, Monsieur *Bellevue* from the French King, and from the Queen of *England* the Lord *Colham* and *Walsingham*, with commission to procure Conditions of Peace, but return'd without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refus'd to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refus'd to return into *Holland*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Suffex* by his second Wife, who had been a prime Man in the Rebellion in the *North*, and serv'd now under *Don John*, was accus'd by the *English* Fugitives, That he was sent underhand to kill *Don John*, which whether true or false, he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* had affirm'd, That *Ratcliffe* at his last End confess'd voluntarily, that he was freed out of the *Tower of London*, and mov'd by *Walsingham's* large Promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death deny that he confess'd any such thing, tho' the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this Confession from him.

Egremond Ratcliffe's put to death in Flanders, and why.

At this very time *Don John*, in the flower of his age, died of the *Pestilence*, or (as some say) of Grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother, a Man of an insatiable Ambition, who aim'd first at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after of *England*; and who, without the privacy of the French King, or King of *Spain*, had made a League with the *Guises* for the defence of both Crowns.

*Alanson*, altho' very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which Suit, first was *Bacherville* sent to the Queen, and soon after *Rambouillet*, from the French King, and within a Month after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learn'd in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the French Nobility, whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertain'd in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his Hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly, a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, mention'd the Earl of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry Countenance reply'd, *Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetful of Majesty, as to prefer my Servant, whom I my self have advanc'd, before the Greatest of Princes of the Christian World?*

Alanson solicits his Suit with the Queen afresh.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, tho' a Man of great Wisdom and Valour, yet was now so overcome of Covetousness, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon with the joint consent of the Nobility, the Administration of the Commonwealth was translated to the King, tho' he was yet but twelve years old, and twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him

The Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland, remov'd; and the King, tho' but 11 years old, admitted to govern.

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in Council, three of 'em by course for three Months; amongst whom the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great Deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, agreed upon in the Year 1559, to be confirm'd, for the more happy restraining the Robbers about the Borders; and withal, that his ancient Patrimony in *England*, namely, the Lands granted to his Grandfather *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countess his Grandmother, might be deliver'd into his hands, who was the next Heir. The Queen really promis'd the former Demand, but stuck a little at the last concerning the Patrimony; for she would not grant that *Arabella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassador's Proof out of History, That the King of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance; yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the Goods of the E. of *Lenox* in *Scotland* Satisfaction might be made to his Grandmother's Creditors here: For she took it in ill part, that the King had recall'd the Enfeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Uncle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arabella*, altho' indeed it be a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland*, that they may recall Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the Disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the prescript Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence but whom he pleas'd. At this Presumption the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Arboll* their Captain, and in the King's name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*, but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes* the English Ambassador they were stay'd from fighting; so *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Arboll* soon after died, not without suspicion of being poyson'd.

The King of Spain and the Pope Gregory XIII. held secret consultation to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute Ruin of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Pope, to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Buoncompagno*, whom he made Marquis of *Vignola*; the King of *Spain*, secretly to relieve the Irish Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the Dutch, while Friendship in Words was held on both sides: And it being known that the greatest Strength of *England* consisted in the Navy-royal and Merchants Ships, 'twas advis'd, that the Italian and Dutch Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages, to the end that while they were absent the Queen's Navy might be surpriz'd with a greater Fleet: And at that time *Thomas Stukely*, an English Fugitive, should join

himself to the Irish Rebels with new Forces; for he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope's bastard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old Man, that he adorn'd him with the Titles of Marquis of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Catterlogh*, Viscount *Morogh*, and Baron of *Ross*, (the principal Dignities of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over Eight hundred Italian Soldiers, to be employ'd in the Irish War. With which Forces *Stukely* setting sail from *Civita Vecchia*, arriv'd at length in *Portugal*, where he and his Forces were by Divine Providence diverted another way: For *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against *England* was assign'd) being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in aid of *Mahomet Abdalla*, Son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukely* to go along with him into *Mauritania*, together with his Italian Soldiers, and then afterwards they would go together into *Ireland*. To this motion *Stukely* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his Destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their Lives.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Deputy of *Ireland* at several times eleven years) deliver'd up his Deputyship to Sir *William Drury* President of *Munster*: Such a Deputy for good Government, that if any have equal'd him, none have excel'd him.

'Twas now the Year 1579, and the 22d Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *John Casimire* Son of *Frederick* the Third, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, came into *England*; where, after he had been entertain'd with Tiltings and Jufts, made Knight of the Garter, (the Queen tying the Garter about his Leg) and rewarded with a yearly Pension, he return'd.

And now was *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma* made Governor of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, and Queen *Elizabeth* supplies the States with a great Sum of Money, for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient precious Habiliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their costly Vessels, laid to pawn by *Matthew* of *Austria* and the States.

*Simier* in the mean time here in *England* ceaseth not by all amorous Devices to persuade the Queen to marry *Alanfon*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, he crept into the Queen's Affection by Love-potions and unlawful Arts; and *Simier* on the other side endeavour'd by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his marriage with the Earl of *Essex*'s Widow; whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confin'd him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, and meant to have him committed to the *Tower*, but that the Earl of *Suffex* (tho' his greatest Adversary) dissuaded her, telling her, that none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimony: But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his confining, that he was bent to revenge it; and if it be true as some said, he had suborn'd one *Tinder*, a Yeoman of the Guard, to murder *Simier*. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no Person should offer Injury to the Ambassador, or any of his Servants. At this time it fell out, that as the Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hat-*

1577.

*Thomas Stukely* is by the Pope honour'd with the greatest Dignities, and sent into *Ireland*; but, diverted by the King of *Portugal*, is slain in *Africa*.

1579.

*Alex. Farnese* Prince of *Parma* is made Governor of the *Netherlands*.



1579.

ton Vice-Chamberlain, were row'd in a Barge to Greenwich, a young Man shooting off a Harquebus out of a Boat, shot one of the Rowers in the Queen's Barge thro' the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows, but, upon solemn protestation that he did it unwittingly, and not with a malicious Intent, he was let go, and pardon'd. Some would have perswaded the Queen that he was purposely fuborn'd to shoot either her or the French Ambassador; but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects that she would often say, *She would not believe any thing against them, which a Mother would not believe against her Children.*

Alanfon comes privately into England, and hath secret Conference with the Queen.

Burleigh and others enjoin'd to consult the Marriage-Covenants,

After a few days Alanfon himself came privately into England with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at Greenwich at a time when she thought not of it: They had secret Conference together, all Parties being sent away, after which, being seen of very few, he return'd home; but, within a month or two after, the Queen enjoin'd the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, the Earls of *Suffex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers and the commodities like to arise from the Marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the Marriage-Covenants.

The Title of *Ld d'Aubigny*, from whence it came.

As in England there was some Fear of this French-man, so in Scotland at this time of another French-man, call'd *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into Scotland to visit the King, his Cousin: He was the Son of *John Steward*, Brother to *Matthew Steward* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in France, which Title *Charles* the seventh King of France had anciently confer'd upon *John Steward* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being Constable of the Scottish Army in France, vanquish'd the English in one Battel, and slain by them in another; and from that time the Title belong'd to the younger descendant of that House. This *Esme Steward* the King embraced with exceeding great Love, made him Lord-Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbrition*, and created him first Earl, and then Duke of *Lenox*. The Fear from this Man was, because he was devoted to the *Guises* and the Popish Religion; and that which encreas'd the Fear from this Man was, because he applied himself to *Morton's* Adversaries, and meditated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord *Fernihurst* call'd home, who of all Men was most addicted to the Queen of Scots.

*Esme Steward* made first Duke of *Lenox*.

The Turkey Merchants, when set up.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Harbourn* an English-man, procur'd a Grant from the Turkish Emperor for the English Merchants to exercise free Traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as *Venetians, Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations: Whereupon they set up first the Company of *Turkey Merchants*, managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople, Alexandria, Egypt, Aleppo, Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapestry, Indigo, Currans, and the like.

This Year died Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament always exercis'd the Jurisdiction of Lord-Chancellor; a very fat Man, but singularly wise, and a chief Prop of the Queen's

Privy-Council; in whose Place succeeded Sir *William Bromley*, the Queen's Solicitor, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of England.

In Ireland at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz-Morris* kindled a new Fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his Knees, vowing all obedience to the Queen, he stole away into France, and promis'd the French King, if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of Ireland: But being by him slighted, he went into Spain, and made the like Offer to the King there. The King of Spain sent him to the Pope, from whom by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an English Priest, and *Alan* an Irish-man, (both Doctors in Divinity) he obtain'd a little Money, a Legate's Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from Spain with those Divines, three Ships, and a few Men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demi-Island in the West part of Ireland, about the first Day of July, where (the place being first consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it, but these were presently set upon and carried away by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the Spaniards depriv'd of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of Irish, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman *Fitz-Morris*: Yet the Spaniards, seeing but a very few Irish, and those unarm'd, came unto them, began to distrust the state they were in, and to cry out, *They were undone*; whom *Fitz-Morris* hearten'd the best he could, telling them Supplies were speedily to come: And going himself to get more company, he pass'd thro' the Land of his Cousin *William a Burgh*, who tho' he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them, wherein *Fitz-Morris* being struck thro' with a Pike, and shot into the Head with a leaden Bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withal two of *William Burgh's* Sons were in that Skirmish slain also; when the Queen, to comfort him for the loss of his Sons, adorn'd him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle-Conell*, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides; which favour so overwhelm'd him with Joy that he liv'd but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby*, then Governor of *Connaught*, to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, by his Death *Malby's* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Council chosen Justice of Ireland, with the Authority of Viceroy, until such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goes into *Munster*, and sends for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come, is thereupon proclaim'd Traytor, and an Enemy to the State; and this being publish'd, the Justice committed the following War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the Spaniards and Adherents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his Wife to the Justice, to beg his Pardon.

1579.

*Fitz-Morris* raises a Rebellion in Ireland, but is by *Will. a Burgh* encounter'd and slain.

The Earl of *Desmond* rebels.

Sir *William Pelham* made Justice of Ireland.

The



1569.

The Ld Gray  
is made Depu-  
ty of Ireland.

San Joseph an  
Italian with  
700 Soldiers  
lands in Ire-  
land.

No Parley to  
be allow'd to  
Rebels.

San Joseph  
yields himself  
to the Deputy  
without Con-  
dition.

His Men are  
all slain, and  
why.

The Lord-Justice *Pelham* now certified, That *Arthur Lord Gray* was landed with Authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* he delivers the Army to *George Bouchier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bath* of that Name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Gray* at his landing, before he receiv'd the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendezvous, march'd towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Grandilough*, a grassy Valley beset thick with Trees, where they who dwell near scarce know the winding out, yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosby* an old man well acquainted with the place, to be his Guide) enter'd into it, where he lost divers of his Men, namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audely*, and *Cosby* himself, that was his Leader.

A short time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San Joseph* an Italian, about 700 Italian Soldiers, who fortified the place, and named it *Fort del Oro*: Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who sent 'em, withal commanding them to depart immediately: But they reply'd, That some of 'em were sent from his Holiness; others, from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestow'd the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reason of Heresie) had forfeited the Right due unto her, and therefore what they had gotten they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, lets fly his Ordnance four days together, in which time the *Italians* once or twice made Sallies out, to their own loss much, but not an English-man slain, but one *John Cheek*, a courageous young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Knight. And now *San Joseph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Soldier, terrified with a continual battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain* or *Desmond*, (contrary to the will of all his Soldiers) set up a white Flag, and desir'd a Parley; but Parley was deny'd, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom 'tis not lawful to hold Parley. Then he demanded, that his Company might pass away with their Baggage; but neither would this be granted. Then he requir'd that some of the chieftest sort might have Leave to depart; but neither could this be obtain'd.

At last, when they could prevail in nothing, they hung out the white Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely, without any Condition, to the Deputy's Mercy, who presently consulted how to deal with them; and this was the Case: Their number was well near as great as the *English*, there was present fear of Danger from the Rebels; and the *English* were so destitute of Meat and Apparel that they were ready to mutiny, unless they might have the Spoil granted 'em; and besides, there were no Ships to send them away if they were spared: For these Reasons 'twas concluded (the Deputy gain-saying, and letting Tears fall) That only the Leaders should be sav'd, the rest slain, and all the *Irish* hang'd up; which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen, who detested the slaughter of such as yield themselves, and would not accept of any Excuses or Allegations.

And yet more Cruelty than this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris* and *Oliver Temple*, English Commanders, together with some Companies of Dutch, setting out early one Morning, took *Mechlin*, a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with Ladders, where they promiscuously murder'd both Citizens and religious Persons, offering violence even upon the Dead, taking away Grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to be sold.

About this time certain English Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands* in the Year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen*, an Oxford Scholar, joyn'd themselves to Study at *Dorway*, where they enter'd into a Collegiate Form of Government, to whom the Pope allow'd a yearly Pension: But Tumults arising in the *Low-Countries*, and the English Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spain's* Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colleges for the training up of the English Youth were erected, one at *Rhemes* by the *Guises*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which always afforded new Supplies of Priests for *England* when the old fail'd, who should spread abroad the Seeds of the *Romish* Religion here amongst us; from whence those Colleges had the Name of Seminaries, and they call'd Seminary Priests who were train'd up in them.

In these Seminaries, among other Disputations, 'twas concluded, That the Pope hath such fullness of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Christian World, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof 'tis lawful for him to excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries, at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campion*, both of 'em English-men and Jesuites: *Parsons* was born in *Somersetshire*, a fierce and rough-condition'd Fellow: *Campion* was a *Londoner*, of a milder disposition: They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campion*, a Fellow of *St. John's* College, and had been Proctor in the Year 1569, and when he was made Deacon counterfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*: *Parsons* was of *Baliol* College, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishonest carriage he was expel'd the House, and then fled to the Popish Party. Both these came privately into *England*, in the disguise one while of Soldiers, another while of Noblemen; sometimes like English Ministers, and sometimes in the Habit of Apparators. *Parsons*, who was made the superior, broke forth in such open Words amongst the *Papists*, about deposing the Queen, that some of themselves had a Purpose to complain of them to the Magistrates: *Campion*, tho' something more moderate, yet in a Writing provoked the English Ministers to a Dispute, and publish'd in Latin an elegant Book of his Ten Reasons in maintenance of the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church; as *Parsons* in like manner set forth another violent Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campion's* Provocation; but *Dr. Whitacre* soundly confuted *Campion*, who being a Year after apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought

1569.

What Colle-  
ges were call'd  
Seminaries,  
and why.

*Parsons* and  
*Campion*, Je-  
suites, came to  
*England* in  
disguise, and  
of their Edu-  
cation.



1579.

His Parentage  
and Educa-  
tion.Captain  
Drake's return  
from his Voy-  
age about the  
World.The Passages  
of his Voyage.Doughty be-  
headed by  
Drake.

brought out to a Disputation; where he scarcely made good the great Fame that went of him.

In this Year was the return of Captain Drake from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which Magellan had before attempted, but died in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular Accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place to relate some special Passages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great Man (*Francis Russel*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, chang'd his Soil, and liv'd close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he got a place among the Mariners of the Queen's Navy to read Prayer; and afterwards bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship-master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea, took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeath'd his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque Drake sold, and then in the Year 1567. went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*, in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five Years after having gotten again a good sum of Money by Trading and Piracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was Lawful) he bought a Ship of War and two small Vessels, with which he set sail again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: After this he fir'd a great place of Traffick, call'd, *The Cross*, at the River *Chiruge*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espy'd the South Sea; where falling upon his Knees, he crav'd assistance of Almighty God to find out that Passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present having got much Riches, he return'd home. Afterwards in the Year 1577. the 13th Day of *November*, with five Ships, and Seamen to the number of 163, he set sail from *Plymouth* for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty Days came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fogo*, which sends forth Flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship blood. The 16th of *April*, entring into the Mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-Calves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to Drake in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That Drake had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he said, That the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*. The 20th of *August* two of his Ships he turneth off, and with the other three came to the Sea which they call the Strait of *Magellan*. The 6th of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, *The Pacificque Sea*, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed; in one of which *John Winter* was Master, who return'd back into *England*; Drake himself with only one Ship coasted along the Shore, till he came to the Isle *Mocha*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a

Fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a Spanish Ship laden with Treasure lay; Drake making towards it, the Spaniards thought him to be their own Countryman, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboard presently shut the Spaniards (being not above eight Persons) under Hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred Pound weight of Gold. At *Taurapsa*, going again to shore, he found a Spaniard sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty Bars of Massy Silver, to the value of four thousand Ducats, which he bid his Followers take amongst them, the Spaniard still sleeping. After this, going into the Port of *Africa*, he found three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein, besides other Wares, were seven and fifty silver Bricks, each of which weigh'd twenty Pound: From whence tyding it to *Lime*, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of Money coin'd, but not so much as a Ship-Boy aboard; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he follow'd the rich Ship called the *Cacofogo*, and by the way met with a small Ship without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeralds of a Finger's length. The first Day of *March* he overtook the *Cacofogo*, set upon her and took her; and in her, besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coined, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gain'd Wealth enough, he resolv'd to return home; and so on the third of *November*, 1580. he landed at *Plymouth*, having sailed round about the World, in the space of three Years; to the great Admiration of all that know what compass the World is of.

The Queen welcom'd him home, but made a Sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready, if the King of *Spain* requir'd them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Deptford* for a Monument (where the Carcase of it is yet to be seen) and herself feasted in it; at which time she knighted Captain Drake. But *Barnardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador in *England* began to rage, and earnestly demanded restitution of the Goods, and complain'd, that the *English* sail'd upon the *Indian Sea*. To whom it was answer'd, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, altho' the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the Spaniards had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more Money than that which Drake brought home. And as for sailing on the *Indian Sea*, That it was as lawful for the Queen's Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro Seburu*, the King of *Spain's* Agent in this business, a great sum of Money was repaid, which was not restor'd to them to whom it belong'd, but employ'd to the Spaniards Wars in the Low-Countries, as was known after when it was too late.

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pet*, two skilful Pilots, were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-East passage, they had not the like success; for a few Leagues within

Y y y

the

1579.

How he gain'd  
his great Treas-  
ure.

1580.



1580.

Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundel dies; in whom ended the Sir-name of that Noble Family. The Possession of Arundel-Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

the Streights of *Vaygats*, they meet with such uncertain Tides, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no farther, and had much ado to return home.

About this time, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sir-name of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourish'd in this Honour for above three hundred Years, from *Richard Fitz-Allen*; who being descended from the *d'Albanys* (ancient Earl of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward the First*) obtain'd the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel-Castle*, without Creation. He had three Children by his Wife *Katherine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he outliv'd: *Henry*, a young Man of great hope, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her Right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy, going against the *O-Connors*, who raised stirrs in *Ophalie*, putteth to death *Hugh O-Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogobigans* and *O-Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a Conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own Innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his Life, if he would but confess himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltless, than to live in Infamy, by betraying his own Innocency. With whose death, the Qu. was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a Patroness of Cruelty to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kind of People he dealt, and by this example of Severity brought *Turlough Leyneigh* to accept Conditions of Peace, and the *O-Brians*, and *Cavenaghs* (rebellious Families in *Lemster*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

The Earl of Morton is beheaded as accessory to the Murder of the King's Father.

General Norris raised the Siege at *Stenwick*; but is afterward vanquish'd, wounded, and a great number of his Men slain.

In *Scotland*, at this time great jealousy was had of *Lenox* Lord of *Aubigny*, lest, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the King; but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton*, (who among all other was most addicted to the *English*) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into Prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessory to the Murder of the King's Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and others who labour'd for *Morton*, fled straightway into *England*.

In the *Low-Countries* about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleagu'd *Stenwick* in *Friesland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinberg's* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege; but afterward joyning Battel with *Verdugo* the Spaniard at *Norrbone*, even when the Victory was almost gotten, (*Roger Williams* having put the Enemies to flight) the Fortune of the War turn'd, *Norris* is vanquish'd, wounded, and a great number of his Men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*

and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the *English* (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their Sobriety) in these *Dutch Wars* learned to be Drunkards, and brought the Vice so far to overspread the Kingdom, that Laws were fain to be enacted for repressing it.

But now whilst the States and the King of *Spain* contend about a few Towns in the *Low-Countries*, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*; for the last Year *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Parma's* Son; *Katherine* of *Braganza*, and the Queen of *France*. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Son of *Henry's* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of Right it belong'd, they pronounc'd for him; whereupon he sent Duke *d'Alva*, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the People had elected King, and within seventy Days subdu'd all *Portugal*. The Qu. of *France* angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of *Spain's* Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master of *Portugal*, the *East Indies*, and many Islands besides) adviseth amongst other Princes Qu. *Elizabeth* to bethink themselves in time of restraining his so excessive Dominions: Whereupon the Qu. receiv'd Don *Antonio*, and lovingly reliev'd him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with *Spain*, seeing Don *Antonio* was descended of *English* Blood, and of the House of *Lancaster*, and that no Caution was in the League, that the *Portuguese* should not be admitted into *England*.

And now the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the King her Son, more eagerly than ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou*, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Embassage into *England* *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphiny*, *Arthur Cesse*, Marshal of *France*, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertain'd with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, Royally furnish'd;) Tilting and Jufts proclaim'd, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Baron of *Windsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, against all Comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the *French* concerning the Marriage, were Sir *William Cecil* Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretaries; by whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, That the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England*, within six Weeks after the Ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Months, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the *French* King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of his Delegates, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke had given each other satisfaction

1580.

In these Dutch Wars the English learn to be Drunkards.

The King of Spain seizeth upon the Kingdom of Portugal, and putteth Don Antonio to flight.

Whom Queen Elizabeth receiv'd and reliev'd.

1581.

The Match with Alanson now Duke of Anjou is perswaded at length.

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.



1581.

But the King  
of France dis-  
claimeth the  
Articles.

in some particulars, and have certified the *French* King of the same within six Weeks. Before those six Weeks were expir'd, *Simier*, Secretary to the Council, is sent into *France* to require the King of *France's* confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplish'd as 'twas contracted, and that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side sheweth by the Articles, that a League offensive and defensive must be first concluded. This the *French* King disclaimeth; whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this Difference, who jointly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassador in Ordinary, and *Simier*, alledgeth to the *French* King these Particulars, That Queen *Elizabeth*, for no other reason, was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her People, and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely, the Civil-War in *France*, and the Duke's Engagement in a War with *Spain*, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match, this hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, altho' her Affection be still constant toward the Duke: For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the *French* Duke be freed from the *Spanish* War, and a League of mutual Offence and Defence be agreed on: The *French* King willingly accepted the League defensive, but of the offensive he would hear no Speech till the Marriage were finish'd.

The Duke of  
*Anjou* comes  
himself into  
*England*, and  
in a private  
Conference  
with the  
Queen she  
draws a Ring  
off her Finger,  
and puts it on  
his.

The English  
Nobility ima-  
gining the  
Marriage con-  
firm'd, fret  
exceedingly.

The next Day  
she calleth the  
*French* Duke  
to her, and  
after a long  
Discourse  
made him ex-  
claim on the  
Inconstancy of  
Women.

Not long after, the *French* Duke himself came into *England*, having with good Success rais'd the Siege of *Cambray*: He was here receiv'd with as great Humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome; insomuch that in November, when the Anniversary of the Queen's Inauguration came to be solemniz'd, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off her Finger, and put it upon his, upon some private Conditions. The standers-by imagin'd that by this Ceremony the Marriage was confirm'd between them; and *Aldegond* Governor of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatch'd Messengers into the *Low-Countries*, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoicing: But the Earl of *Leicester* (who privately plotted to cross the Match) *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, fret, and are enrag'd, as if the Kingdom, the Queen, and Religion were now utterly overthrown: The Maids of Honour and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no Rest that Night. The next Day she call'd to her the *French* Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long Discourse: At length the Duke returning to his Lodging, cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the Levity and Inconstancy of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a Book lately put forth with this Title, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallow'd by the French Marriage*; whereof conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeas'd with the Puritans: Whereupon within a few days *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inn*, a zealous

Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose Sister *Thomas Cartwright*, the Father of the Puritans, had married) *William Page*, that dispers'd the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounc'd, That their right Hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary* against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious Writings, (tho' the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the Force of that Statute:) Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made on purpose in the Market-place at *Westminster*, and their right Hands with a Butcher's Knife and a Mallet cut off by the Wrist; the Printer was pardon'd. At that time *Stubbs*, when his right Hand was cut off, uncover'd his Head with the left, and cry'd out, *GOD save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the beholders.

At this time the Queen, upon importunate suit of her Council, gave way that *Edmund Campion*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be call'd to the Bar, who being accus'd by vertue of a Law made in the 25th Year of King *Edward* the Third, to have plotted the Ruin of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queen's Enemy, and coming into *England* to raise Forces against the State, were then condemn'd of High Treason, and accordingly executed. *Campion*, after his being convicted, being demanded, first, whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a lawful Queen, would make no answer; afterward, whether he would stand for the Queen, or the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly profess'd, That he would be on the Pope's side; and witness'd so much under his Hand.

After this, some other Papists, upon the like occasion, were also put to Death, which the Queen rather necessarily than willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the Conscience of any. These and the like Exorbitances of Papists were cause that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next January.

The *French* Duke, after three months abode in *England*, took his Journey in February into the *Low-Countries*, whom the Queen her self brought on his Way as far as *Canterbury*, and then commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lords *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Fra. Russel*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and some other prime Knights, to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, and *Lorrain*; for the Dutch had long before remov'd the King of *Spain's* Government, and quitted the People from their Oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their own power to chuse any other Prince. Here the Duke of *Anjou* gave free leave to exercise the Roman Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spain's* Authority; but after all, having sent a great mass of Money, with which he was supplied from *England*, and observing that only bare and empty Titles were confer'd upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly enterpris'd an Assault upon *Antwerp* and

1581.

*Stubbs* and  
*Page* have  
their Right  
Hands cut off,  
for writing a  
seditious Book  
against the  
Marriage.

*Campion*,  
*Sherwin*, and  
*Bryant*, Priests  
are executed.

The Duke of  
*Anjou* goes  
out of *En-  
gland*, whom  
the Queen  
brought on his  
Way as far as  
*Canterbury*.

some



some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter perform'd.

1582.

Sir Peregrine  
Bertie made  
Lord Willough-  
by of Eresby.

At this time Queen Elizabeth, as well to get some Friends, as she had procur'd her self many Enemies, receiv'd into the Order of the Garter Frederick the Second, King of Denmark, when she imploy'd to invest him therewith Peregrine Lord Willoughby of Eresby, to whom (being Heir to the Dutchess of Suffolk, his Mother) the ancient Barony of Willoughby of Eresby descended of Right, which has been misrepresented in all the former Editions of this Chronicle.

Earl Gowry  
and other Lords  
take the King  
and keep him  
a Prisoner.

But now, to prevent the Duke of Guise's Design in Scotland, which was to make use of the Duke of Lenox's Favour with the King, to withdraw his Affection from the English; William Ruthen, whom the King had lately made Earl of Gowry, endeavour'd with others by all means to remove Lenox and the Earl of Arran from the King; and so, while Lenox was gone from Perth (where the King at this time was) to Edinburgh, and Arran was also absent on a Journey, the Earls Gowry, Marre, Lindsey, and others, taking the Opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of Ruthen, and there detain'd him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his trusty Servants they remov'd from about him; Arran they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of Angus, and to send away Lenox into France, who being a Man of a soft and gentle Disposition, for the King's safety readily consented: And not content with all this, they compell'd the King, by his Letters to Queen Elizabeth, to approve and allow of this his Thralldom. The Queen of Scots, in the mean while bewailing her own hard Fortune, and the Distress of the King her Son, layeth open the same in a large Letter written to Queen Elizabeth in French; with which Letter the Queen being somewhat affected, sent her to Robert Beal Clerk of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous Writing, and jointly with the Earl of Shrewsbury to treat of the setting her at liberty: And indeed serious Consultations were held at the Council-Table about it, and the most were of opinion, that upon certain Conditions she should have her liberty, but the Scottish of the English Faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The King of  
Scots frees  
himself from  
those that had  
surpriz'd him.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel William Steward and John Colvill to Queen Elizabeth, proffering all manner of Respect and Observance, and requesting her Advice for quieting the Tumults in Scotland, and also for his contracting of Marriage; at which time News was brought, the Duke of Lenox was dead in France, who departing this Life at Paris, when at the very point of Death, and oftentimes before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion, thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After this, when the Surprizers of the K. of Scots were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough, he on a sudden, (tho' scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, convey'd himself to the Castle of St. Andrews, to whom the Nobility presently repair'd, bringing arm'd Bands with 'em, as fearing some Danger might befall him: Afterwards, in fair Words, he advis'd some of his Surprizers to go from the Court for avoiding of

Tumults, and promising them Pardon, if they would ask it; but Gowry only ask'd it, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in Matter, but in Form only: Then the King sent for the Earl of Arran to Court, and respected him as his intimate Friend, employing him to compose the Differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his Court from civil Dissentions.

While he is sedulous in these Cares, comes Sir Francis Walsingham from Queen Elizabeth, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He finds the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he expected in Scotland. Having Audience given him, he put the King in mind of what the Queen, out of Isocrates, in private Letters had formerly admonish'd him, *That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more Credit may be given to his bare Word, than to another's Oath*; and in many Words advis'd him to beware now in his Youth of evil Counsellors, and always to be like himself: The King answer'd, *That he was an absolute Prince, and would not that Others should appoint him Counsellors whom he liked not; but, that he had long since devoted the First-fruits of his Amity to the Queen of England his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make proffer of the same.*

1582.

Walsingham  
is sent to the  
King of Scots,  
to advise him  
to take heed  
of evil Coun-  
sellors.

The King's  
Answer.

Walsingham now dealt with him further, not to lay to the Queen's charge what Broils had lately fallen out in Scotland; sheweth how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms, Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, if 'twere not neglected; and, that the same might the better be confirm'd if the Variance among the Nobility were laid asleep by a Law of Oblivion enacted in Parliament, and the Peers that were now remov'd from Court call'd back again, Religion look'd into, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, *That he gladly embraced Amity with England, and would constantly defend the Religion already establish'd.* Afterward he lovingly dismiss'd Walsingham, tho' he held him no good friend to him and his Mother; and carefully looking matters with Understanding even above his years, proffer'd Reconciliation to those that had surpriz'd him, if within a limited time they ask'd Pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they enter'd into new Consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number Marre, Glames, Pasley, and some others, betook themselves into Ireland; Boyde, Zester, Weems, Lochlevin, into the Low-Countries; Dumfermlin, into France; the Earl of Angus is confined to his Earldom; Gowry only, to his own ruin, stayeth behind after the limited time hatching new Devices.

About this time happen'd a Difference, and thereupon a War between the Emperor of Moscow and the King of Sweden; when John King of Sweden, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperor, sent a Royal Embassage to Queen Elizabeth, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperor; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassador drew the Moscovite to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions: But the Moscovite shortly after dying, and Theodorus his



his Successor granting free Traffick to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither, the Queen importun'd him to admit of none but *English* Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Privileges which his Father had granted them: Whereupon, by way of answer, he commanded free Trading for all the *English*, saying, It was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all others be restrain'd: But as for Customs, he promis'd to take less by half of that Company than of any other, because they first open'd the Way thither.

1583.  
The next Summer *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of Poland, of a comely Personage and great Learning, came into England to see the Queen, who was nobly entertain'd both by her and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of Oxford with learned Orations, and other Recreations; but having tarried here four Months, and ran into much Debt, he secretly withdrew himself and departed. This Man I saw my self afterward in Cracow, very bare, tho' it was reported of him that he had in a Dowry with a Wife 50 Castles of great value; but, What Mine can bear the Charges of Prodigality?

A Year fatal to many great Men.  
This Year prov'd fatal to divers Great Men; for there died, first, *Thomas Ratcliff*, the third Earl of *Sussex* of this Family; a Man of a great Spirit, and great Faithfulness to his Country: There died also *Henry Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which cost him Queen *Elizabeth's* Displeasure, and Imprisonment besides. There died also Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who was cast away at Sea in his return from the Northern Parts of *America*, whither he lately sail'd with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony in hope to plant a Colony there. Then died also *Edm. Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being blind thro' age, a grave and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queen's Favour for a long time, till he lost it at last by favouring (as was said) the *Puritans* Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was, for the disallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an Italian Physician with another Man's Wife, against the Earl of *Leicester's* pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

*Somerville* and *Arden* are condemn'd, and why.  
At this time certain Popish Books written against the Queen and Princes excommunicate withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly so intoxicated one *Somerville*, an *English* Gentleman, that he went privately to Court, and breathing out nothing but Blood and Death against all *Protestants*, set upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword: Being apprehended, he stuck not to say, that he would murder the Queen with his own Hands. Hereupon he and (upon his intimation) *Edward Arden* his Father-in-law (a Man of an ancient House in *Warwickshire*) *Arden's* Wife, their Daughter, *Somerville's* Wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemn'd; *Somerville* as Principal, the rest as Accessories. Three Days after *Somerville* was found strangled in the Prison, *Arden* was executed and quarter'd, the Women and Priest were spared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and (as it

was generally believ'd) brought to his Ehd thro' the Envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call *Whoremaster*, *Upstart*, and many such opprobrious Names.

In the Netherlands the *English* Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governor *Pigor*, and the other Captains, for want of Pay, upon Composition yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*; and then, fearing Disgrace at home, joyn'd themselves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whose hands finding themselves slighted, by degrees they all stole away, and came all to unholy Ends.

In Ireland the fam'd Rebel *Gyralt Fitz-Gyralt*, *Gyralt Fitz-Gyralt*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places escap'd the *English*, was now by a common Soldier found out in a poor Cottage, and slain. His Head was sent into England, and set upon London Bridge. This End had this great Lord, descended from *Maurice* the Son of *Gyralt* of *Windsor*, an *English* man, famous among those who first set upon Ireland, in the Year 1170. He possess'd whole Countries, together with the County-Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race at least Five hundred Gentlemen at his command; all whom, and his own Life also, he lost within the space of three Years, very few of the House being left alive. And this Disaster he fell into by proving trayterous to his Prince at the instigation of certain Popish Priests, of whom the chief was one *Nicholas daunders* an *English* man, who at the same time died miserably of Famine, being starv'd to death, whenas being forsaken, and running mad upon his ill success, he roam'd up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters written to hearten the Rebels, and promising large Rewards from the Pope and King of Spain. Upon the Rebels ill success *James Fitz-Eustace*, Viscount *Balinglas*, fled into Spain, where he pined away with Grief. He, out of Zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond*, his Neighbour, to do the like, (who drew his Lineage from *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*) used these Words to persuade him, If *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not died for the Church of Rome, thou hadst never been Earl of *Ormond*: For King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the Murder of *Thomas a Becket*, gave large Lands in *Ormond* to his Predecessors.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain Scots, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to surprize the King, pretending only a Care of Religion, and to remove ill Counsellors from him; but the King having Intelligence of their Practice, used means by Colonel *Steward* to have *Gowry* taken and cast into Prison; whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates, fled into England, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their state, who had incur'd the King's Displeasure to do her and the Kingdom of England Service. The King on the other side accuseth them to the Queen of heinous Crimes, and requires to have them deliver'd up into his hands; but Secretary *Walsingham*, who bore great Good-will to these Men, sent Letters with a Command, that they should be safely



1583. admitted into *Lindisferne*, otherwise call'd *The Holy Island*; where *Hunsdon* being Governor, and greatly addicted to the King of *Scots*, resisted *Walsingham's* Command, alledging, He could not satisfie the Secretary in this point unless the Queen gave expresse Command. Hereupon grew a Dispute, Whether a Secretary of State might not transact Business of State without special Commission from the Prince. How this Case was determin'd is uncertain, but sure it is the *Scots* came not thither, tho' some favour they had shewn 'em here in *England*. In the mean time *Gowry* was try'd by his Peers at *Sterlin*, where being accus'd of many Treasons, tho' he gave colourable Answers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemn'd, and beheaded, whose Head his Servants sewing to his Body, committed to the Grave.

Whether a Secretary of State may not transact without a special Commission from the Prince.

Earl *Gowry* is arraign'd, condemn'd, and executed.

Many Practices plotted against Q. Elizabeth in behalf of the Q. of Scots.

About this time were Practices plotted against Queen *Elizabeth* in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son of *John Throgmorton* Justice of *Chester*, who came to be suspected by reason of Letters sent to the Queen of *Scots*, which were intercepted. Upon his apprehension *Thomas Lord Paget* and *Charles Arundel* privately stole away into *France*, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such Wiles as scarce any Man was able to live in safety. *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Philip Earl of Arundel* were confined to their Houses, his Wife committed to the custody of *Sir Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard*; the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, were examin'd about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and many Stratagems were set on foot, dangerous to some particular Persons, but necessary (as should seem) for the Queen's security. Certain 'tis, that now the Malice of the *Papists* against the Queen brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books they stirr'd up the Queen's own Servants to attempt the like upon her that *Judith* did upon *Holofernes*. The Author of these Books could not be found, but the Suspicion lay upon one *Gregory Martin*, some time of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, suffer'd for it. And whereas the *Papists* every where traduced the Queen for Cruelty, she desirous always to leave a blessed Remembrance behind her, grew extreemly offended with the Commissioners for *Popish* Causes, taxing them of too much Cruelty, insomuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themselves, protesting that they question'd no Man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts against the Queen and State; and, that *Campion* himself was never so rack'd, but that he could presently walk up and down. Yet all this gave not the Queen satisfaction, but she commanded the Commissioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Punishments; and not long after, when seventy Priests were taken, and some of them condemn'd, and the rest in danger of the Law, she caused them all to be ship'd away, and sent out of *England*; the chief of whom were *Jasper Heywood* the great Epigrammatist's Son, the first Jesuite that ever set Foot in *England*; *James Busgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Rish-ton*.

At this time *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador was thrust out of *England*, for joyning with *Throgmorton* in this Treason against the Queen; whereupon *Sir William Wade* was sent to the King of *Spain*, to satisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had discharg'd the Office of an Ambassador here in *England*; who, when the King admitted him not to his presence, but in a slighting manner putting him off to his Councillors, *Wade* taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom among Princes (tho' in heat of War) to give Ambassadors Audience; and thereupon stoutly refus'd to declare his Embassage, and so return'd into *England* unheard.

The greatest matters laid to *Mendoza's* charge were gotten out of *Throgmorton's* Confession; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to *Mendoza* a Box of Writings; and when his Chests were search'd, there were found two Scrolls, one with the Names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other the Names of the Nobility and Gentry in *England* that favour'd the *Romish* Religion: These when *Throgmorton* saw brought forth, he said they were Counterfeits, and flood to it upon the very Rack; but being brought to the Rack a second time, he then confess'd all; That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given him Information, that the Catholick Princes had agreed to invade *England*, and with the help of the Duke of *Guise* to free the Queen of *Scots*; and, that nothing was now wanting but Money and Aid in *England*; and, that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit Name of *Mope*, was sent into *Sussex*, where the Duke of *Guise* intended to land; and, that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the Names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that should assist. But being arraign'd at the *Guild-hall*, he denied all this again, saying, He had spoken so because he would not be rack'd again: Yet being condemn'd to die, he flying to the Queen's Mercy, confess'd in a manner all he had before related, and at the Gallows went about to deny it again; so false to it self is the Mind of Man when 'tis divided between Hope and Fear, and lies under the burthen of a guilty Conscience.

*Sir William Wade* being return'd from *Spain*, was employ'd to the Queen of *Scots* about the Treaty begun Two Years before; to whom the distressed Queen sincerely profess'd, That she devoted her Service and her self to the Queen of *England*; and made solemn Promise, that if the former Treaty might go on, she would mediate with the King her Son to receive into favour the Earl of *Angus*, and the other *Scottish* Lords, and would charge the Bishops of *Ross* and *Glasco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further to do with the *English* Fugitives. These things Queen *Elizabeth* heard gladly, and thereupon sent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, who jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* should signifie unto her, That if she continued still in the same mind as she had deliver'd to *Wade*, *Sir Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her Liberty; but withal, she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what Practices the Duke of *Guise* had on foot. To that which she had spoken to *Sir William Wade* the Queen of *Scots* made a wary

1583. Sir Will. Wade sent to Spain, being not admitted to have Audience of the King, comes again without doing his Message.

Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador thrust out of England, and why.

Sir Will. Wade is sent to the Q. of Scots, to treat with her about some Conditions for setting her at liberty.



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wary Answer, but to that concerning the Duke of *Guise*, she plainly confesseth, That being sickly her self, and weak of Body, she had committed her self and her Son to the protection of the Duke of *Guise*, her dear Cousin, of whose Intentions she knows nothing; nor, if she did, would she disclose 'em, unless she might be sure of her own Liberty: Lastly she requesteth, That being a free and absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled than Queen *Elizabeth* her self was when she was a Subject and kept in Prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange Accident; for *Creighton*, a Scottish Jesuit, sailing from the *Low-Countries*, and taken by Dutch Pyrates, had certain Papers, which he tore and threw away, which thrown overboard, and by the Wind blown back unto the Ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together, with much labour and cunning discover'd by them some new Intendments of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guise*, about the invading of *England*: Whereupon, and upon divers other Rumors, the better to provide for the Safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects, (the Earl of *Leicester* being the foremost) Men of all Ranks and Conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very Death that should attempt any thing against the Queen: Which League of theirs they call'd the *Association*.

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of *Scots*, who presently apprehended that this *Association* was enter'd into for her destruction, making this Proposition by *Nave*, her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council, That if she might have her Liberty granted, and be assur'd of the Queen's Love, she would enter a strict League and Amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Christian World; yea, and (saving the ancient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*) she would herself be comprehended in the *Association*, and a League defensive against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleas'd, and at that time certainly had an Inclination to grant her Freedom: But see what Malice can do; for many in *England*, and especially the *Scots* of the adverse Party, endeavour'd by all means to hinder it, exclaiming, That the Queen should be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone if she were admitted into the joint Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and, That the Reform'd Religion lay a bleeding if *Papists* were admitted within the Court-walls: Nor was this all, but the *Scottish* Ministers in their Pulpits loaded the Queen of *Scots* with all manner of Contumelies, slandering the King himself, and his Council, in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refus'd, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority; and, that Ecclesiastical Persons were not to be censur'd by the Prince, but by their own Consistory; directly against the Law made the Year before in Parliament, whereby the King's Authority over all Persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was confirm'd, namely, That the

The Queen of *Scots* offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which Queen *Elizabeth* is inclining, but is made averse to it by *Scots* and *English* of the adverse Party, especially *Scottish* Ministers.

King and his Council were Supreme Judges in all Causes; and, That whosoever refus'd to be try'd by them, should be deem'd guilty of *High-Treason*; all Presbyters and Lay-Conventicles forbid, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restor'd, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemn'd as wicked and anti-christian; and lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his Mother prohibited, namely, the *Scottish* History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

At this time, upon her Adversaries suggestion, the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drew Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were persuaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate Attempts; and indeed upon this she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their Intendment whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out Assassins to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the Villany, and would grant them no access.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her, 'tis suggested to her, that *Allen* for the Catholics of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Ross* for the Queen of *Scots*, with consent of the Pope and K. of *Spain*, had jointly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an English Nobleman of the *Romish* Religion, and him the English Catholics should chuse King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election; and all this upon the credit of *Hunt* the Priest: But who this English Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of *Scots* could not be found, tho' *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: The Fame went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, who was a single Man, a great Papist, and of high estimation among the Catholics.

The Queen of *Scots* taken from the E. of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

A Combination in the Catholics to marry the Qu. of *Scots* to some English Nobleman of the *Romish* Religion, and who he was thought to be.

This Year dy'd in Exile and Misery *Charles Nevil*, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the last Earl of *Westmoreland* of his Family, a House from whence descended many noble Personages, six Earls of *Westmoreland*, two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquis of *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, one Queen, and five Dutcheses, (to let pass Countesses and Baronesses) an Archbishop of *York*, and a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* dy'd none of reckoning this Year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France* the Duke of *Anjou* died of Grief; and in *Holland* *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the Body with three Bullets, by *Baltasar Gerrard* a *Burgundian*.

*Charles Nevil*, the last Earl of *Westmoreland* of this Family dies in Exile; and the many noble Personages descended from that House.

*Plowden* the great Lawyer dies. The Prince of *Orange* is shot by a *Burgundian*.

'Twas now the Year 1585, and the 28th of Qu. *Elizabeth's* Reign, when to tie the French King more nearly to her, whom the Year before she had receiv'd into the number of the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due Solemnity, which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

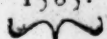
At this time a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parry*, a Welshman, a Doctor

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a Doctor of the Laws, when in the Lower-house a Bill was read against the Jesuites, he alone stood up and exclaim'd, that it was a cruel and bloody Law; and being ask'd his Reason, he stoutly refus'd unless he were requir'd by the Lords of the Council. Hereupon he was sent to the Gatehouse, but upon submission was receiv'd into the House again. Soon after he was accus'd by *Edw. Nevil* for holding secret Consultations about making the Queen away; who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination confess'd in effect thus much; That thro' Discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio* the Pope's Nuncio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into *England* with that Intent, he alter'd his Mind, and disclos'd to the Queen the whole matter. After this, he receiv'd a Letter from the Cardinal of *Como*, persuading him to go forward with the Enterprize; and this Letter also he shew'd the Queen. After this, he chanc'd to see a Book of *Dr. Allen's* written *Contra Justitiam Britannicam*, wherein was declar'd, That Princes who were for Heresie communicated might lawfully be depriv'd of their Life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirm'd him, and he read it to *Nevil*; who, tho' he took an Oath of Secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmoreland*, betrays him. This was his Confession before *Baron Hunsdon*, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, and *Sir Francis Walsingham*; as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, acknowledging his Fault, and craving Mercy. A few days after, he was call'd to the Bar in *Westminster-hall*, where he confess'd himself guilty, and thereupon was condemn'd. After Sentence of Death pronounc'd, he furiously cited the Queen to *God's Tribunal*. Five days after, he was laid upon a Hurdle and dragg'd thro' the City to *Westminster*, whereat the Gibbet he made a vain-glorious boasting of his Faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a Word commended himself to *God*; and so in the great Palace at *Westminster* was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

*William Parry* condemn'd and executed; and why.

Laws made for safeguard of the Queen.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the Tower, and for what.

In this Parliament the Association before spoken of was universally approv'd, and enacted in this Form; That 24, or more, of the Queen's Privy-Council, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authoriz'd under the Great Seal of *England*, To make enquiry of all such Persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any Evil against the Queen's Person, for whomsoever, and by whomsoever that layeth any Claim to the Crown of *England*; and that Person for whom or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether incapable of the Crown; and more to this purpose: Laws also for the Queen's Safety were enacted against Jesuites and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve 'em. These Laws terrified many, particularly out of fear of 'em *Philip Earl of Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* eldest Son, purpos'd with himself to travel beyond Sea; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his House, and after six months set at liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the Service of *God*, and his Soul's health, he purpos'd to leave his Country, but not his Loyal

Affection towards her; but as he was taking Ship, by his own Servants treachery he was discover'd, apprehended, and put in the Tower.

At the same time *Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland* lay in the Tower, a Man of a lofty Spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guises*, about invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots*, (whose Cause he ever highly favour'd) but in the Month of *June* he was found dead in his Bed, shot into his Body with three Bullets under his right Pap, and the Door bolted on the inside. The Coroner's Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounc'd that he had kill'd himself. Three days after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-chamber*, *Bromley Lord-Chancellor* declar'd this Fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney-General to shew the cause of his Imprisonment, and the manner of Death: Whereupon *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitor, in long Orations, laid open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law he had laid violent hands on himself.

*Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland*, being in the Tower, is found dead in his Bed.

And now the Queen knowing that the Seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into a League with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end she sent *Sir Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Count Elector-Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenburg*, *Brunswick-Lunenburgh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*; and into *Scotland* she sent *Sir Edward Wotton*, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withal to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the K. of *Denmark's* Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present the business was interrupted by the death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a meeting to compound a Difference between the Borderers by a sudden tumult of the *Scots*; but who 'twas that slew him was not known: The English laid it upon the Earl of *Arran* and the Lord *Fernihurst* Governor of the middle Borders; whereupon at the Queen's complaint the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Fernihurst* committed to Prison at *Dundee*, where he died; a Man of great Valour and Resolution, and one that was always firm for the Qu. of *Scots*. But Qu. *Elizabeth* not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivance to the Scottish Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the *Hamiltons*, and *John Gladius*, the E. of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they should steal away into *Scotland*, (she supplying 'em with Money) there to master and subdue the E. of *Arran*; for *Maxwel*, who was lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, *Baron Humes*, *Goldingnolls*, and others in *Scotland*, had already promis'd 'em their assistance; even in the very Court *Sir Patrick Gray* (*Arran's* great Rival for the King's favour) *Belden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Wotton's* Craft) were made against *Arran*. These Men, on their first entry into *Scotland*, commanded all Persons in the King's name to aid them for conserving the Truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the English, so as there presently joyn'd

Q. Elizabeth enters League with the Princes of Germany

A great tumult amongst the Lords in Scotland, and for what reason.



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joyned with them about Eight thousand Men. The Earl of Arran hearing thereof, makes haste to the King, and accuseth Patrick Gray as Author of this Commotion; but whiles Arran was making provision for defence of the Town, the Enemies were ready to scale the Walls: Whereupon Arran being advised, that only his Life was sought, get secretly away with only one Servant, the rest betook themselves to the King in the Castle. The Rebels get into the Market-place, and display their Banners against the Castle: The King sends Gray to know the Reason of their coming; they answer, To submit themselves, and in humble manner to kiss the King's Hand: The King offereth restitution of all their Goods if they would depart: They desire to be admitted to his Presence, which upon these Conditions the King granted; That they should not attempt any thing against his Life, or those whom he should nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They protest, they are ready to sacrifice their Lives for the King's safety; and of any Innovation they had not so much as a thought; only they request to have their Adversaries, and the Fortifications of Scotland delivered up into their Hands. Hereupon after a Day's Consultation, they are admitted into the King's Presence, and forthwith the Earls of Mount-Rosse, Crawford and Rothsay; Colonel Steward, Downs, Arran's Brothers, and others were delivered to them: The Earl of Arran, who was fled into the Western Islands, is called home: The Assaulters were pardon'd, and pronounced good Subjects. Hamilton is set over Dumbrition Castle; Goldingknolls over Edinburgh; the Earl of Angus over Tantallon; the Earl of Marre over Sterlin; and Glames is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proscriptions and Outlawries against all Persons, since the King's Inauguration (saving some few proscrib'd for the Murther of the King's Father) are called in, and with an unanimous consent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of England is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpose.

A Combustion  
in Ireland, how  
caused, and  
how pacified.

In Ireland likewise was a Combustion this Year; first, the Burks (descended of the ancient Family of the Burroughs in England) provoked by the severe Government of Richard Bingham Governour of Connaught, raise Rebellion; but this was soon suppress'd, for Thomas Burk died fighting; Meyler and Theobald Burk were taken and hang'd. After this the Clan Gibbons, Clan Donells and Joyes, combined together in great Numbers, and say plainly, They will have a Mac-William of their own, one of the Burks to rule over them, or some other Lord out of Spain; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the English Courts of Justice; and thereupon harried all the Country with Fire and Sword, and neither by the persuasions of the Archbishop Tuam, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of Clanriccard (the chief of the House of the Burks) would be quieted, till John Bingham the President's Brother, following them into the Woods, drove away five thousand Head of their Cattel, so after forty Days, half starved, they came forth and submitted themselves. But this was not yet at an end; for now the President understood, That two thousand Scot-

tish Islanders were landed, and ready to break into Connaught; whereupon he musters his Men to give them Battel, but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as tho' in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm Ground, and then with his whole Forces set upon them, slew three thousand of them (indeed all but fourscore) amongst whom were Donell Garmy and Alexander Garmy, the Sons of James Mac-Conel, who had long disquieted this part, and those Burks who were the first Author of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the present and future times; for hereby the Name of the Mac-Williams in Connaught was utterly extinct, and the insolent attempts of the Scottish Islanders absolutely crushed.

1585.

In the Low Countries at this time the States were very hard beset, so as they held a Consultation whither to fly for Protection, whether to the French King, or the Queen of England. Monsieur Pruine the French Ambassador shew'd many Advantages, and gave many Reasons why they should fly rather to the French King: the English on the other side, alledged many Reasons why they should fly rather to the Queen of England; but in conclusion, they have first recourse to the King of France, and afterward, being by him neglected, to the Queen of England. But then in England it was consulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Council was divided; some were of opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, lest the Spaniard first conquering them, might have the better way to annoy England; others again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of Assistance. After long debating the Matter, the Queen refuseth to take them into Protection, much less to exercise Sovereignty over them. Nevertheless to raise the Siege of Antwerp, which was beleagu'd by the Prince of Parma, she was content to supply them with 4000 Soldiers, so as the Town of Sluce, and the Ordnance belonging to it, were given up into their Hands; but while this matter was discussing, the Town of Antwerp was fain to yield it self.

The Name of  
Mac-William  
in Connaught  
is utterly ex-  
tinct.

The States of  
the Low-Coun-  
tries fly to Qu.  
Elizabeth for  
protection,  
which she for-  
refuseth.

But the Queen better bethinking her self, partly as fearing the growth of the King of Spain's Power, and partly as commiserating the afflicted of her own Religion, at last resolves to undertake their Protection, upon condition of her part, to supply them with 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, under a sufficient General, paying them during the War; and afterward the Expences to be paid back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver Flushing and the Fort of Ramekin, the Town of Brill, with the two neighbouring Forts; and for the justifying of this her Action, she set forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein she incensed the King of Spain, she thought best to turn his Anger further from home, and thereupon sent out Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carlile, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were 2000 Volunteers and Mariners) toward the West-Indies; who first surpriz'd the Town of St. Jago, afterward St. Domingo (where 25000 Crowns were given them to spare the Town from burning) afterward Carthagena, which they

But at last she  
undertakes it.

She sends Sir  
Francis Drake  
and Christo-  
pher Carlile to  
the West, and  
what they ef-  
fected there.

A a a a a

had



1585. had seven Weeks, till the Spaniards redeem'd it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this the Calenture waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by *Virgina*, a Colony which Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had there planted, from whence *Drake* brings home with him *Walter Lane*, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the *Indians* take against crudities of the Stomach. At this expedition were lost above seven hundred Men, who for the most part died of Calentures: Their Booty amounted to the value of threecore thousand Pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Brass and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in America; when in the mean while Captain *John Davis* with two Ships (at the charges of *William Sanderson*, and other Citizens of London) sought to find a way to the East-Indies, by the higher part of America, under the Frigid Zone; but in vain.

The Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queen's Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirly, Sir Arthur Bassett, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Jervase Clifton, and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen, landing at *Flushing*; he was first by Sir Philip Sidney the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of Zealand and Holland, entertain'd in most magnificent manner; and coming to the Hague in January,

The States commit to him the absolute Command over the United Provinces, which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it.

What was done by the Earl of Leicester at his being in Holland.

At the End of this Year the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queen's Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirly, Sir Arthur Bassett, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Jervase Clifton, and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen, landing at *Flushing*; he was first by Sir Philip Sidney the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of Zealand and Holland, entertain'd in most magnificent manner; and coming to the Hague in January, the States by Patent committed to him the Command and absolute Authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governor and Captain General of Holland, Zealand, and the Confederate Provinces: So as being now faulted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him princely Spirits. But the Q. took him soon off from further aspiring, writing unto him in most peremptory manner, That she wondred how a Man whom she had raised out of the Dust, could so contemptuously violate her Commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance to put in execution the Injunctions she had sent him by *Heneage* her Vice-Chamberlain, withal, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement they had cast upon the Earl of Leicester her Subject the absolute Command over the united Provinces without her privity, which she herself had utterly refused, and therefore willeth them to divest him of that absolute Authority, to whom she had set bounds which he should not pass. The States return answer, That they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the E. that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted; but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it, seeing that for avoiding of Confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one or other; neither was there any great matter in the Word *absolute*, seeing the Rule & Dominion resided still in the People. By these Letters and Leicester's own submissive writing, the Queen was soon satisfied: Leicester all this while receiveth Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common People. His first service was to relieve Grave

a Town in Brabant, which the Prince of Parma by Count Mansfield had besieged; hither he sent the Count *Hohenlo* a German, and *Norris* General of the Eng. Foot, but notwithstanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the End was taken; but *Hemart* the Governour, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his Head. From hence the Prince of Parma march'd into Gelderland, and pitch'd his Tents before *Venlo*, where *Skenkie* a Frieslander, and *Roger Williams* a Welchman perform'd great Service, yet the Town in a short time was taken also. But in the mean while the L. Willoughby Governor of *Bergen op Zoom*, cut off the Enemies Convoys, and took away their Victuals, and Sir Philip Sidney and Maurice the Prince of Orange's Son, upon a sudden onset, took *Axale*, a Town in Flanders. From *Venlo* the Prince of Parma goes to *Berke*, where there were 12000 English under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*; he notwithstanding laid Siege to the Town, which the E. of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he seeks to divert it by beleaguering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of Parma could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of Parma, fearing lest *Zutphen* should come in danger, commandeth Victuals to be carried thither, which the Spaniards carrying along in a Fog, the English by chance lighted on them, vanquish'd a Troop of their Horse, slew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others; but then on the English side was one slain more worth than all the English and Spaniards put together, Sir Philip Sidney, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot in the Thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his Age, died: A Man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, so future Ages will hardly be able to equal Him. His Funeral was in sumptuous manner solemniz'd at St. Paul's Church in London. James K. of Scots made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his Death with Funeral Verfes.

After this, Leicester assaulted *Zutphen*, where setting upon a Fort he takes it in this manner; *Edw. Stanley* (of the Stanlies of *Elford*) catching hold of a Spaniard's Launce, which was brandish'd at him, held it so fast, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the Spaniards being affrighted (as thinking all the Enemies were coming up) forsook the place; Leicester knighted Stanley for this Act, gave him forty Pounds in present Money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred Marks during his Life. And now tho' in this forwardness to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unseasonable to besiege it any longer (especially so many English Garisons lying round about it, which were in the nature of a Siege) but return'd to the Hague, where the States entertain'd him with complaints, that their Money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the English Supplies were not full, that foreign Soldiers were levied without their consent, that the Privileges of the united Provinces were set at nought, and new devices for Contribution invented; for all which Evils they entreated him to provide some present Remedy. To which Complaints (having a purpose to go to England) he gave a friendly An-

1586. Leicester takes the Fort of Zutphen by the Valour of Edward Stanley, and in what manner.

The States complain of the Earl of Leicester's carriage.



1586

Answer; but on the very Day in which he was to depart, he committed the Government of the Province to the deliberation of the States, and the same day made another private Instrument of Writing, where he reserved to himself the whole Authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities, and Ports; and more than this, taketh away the wonted Jurisdiction from the States Council, and Presidents of the Provinces; and came into England the third day of December. And thus passed the affairs of the Netherlands for this Year.

Philip Earl of Arundel is fined, and why. But in England, Philip Earl of Arundel, who had lain in prison a whole Year, was at last brought to the Star-chamber; and being charged with fostering of Priests, and having correspondence with Allen and Parsons the Jesuit, and offering to depart the Kingdom without license, was fined ten thousand Pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

A league of strict Amity is concluded with the King of Scots. At this time the Queen, by Sir Horatio Palavicini, supplied with a large sum of Money the King of Navarre; through whose side the Guises opposed the Reform'd Religion in Scotland, but her most intente care was how to unite England and Scotland in a solid friendship: To which end she sent Thomas Randall into Scotland, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive and defensive, though the King at first required some Additions, and though the French Ambassador infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; and in July following there met at Berwick, Edward Earl of Rutland, William Lord Ewer, and Thomas Randal for the Queen of England: Francis Earl of Bothwell, Robert Lord Boyle, and Humes for the King of Scots, and there the League (which was called the League of strict amity, for that the word *Offensive*, liked not the Scots) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

A dangerous Conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by F. Savage, but prosecuted by Anthony Babington and divers others. The very same Month that this League was agreed on, a most dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one John Savage was by the perswasion of Gifford, Doctor of Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen Elizabeth: but to make the Queen and her Council secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in England to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About Whitfuntide one Ballard a Seminary Priest of Rheims, acquainted with the row of Savage, (having dealt in France with Mendoza and Charles Paget about invading of England) arrived here in a Solders habit, and by a counterfeit name called Captain Foscu; with these matters he acquainted one Anthony Babington a Gentleman of Derbyshire, who by the Bishop of Glasco, the Queen of Scots Ambassador in France, had been commended to her as one worthy of her love; so as between them there passed often Letters in unknown Characters. In short time, Babington had drawn into the Plot other Gentlemen as zealous of the Romish Religion as himself; namely, Edward Windsor Brother to the Lord Windsor, Thomas Salis-

bury of a good Family in Devonshire, Charles Tilney one of the Queens Pensioners, Chydieck Tichburn of Hampshire, Edward Abington (whose Father was Cofferer to the Queen) Robert Gage of Surry, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire, John Jones, Savage, formerly spoken of, Barnwell of a noble Family in Ireland, and Henry Dunne a Clerk in the Office of First-Fruits and Tenths; one Pollie also scrved himself into their Company, a fellow thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of Scots, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to Walsingham day by day. To these Gentlemen Babington communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to Ballard, Tichburn, and Dunne, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of Scots: with Tilney and the rest, he dealeth to be assistants; of whom, some at first loth, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-gloriousness, a Picture of the Assassins was made to the life, and Babington in the midst, with these words, *Quorsum hæc alio properantibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but onely Barnwell (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the Earle of Kildare, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this Barnwell, and turning to Hatton, said, Am not I well guarded, that have not so much as one man in the Company with a Sword by his side? Thus much Barnwell himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid Gifford: This was a Gentleman of a good House at Chellington in Staffordshire, not far from Chartley, where the Queen of Scots was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English Fugitives in France under the counterfeit name of Luson, to put Savage in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of Scots. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or dismayed in mind, came to Walsingham privately, revealing whom he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into England. Walsingham courteously entertained him, and sent him down into Staffordshire, to do the work he had undertaken. Here Gifford bribed the Brewer of the House where the Queen of Scots lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to Walsingham hands; who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one Thomas Philips, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of Arthur Gregory, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties to whom the subscription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of Scots to Babington intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same time to Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, Charles Paget, the Lord Paget, the Archbishop of Glasco, and Francis Englefield. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over her

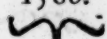
1586.

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one Gifford, and by what means.

Walsingham's State craft.



1586.



Babington  
seeks to escape.

But is discovered & taken.

The Queen of  
Scots hath her  
Closet broken  
open and her  
Boxes searched.

her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a sudden is taken in *Babingtons* house. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walsingham*, with whom he had long been a suitor for license to go into *France*, promising to do great matters in discovering the practices of the Fugitives. *Walsingham* with fair promises drives him off from day to day; and now persuades him, that for a small space till he could get his license sealed, he would lodge at his house in *London*, where they might have secret Conference without suspicion. This *Walsingham* himself had spun hitherto, and no other of the Queen's Counsel were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling; lest (as she said) by not avoiding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. Whereupon *Walsingham* sent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*; This Note was delivered in such manner, that *Babington* sitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlooked him, and read it likewise: Hereupon suspecting that all was discovered, the next Night he and *Scudamore* and one or two more of *Walsingham* servants supping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuse that he must needs step aside, and rose up, leaving his Cloak and his Sword, and so made haste thro' the dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themselves into *St. Johns Wood* near the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themselves. In the mean space they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by places; they shave *Babingtons* face, disfigure the beauty of his Countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the husks of green Walnuts; and when they were all half starved, went to the Houses of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow on the Hill*, who were great Papists; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a Country habit: But notwithstanding all their shifting, within ten days after they were discovered and brought to *London*. The other accomplices were soon after taken, most of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Traverse* in *Cheshire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his house, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors; *Windsor* only was never heard of. Many days were spent in the examination of them, who cut one the others Throat with their own Confession. All this while the Queen of *Scots* and her servants are so narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that she knew nothing of all these Passages; As soon as they were apprehended, *Thomas George* was sent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do till she was got on Horseback to ride a Hunting, and was not then suffered to return, but in shew of Courtesie was carried up and down to see the houses of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Aston*, *Richard Bagot*, and *Sir William Wade*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the rest of her servants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no speech between themselves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they broke open all doors, and such Desks and Boxes as they

found with any Papers in them, they set their seals upon, and sent them to the Court, in which being broken open before the Queen, were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies likewise of Letters sent to several persons, and threescore Alphabets at least of private Characters, as also, Letters to her from some of the *English* Nobility, containing preat proffers of love and service, which the Queen notwithstanding took no Notice of, but passed over in silence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I see and say nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while now served their turn, is sent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the *French* Ambassadour here in *England*, with Instructions that he should deliver no Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, or the Fugitives in *France*, but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he sent under-hand to *Sir Francis Walsingham*.

The 20th of *September*, seven of the fore-named Conspirators were arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemn'd of High-Treason. Two days after, seven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithstanding were found guilty by their own confessions, and condemned; *Pollicie* only, though he were privy to all passages, yet because he had disclosed many things to *Walsingham*, was not called in question. The 20th day of the month, the first seven in *St. Giles Fields*, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down instantly, their privy members cut off, and themselves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowell'd and quarter'd; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, (who, the rope breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was presently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowell'd while he was perfect ly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, and *Abington*. The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and executed in the same fashion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens special charge, who detested the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead, *Salisbury* first, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Charnock*, *Traverse*, *Gage*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor (whose Brother being guilty of the same fact, had strangled himself in Prison.)

When these men were executed, *Nave* a *French*-man, and *Curle* a *Scotch*-man, Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, were examined concerning the Letters, the Copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of *Scots* Closet; who under their own voluntary subscriptions acknowledged, that they were their own handwritings, dictated in *French* by the Queen herself, taken by *Nave*, turned into *English* by *Curle*, and copied out in secret Characters. Hereupon *Sir Edward Wotton* was sent out of hand into *France*, to make known to the King the order of the Treason, and to shew him the Copies of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the testimony of sundry of the *English* Nobility, that the *French* King might see what dangerous Plots were by *Charles Paget* and the *English* Fugitives contrived against the Queen of *England*.

And now, what should be done with the Queen of *Scots*, was a great consultation; wherein the Coun-

1586.



Fourteen of  
the Conspirators  
are arraigned  
and hanged.

*Sir Edw. Wotton*  
is sent in-  
to *France* to  
acquaint the  
King with this  
Conspiracy.



1586.

1586. Counsellors were not all of one mind: some conceived that it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast Custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only Conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith arraign'd and put to Death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poisoned, and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25 of *Edward* the Third; (in which they are pronounced guilty of Treason who Plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen, enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevail'd who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon divers of the Lords of the Privy Council, and others of the Nobility, are authoriz'd by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and pass sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invade the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of *October* repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then held prisoner; and the next day sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Pawlet*, and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary; who deliver'd her the Queens Letters; which having with a settled countenance read, she said, it seems to me strange that the Queen should lay her Command upon me to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen no less than her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and especially for yielding to be tryed by the *English* Laws, of which, One (she said) had lately been made on purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellor and Treasurer, that if she refused to answer to such Crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of State was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy, beneath over against which was placed a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*; on both sides of the Cloth of State stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and Viscount *Montacute*: On the other side sate the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *St. John of Bletso*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to these sate the Knights that were Privy-Councillors, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Pawlet*; Forward before the Earls, sate the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two Ba-

Consultations is held what should be done with the Queen of *Scots*, and the resolution.

Commissioners are sent to the Queen of *Scots* to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her innocency, and upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

rons, and the other Justices; *Dale* and *Roord*, Doctors of the Civil Law, at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney General, *Eerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of *Scots* was come, and had placed herself, silence being made, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, then to hear that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up said, That although, being an absolute Prince she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdy* opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) shewing by *Babingtons* Confession, by Letters passed between them, by the Confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confessions of her Secretaries *Narve* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted; the rest in hope of life might be drawn to confess that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of *Scots*; at last she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the 25th day of *October* following, at the Star-Chamber in *Westminster*, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the 27th Year of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privy of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

1586.

And the Queens Council open the Crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her,

After a few days, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster* the which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the Complices was confirmed, and their goods and Possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom with an unanimous consent exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might according to Law be presently promulg'd: They put the Queen in mind of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*,

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen that the Sentence passed against her might presently be promulged.

B b b b b and



1585.

And the  
Queen's An-  
swer.

and upon *Ahab*, for not putting *Benbadad* to death. But the Queen answer'd them to this effect: First, acknowledging God's miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant Affection towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of *Scots* was condemn'd, was not made (as some maliciously have imagin'd) to ensnare her, but contrarywise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which tho' it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have been more grievous to me, than that Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the Sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the Matter is of rare Example, and of a very weighty Consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signify my Mind unto you; and in the mean time would have you expect from me whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

A while after  
the Queen en-  
treats the  
Lords to think  
of some way  
by which the  
Qu. of *Scots*  
Life may be  
saved, and her  
own not en-  
dangered.  
The Lords re-  
turn answer,  
That there can  
be no way of  
her safety but  
by the Queen  
of *Scots*'s death.

Twelve Days after, having deeply weighed the matter in her Mind, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the Life of the Queen of *Scots* might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queen's Life could not be in safety, while the Qu. of *Scots* liv'd, unless she either repented and acknowledg'd her Crimes, or were kept in strait custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave Hostages; or lastly, departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be Remedies, it remain'd, that only her Death would be a Remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oaths, Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanish'd if the Queen's Life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they fear'd she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower-House, declar'd to the Queen at large, and urged her in their Names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pause spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your Security and my own Safety, some other way might be devis'd than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my Safety, without her Destruction, is in a more deplorable estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardon'd so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivance, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly related to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say, I

will not grant your Petition I shall happily say what I mean not: If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I myself into Destruction headlong, whose safety you so earnestly desire, & that I know you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

After this the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beal* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirm'd by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desir'd by the Nobility and Commons; and therefore persuade her, that before her death she would make acknowledgment of her Offences against God and the Queen; intimating, that if she liv'd, the Religion receiv'd in *England* could not subsist. Hereupon she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own Felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament unto her; but was denied, which some deem'd, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeer'd at the *English* Nation, saying, The *English* were ever and anon wont to murder their own Kings, and therefore no marvel they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaim'd at *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Qu. *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of *Scots* being told hereof, seem'd not a whit dejected with it; but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small Requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her Servants to be present; the third, That her Servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests she desireth the Qu. to vouchsafe her Answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Qu. *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

This Condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as Intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but especially from the King of *Scots* and the King of *France*, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the Reasons that natural Affection in the one, and likeness of Condition in the other could urge, for sparing of her Life; but when the necessity of the State seem'd to obstruct all ways of Clemency, the French Ambassador *L'Aubespine*, falleth from Reasons to Actions, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving the Qu. of *Scots* Life, as to take away Qu. *Elizabeth*'s Life; and thereupon first he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Qu. *Elizabeth*, and his Brother at that time Ambassador Leiger in *France*) and afterward more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murder the Queen. *Stafford*, tho' not daring to act such a Villany him-

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Upon this the  
Queen of *Scots*  
is made ac-  
quainted with  
the Lords Pe-  
tition to have  
the Sentence  
executed, at  
which she  
seemed to re-  
joyce.

The King of  
*Scots* and the  
King of *France*  
solicite for her  
Life.

*L'Aubespine*  
the French  
Ambassador  
sets Agents at  
work to kill  
Queen *Eliza-  
beth*.



1585.

himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a resolute Fellow, and one that for Money would be sure to do it. Upon this *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Goal, who upon *Trappe's* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done. *Moody* propounded Poison, or else to lay a Bag of Gunpowder under the Queen's Bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked neither of these ways, but would rather have it done as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe*, who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examin'd, confess'd the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecil's House*, the 12th of *January*; where met him by the Queen's appointment, *Cecil Lord Treasurer*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappe* his Secretary had confess'd. As soon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his Knees, made fearful Imprecations, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) it appears that you are made acquainted with the Matter. To which he presently replied; that if he had known of any such thing, yet being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him to beware how he offended hereafter in this kind; and let him know, that he is not quitted from the Offence, tho' for this time the Queen be pleas'd to forbear him.

Queen Elizabeth terrified with many Rumours feals a Warrant for executing her.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots*'s Adversaries put many Terrors into Queen *Elizabeth's* Mind, giving out, that the *Spanish Navy* was come to *Milford Haven*: That the *Scots* were broken into *England*: That the Duke of *Guise* with a great Army landed in *Sussex*: That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned Suggestions; through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of the greatest perswaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to disswade her from it; namely, *Patrick Gray*, who founded often in her Ears, *Mortua non mordet*, when she is dead she cannot bite.

But being long in suspense about it, at last she commanded Secretary *Davyson* to get the Commission

The Queen notwithstanding began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offer'd themselves on both sides, but were only speculative reasons represented themselves for sparing her, many practical reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspense, she would oftentimes sit speechless, and her Countenance cast down; at last, her fear prevailing, she deliver'd to Secretary *Davyson* Letters under her Hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the Great Seal of *England*, for

the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*, which might be in a readiness upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next Day her Mind was alter'd, and sent Sir *William Killigrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it: Whereat the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his hastiness; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy-Councillors, and persuades them, That the Queen commanded the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon *Beal* Clerk of the Council is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law, with which proceeding the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more than this, altho' she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he stay *Beal* from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Qu. of *Scots* Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*, they together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drew Drury*, with whom she was then in custody, go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few Words admonish her to prepare herself for Death, for that she must die the next day: whereto without any change of Countenance or passion of Mind, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth, that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offer'd her, but them she refus'd. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastened, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her Men and Women Servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bids them rather rejoyce, that she was now to depart out of a World of Misery. After Supper she look'd over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their Names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted Hour she went to Bed, and after a few Hours Sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the Night in her Devotion. And now the fatal Day being come, which was the 8th of *February*, she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Closet to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; until *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice that it was time to come forth, and then with a princely Majesty and cheerful Countenance she came out, her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her Hand: In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her Servant upon his bended Knees, deplor'd his own fortune that he should be the Messenger to carry this sad News into *Scotland*; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament, *Melvyn*, thou shalt by-and-by see *Mary Steward* free from all cares. Then turn-

1585.

made; but not disclose the matter to any. Yet *Davyson* acquaints divers of the Privy Council with it. Hereupon *Beal* is sent down to give Authority to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

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The Commissioners acquaint her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.



1587.

turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of Kent was very loth to grant, for fear of Superstition, to whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor Wretches desire only to give me my last farewell. I know the Queen my Sister would not deny me so small a Request. After this the two Earls and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was set up at the upper-end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of Peterborough going to Prayers, she falling upon her Knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both Hands, pray'd with her Servants in Latin, out of the Office of the Blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended, she kissed the Crucifix, and signing her self with the sign of the Cross, said, *As thy Arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Cross, so embrace me with the open Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she forgave him. And now her Women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into shrieks and cries, she kiss'd them, sign'd them with the Cross, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her Sorrows was at hand; and then shadowing her Face with a Linnen Cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi, ne confundar in aeternum*; at which words she stretching forth her Body, her Head at two blows was taken off. Her Body was afterward royally buried in the Cathedral Church at Peterborough; but since that, her Noble Son James, King of Great Britain, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. This end had Mary Queen of Scots, in the 46th Year of her Age, and of her Imprisonment in England the 18th; a Lady so compleat in all excellent Parts of Body and Mind, that it must needs have made her a happy Woman, if she had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of England: For why did all her Endeavours want success, but only from the fear of that Succession? And no Innocency of hers could be a defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Assault.

She is beheaded.

Her Age when she died.

Queen Elizabeth hearing of her death is infinitely dejected.

And soon after writes to the King of Scots to satisfy him in it, that it was done against her meaning.

Davison is indicted in the Star-Chamber, and charg'd with violating her Majesty's trust,

As soon as it came to the Queen's knowledge that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her Speech failed her, insomuch that all in Mourning Weeds she gave her self over to Sorrow, commanded her Counsellors from her presence, and caused Davison to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as soon as Grief would suffer, she wrote a Letter with her own Hand to the K. of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Carew, to this effect; That her Mind was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if she had commanded it, she would never have deny'd it, and withal protesting her true affection towards him, and her assiduous watchfulness for the prospering of his Affairs.

While Carew was on his Journey Davison is cited to the Star Chamber before these Delegates, Sir Christopher Wray Chief Justice of the King's Bench, for that time made Lord Privy-Seal, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earls of

Worcester, Cumberland and Lincoln, the Lords Gray and Lumley, Sir James Croft Comptroler of the Queen's House, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Eamund Anderson Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Roger Manwood Lord Chief Baron (where note, that Bromly Lord Chancellor, Burleigh Lord Treasurer, Leicester and Hutton, who were indeed more guilty of the Fact than Davison, were none of the number.) Before these Delegates Popham the Queen's Attorney layeth to Davison's charge Contempt of the Queen's Majesty, violating of his Trust, and neglect of his Duty, laying open all particulars of his Fact; which after Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, Gawdy and Puckering Sergeants at Law, urg'd also against him with great aggravation: To which Davison mildly answered, That he would not contest with the Queen; only protests, that if he had done any thing otherwise than he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistaking, and not out of any purpose to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self as one that would have it done, and yet was loth to do it, scarce knowing her own Mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather than of purpose, that so at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

The Pleadings ended, the Commissioners went to Censure; Manwood began, and gave his opinion, That Davison for the Inconsiderateness of his Fact should be fin'd ten thousand Pounds, and imprison'd during the Queen's pleasure; the rest went on in that Sentence, only the Lord Gray excused Davison so far, That he thought him worthy of Reward rather than of Punishment: The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by Wray Keeper of the Privy Seal confirm'd; and Davison never after recover'd the Queen's favour, tho' she reliev'd him sometimes in his necessity. A Man ingenious indeed, but not thoroughly acquainted with the Ways of the Court; and thought to be rais'd to this Place on purpose to act this Part, and for nothing else.

By this time Sir Robert Carew, Son to the Lord Hunsdon, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not suffer'd to set foot in Scotland: The King would scarce hear him by another, and with much ado receiv'd his Letter. He called home his Ambassador out of England, and thought of nothing but Revenge.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon Davison, and the unadvised credulity of her Councilors, so little and little allayeth his passion; and expecting till time had somewhat allwaged his Grief, that it would indure to be toucht, at length by her Agents in Scotland, and soon after by the Lord Hunsdon Governour of Berwick, she admonished him, how dangerous it would be for him to break out into War against England, and what little help he could justly expect from either Spain or France; but if he persisted in amity with England, he might be sure the Queen of England would most lovingly account him for her Son: And to the end that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, she sent him the Sentence against Davison.

1587.

And his Answer.

His Censure in the Star-Chamber.

The King of Scots will not admit the Queen's Messengers, and threatens Revenge.

Queen Elizabeth seeks to pacify him, and by what Reasons.



1587.

son, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of *England*; and another Instrument likewise, sign'd with the Hands of the Judges of *England*; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots* could in no wise be prejudice to his Right in the Succession.

Drake is sent to the Coast of *Spain*, and what Mischief he did that King.

Having now, by these and the like courses, somewhat asswaged the King of *Scots* Indignation; to prevent the War which they foresaw was imminent from the King of *Spain*, they sent forth *Drake* with four of the Queen's Ships and others to the Coast of *Spain*, to set upon their Ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. *Drake* entering into the Port of *Cadiz*, sunk, took, and fired about 100 Ships, wherein was great store of Munition and Victuals; then returning to the Cape of *St. Vincent*, he set upon three Forts, and compell'd them to yield; thence setting sail to the Western Islands, call'd *Azores*, under the great *Meridian*, by great good fortune he hapned upon a huge and wealthy Carrack, call'd *St. Philip*, returning from the *East-Indies*, and easily vanquish'd it; whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the Name of *Philip*, portended no good luck to *Philip K. of Spain*.

And the like also did *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*.

At the same time *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*, in the other part of the World, who two Years before had set sail from *England* with three Ships, passing thro' the Streights of *Magellan*, in the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nova Hispania*, fired a great number of *Spanish* Towns, took and pillag'd 19 great Ships, and among 'em a wealthy Ship of the King's, nigh to *California* in *North America*; and so by the *Philippine Isles*, the *Moluccos*, the Cape de *bonne Esperance*, and the Island of *St. Helena*, return'd home the next Year, being the third after *Magellan* that sailed about the World.

*York* and *Stanley* in the Low Countries perfidiously deliver up Towns to the *Spaniards*, and their Ends.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this time gain'd great Fame and Renown, so two other Men, in the *Netherlands*, (*Stanley* and *York*) purchas'd as great Infamy and Disgrace: This *York* was a *Londoner*, a bold Fellow, and of loose Behaviour, famous for bringing first into *England* the manner of turning the Point upon the Adversary in single Combat; whereas the *English* till this time were wont to be arm'd with Buckler and Sword, and to strike with Edge, and then held no Manhood to turn the Point, or strike below the Girdle. He suffer'd some Affront from the Earl of *Leicester*, fled away, and for a time serv'd under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, till at last being reconcil'd to *Leicester*, he was set over the Fort near *Zutphen*, but being bribed, he not only yielded up the Place to the Enemy, but drew to the like Villany one *Stanley*, who with great Valour had serv'd in an *Irish* Expedition, to yield up *Darenter* to the *Spaniards*, a wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their Treachery? The *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* at variance; they poyson *York*, and seize upon his Goods; his Carcase was 3 Years after dug up by the States commandment, and hung on a Gibbet till it rotted away. *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no Credit given to him; for the *Spaniards* have a Saying, 'Tis lawful to give Honour to a Traitor sometimes, but never to trust him.

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of *Leicester* much Envy with the confederate *Nether-*

lands, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the States, in large Letters to the Queen, accuse *Leicester* for his ill managing of the Weal publick in the matter of Money, Merchandise, and Military affairs; and to his Credulity they impute the harm that accrued by *York* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it, sent thither *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*, (lately taken into her Privy-Council in *Leicester*'s absence) *Norris*, and *Bartholomew Clark*; but when the officious Diligence of *Buckhurst* seem'd to trench upon *Leicester*'s Reputation, his Grace with the Queen prov'd so forcible, that *Buckhurst* at his return was for certain Months confined to his House.

Afterward *Sluce* being beleaguerr'd by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was by the States sent for out of *England* to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted with Seventeen thousand great Shot, and a mighty Breach was made into it; which nevertheless *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, *Nicholas Baskerville*, with a Garrison of the *English* and *Walloons*, valiantly defended for a while; but at last were forced to yield it up: *Leicester*, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, went away. And indeed the States would not commit any great Army to his Command, who (they knew) had a determination to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns, into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States used means that *Leicester* was call'd home; so he gave up the Government to the States, and in his room succeeded *Maurice of Nassau*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but Twenty Years of age. *Peregrine Lord Willoughby* was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the Low-Countries, to whom she gave Command to reduce the *English* Factions unto the States Obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he easily effected.

*Leicester* being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusation was preparing against him by *Buckhurst* and others, for his unfaithful managing of Affairs in *Holland*, privately with Tears he cast himself down at the Queen's Feet, entreating her, that she would not receive him with Disgrace at his return, whom she had sent forth in Honour; and so far prevail'd with her, that the next day being call'd to Examination before the Lords, he took his Place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick Instructions which he had receiv'd were limited with private Restriction; and making his Appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole Crimination, with the secret Indignation of his Adversaries.

This Year was famous for the Deaths of many great Personages: In the Month of *February* died *Henry Nevil* Lord of *Abergavenny*, great Grandchild to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth got his Title in right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord of *Abergavenny*; in which right, whenas the only Daugh-

1587.

On complaint from the States against the E. of *Leicester*, *Buckhurst* is sent to examine his Doings.

*Leicester* is call'd home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Being call'd to examination before the Council, how he eludes it.

How the Honour of *Abergavenny* came to the *Nevils*.



1587.

ter of this *Henry*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challeng'd the Title of Baroness of *Abergavenny*, a memorable Contention arose concerning the Title between her and the next Heir-male, to whom by Will, (and the same confirm'd by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of *Abergavenny* was bequeath'd. This Point being a long time debating, at last, in a Parliament holden in the second Year of K. *James*, the matter was try'd by Voices, and the Heir-male carried the Lordship of *Abergavenny*, and the Barony *le Despencer* was ratified to the Female. This Year also, in the Month of *April*, died *Ann Stanhope* Dutcheffs of *Somerset*, Ninety Years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*, contended for Precedence with *Catherine Parre*, Queen-Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There died also Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, the last Banneret of *England*, with which Dignity he was adorn'd at the Battel of *Musselborough* in *Scotland*. After him died *Thomas Bromley* Lord-Chancellor of *England*; and six days after, he whom the Queen meant should have succeeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; but he now failing, Sir *Christopher Hatton* was made Lord-Chancellor, who tho' he were a Courtier, yet the Queen, knowing him to be an honest Man, thought him not unfit for the Place where *Conscience* hath or should have more place than *Law*: Altho' some were of Opinion, that it was not so much the Queen's own Choice, as that she was persuaded to it by some that wish'd him not well, both thereby to be a cause of absenting him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary Place, to a corpulent Man that had not been used to Exercise, would be a means to shorten his Life; and indeed he lived not full out three Years after.

*Ann Stanhope*  
Dutcheffs of  
*Somerset* dies  
of great age.

Sir *Ralph Sad-*  
ler dies, the last  
Banneret of  
*England*.

Sir *Christopher*  
*Hatton* made  
Lord-Chancel-  
lor.

This Year Sir *John Perrot* was call'd home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great Quiet to *Fitz-Williams*, his successor. Hitherto the *English* found it no hard matter to vanquish the *Irish*, by reason of their unskilfulness in Arms; 800 Foot, and 300 Horse, was look'd upon as an invincible Army; but after by *Perrot's* command they were exercis'd in Feats of Arms, and taught to discharge Musquets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learnt the Art of Fortification, they held the *English* better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

1588.

And now we are come to the One and twentieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, being the Year 1588, long before spoken of by Astrologers to be a Wonderful Year, and even the Climacterical Year of the World; and yet the greatest Wonder that happen'd this Year, was but the Wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*, if the Defeat of that Wonderful Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, the K. of *Spain* sends his great Armada against *England*. It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers* Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen; for the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais*, and *Garvyer*, Doctors, had many meetings about it near to *Ostend*, but it seem'd on the part of *Spain* rather to make the *English* secure, that they should

not make provision for War, than they had any purpose of real proceeding, seeing they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time till the *Spanish* Navy was on our Coast, and the Ordnance heard from Sea, then they dismiss'd the *English* Delegates.

The *Spanish* Navy consisted of One hundred and thirty Ships, whereof Galeasses and Galeons seventy two, goodly Ships, like to floating Towers, in which were Soldiers 19290, Mariners 8050, Galley-slaves 2080, great Ordnance 2630. For the greater holiness of the Action, twelve of their Ships were call'd *The Twelve Apostles*. Chief Commanders of the Fleet were Don *Alphonso* Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; next to him, *John Martin Recalde*, a great Seaman. The 20th of *May* they weigh'd Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by a Tempest so miserably dispers'd, that it was long e're they met again: But then they sent before to the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, consisting of Fifty thousand old Soldiers, should be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the *Thames* mouth.

1588.

Of what num-  
ber of Ships  
the Armada  
consisted; and  
who was Ad-  
miral.

The Queen's Preparation in the mean time was this: The Lord *Charles Howard* Lord-Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral, were to be ready at *Plymouth*, and the Lord *Henry Seymour* (second Son to the Duke of *Somerset*) with forty *English* and *Dutch* Ships to keep the Coasts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma's* coming forth: Then, for Land-service, there were laid along the Southern Coast Twenty thousand Soldiers, and two Armies besides of train'd Men were levied, over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse and Twenty-two thousand Foot, the Earl of *Leicester* commanded, and pitch'd his Tents at *Tilbury*, near the *Thames* mouth: Over the other appointed to guard the Queen's Person, and consisting of Twenty-four thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, the Lord *Hunsdon* was General: *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other military Men, were chosen to make a Council of War, and consult how the Land-service should be order'd. These declar'd, amongst other things, That the places which lay fittest for the Enemy's landing, as, *Milford-haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the *Isle of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garrisons, the train'd Soldiers of those Shires which lay near the Sea-Coast should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from landing; but if they did land, then to spoil the Country round about, that they might find no Food; and by continually crying *Arm, arm*, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battel till good store of Commanders were come together.

The Queen's  
Preparations  
both by Sea  
and Land to  
resist it.

At this time many fearing the *Papists* at home no less than the *Spaniards* abroad, persuaded the Queen to take off the Heads of some of the greatest of them; but she detesting such cruelty, took order only, That some of them should be committed to Custody in *Wisbych* Castle.

Many *Papists*  
are committed  
to custody in  
*Wisbych* Castle

And



1588.

And now all things on both sides prepar'd, the *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, but were dispers'd and driven back by Weather. The *English* Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plymouth*, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain*, but partly by occasion of contrary Winds, partly by advertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass by towards the Coast of *England* whilst they were seeking them afar off, they return'd to *Plymouth*; at which time a confident (tho' false) Advertisement came to the Admiral, that the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that Year; whereupon the *English* Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the Men were gone ashore, when suddenly the *Invincible Armada* (for so it was call'd in a *Spanish* Ostentation) was discover'd upon the Western Coast: Whereof the Lord-Admiral being inform'd, had much ado to get the Queen's Navy out of the Haven (the Wind being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day the *English* beheld the *Spanish* Ships, in height like to Castles, sailing slowly along, whom they suffer'd peaceably to pass by, that they might have the benefit of the Wind to follow after. The 21<sup>st</sup> Day of *July* the Admiral of *England* sent a Pinnace before, call'd *The Defiance*, which by a great shot challeng'd the *Spaniards* to fight; and by-and-by they fell to't: Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher* let flie against the outmost Squadron, which *Ricalde* commanded, making him glad to flee to their main Navy for succour. The Night following a mighty *Biscainer* of *Oquendo's* (in which the King of *Spain's* treasure was) was by chance fired with Gunpowder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour, one of which Ships was the Galeon of *Don Pedro*, whom *Sir Francis Drake* took Prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*; the *Biscainer* itself (the Treasure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *English* brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The two  
Fleets engage,  
and the Passages  
and Event  
thereof.

The Three and twentieth Day of this Month they had a second Fight, in which most of the *Spanish* Shot flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt 'em; only one Cock, an Englishman, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemy, died valiantly. The Four and twentieth Day they rested on both sides, in which time the Lord-Admiral rank'd his whole Fleet into four Squadrons; the first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbisher* the fourth.

The Five and twentieth Day (which was *St. James's Day*) they fell to it the third time, in which Fight the *English* had again the better, so as after this time the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *English*, but holding on their Course, dispatch'd a Messenger to the Prince of *Parma*, requiring him forthwith to joyn himself to the King's Fleet, and withal to send them Bullets.

The Day following the Lord-Admiral knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*; and holding a Council of War, they decreed not to set again upon the Enemy till they came to the Streight of *Calais*, where the Lord *Henry*

*Seymour* and *Sir William Winter* waited for their coming. And now so far were the *English* from being terrified at this *Invincible Navy*, that many of the Nobility and others of special note hired Ships at their own charge, and came to the Admiral, as, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Sir Charles Blount*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, *Sir William Hatton*, *Sir Robert Carew*, *Sir Ambrose Willoughby*, *Sir Thomas Gerard*, *Sir Arthur Gorge*, and others.

The Seven and twentieth of *July*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* cast Anchor near unto *Calais*, and not far from them rode the *English* Admiral, within shot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymour* and *Winter* joyn'd themselves, so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy One hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for fighting or sailing, yet only fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battel. And now again the *Spaniards* sent Post after Post to the Prince of *Parma*, to send them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatness and unweildiness of their Ships, and importune him presently to put to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepar'd, and his flat-bottom'd Boats were full of Chinks, and leak'd; and besides, the *Hollanders* hover'd before the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in such sort that he durst not look forth.

The Prince of  
*Parma* is un-  
prepar'd to  
put to Sea.

The Eight and twentieth Day the Lord-Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, on the outside daub'd with Wildfire, Rosin, and Brimstone, within full of combustible matter, and under the conduct of *Young* and *Prowse* sent them down with the Wind in the silent time of the Night towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach 'em, and the Sea as 'twere all on a light fire, imagining withal that those Fireships might carry in them some murdering Engine, they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, spread Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spanish* Galeasses having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*, who slew Capt. *Hugh Moncado*, cast the Soldiers overboard, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordnance was Wreck to the Governor of *Calais*.

A Stratagem  
used by the  
*English* Admiral.

*Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean while perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet gather together again before *Graveling*, set upon them with great violence, to whom straitways *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beefton*, *Crofts*, and *Ryman* joyn themselves, and soon after the Admiral himself, *Sir Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*: The Galeon call'd *St. Matthew* was sorely batter'd by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven toward *Ostend*, and set upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at length was taken by the *Flushingers*.

And now the *Spanish* Navy, having want of many Necessaries, and no hope of the Prince of *Parma's* coming, they resolv'd to return Northward for *Spain*; in which passage they lost both many Ships and Men, the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things pass'd at Sea, the Queen in person came to *Tilbury* to view the Army and Camp there, where

The *Spanish*  
Navy returns  
home.

The Queen  
comes to *Til-*  
*bury* to the  
Army.



1588.

where she shew'd such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the Spirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years preparing, in the space of one Month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their Men being slain, more than half of their Ships taken and sunk, (of the *English* not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but *Cock's* little Vessel) and sailing about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orkneys*, and *Ireland*, they return'd into *Spain* with as much Dishonour as they came out with Boasting; for indeed *Mendoza*, in *France*, by a Book in print, triumphed before the Victory.

Q. Elizabeth comes to Pauls and gives publick Thanks to GOD for this Victory.

For the happy Success of this Action, Queen Elizabeth appointed Prayers and Thanksgiving in all the Churches over *England*, and she (as it were in triumph) came in Person, attended with a great troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave Thanks to Almighty GOD. And that which increas'd the publick Joy was, the News which Sir *Robert Sidney* brought out of *Scotland*, That the King had overpast all Injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *English*, and desir'd to embrace sincere and perfect Amity with the Queen. And as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Ambassador, That he expected no other Courtesie from him, but such as *Polyphemus* promis'd *Ulysses*, That he should be the last whom he would devour.

The King of Scots is reconcil'd to the Queen.

The Earl of Leicester dies.

And now died the great Earl of *Leicester*, the Fourth Day of *September*, at his Manour of *Killingworth*, of a violent Fever; I may well say the Great Earl, considering the many great Honours he enjoy'd, which are extant in the Story; yet one Honour greater than he had before he effected even then, when he was ready to go out of the World, and that was, to be Vicegerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*; for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been seal'd, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* shew'd the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove for so great Authority to preside in one Subject. He was, while he liv'd, in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought (and himself not the least) that she meant to marry him; yet when he died his Goods were sold at an Outcry, to make payment of the Debts he ow'd her.

Philip Earl of Arundel is cited to be try'd by his Peers, by whom he's condemn'd; but the Queen spares his life.

About this time *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who three Years before had been cast in Prison, was now cited in *Westminster-hall*, to the Judgment of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made High-Steward of *England* for the time. The Matters laid to his charge were these: That he had contracted Friendship with Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons* the Jesuite, and other Traytors, exciting divers, both abroad and at home, to restore the *Romish* Religion, promising his Assistance thereunto; and for that reason had a Purpose to depart the Kingdom: That he was privy to the Bull in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had deposed the Queen, and given *England* to the *Spaniard*: That being imprison'd in the *Tower*, he caused Mass to be said for the prosperous Success of the *Spanish* Fleet, and for that purpose had fram'd pe-

culiar Prayers for his own private use. Being demanded whether he were guilty of these things, turning himself to the Judges, he ask'd them these Questions: First, Whether 'twere lawful to heap up so many Crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answer'd, That it was. Then, Whether Arguments taken from Presumptions were of force? They answer'd, That it was lawful for him to interpose Exceptions, if he saw cause. Then again, If he might be arraign'd for those things which were Capital, by the Law made the Thirteenth Year of the Queen, after that the time express'd in the Act was expir'd? They promis'd, They would proceed against him by no Law but the old Statute of Treason, made in the Reign of King *Edward the Third*; but now again ask'd if he were Guilty, or not; he pleaded, Not Guilty. Whereupon *Puckering*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, *Popham* Attorney-General, *Shuttleworth* Serjeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitor, in their turns, urg'd and prov'd the Crimes objected, some whereof he deny'd, others he extenuated, but in conclusion was by his Peers found guilty, and condemn'd; yet the Queen spared his Life, and was content with thus much done in terrour to the *Papists*.

'Twas now in the Year 1589, and the Two and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when to be in some sort reveng'd of the *Spaniards* for their Invasion, she gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private Charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with 'em *Anthony* the Bastard, laying Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and of Soldiers to the number of Eleven thousand, of Seamen about Fifteen hundred: Setting sail from *Plymouth* the 5th Day of *April*, they arriv'd at the *Groyne* in *Galicia*, where with great Valour they took first the Lower Town, and afterward the Higher: And from thence sailing towards *Portugal*, they met *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, who without the Queen's Leave had put to Sea: After two days they arrive at *Penycha*, a Town of *Portugal*, which they took, left the Castle to *Don Antonio*, and from thence they march by Land towards *Lisbon*, threescore Miles off. The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promis'd to follow with the Fleet, being come to the West Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found nobody there but a few unarm'd *Portuguese*, who cried out, God save King *Antonio*. The Day following the *Spaniards* made a salley out, in which Skirmish *Brett*, *Carefly*, and *Carr* (stout Commanders) were slain; yet did the Earl of *Essex* drive the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City.

And having now tarried here two Days, and seeing no sign of the *Portuguese* revolting, which *Don Antonio* had assur'd them would be, finding fresh supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Victuals and Powder failing, and (which is worst of all) Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordnance as he promis'd, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* toward *Cascais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town *Drake* had taken this mean while, who excus'd his not coming to *Lisbon* by reason of the Flatts he must have passed, and the Castle of *St. Julian*, fortified with Fifty pieces of great Ordnance. Near this place they found three

1588.

1589.

Norris and Drake undertake an Expedition into Spain, to set Don Antonio in his Kingdom of Portugal, but prevail not; and why.



1589.

threescore Hulks of the Hans-towns of Germany, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good Prize towards their charges, in regard the Queen had forbid them to carry Victuals or Munition to the Spaniard. From hence they set sail to *Vigo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all-along that Quarter, return'd for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Soldiers and Mariners about 6000; yet not so much by the Enemy as by eating of strange Fruits, and distemper of the Climate.

It concerns the State of *England* to look at this time into the State of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, enter'd into a Combination, which they call'd *The Holy League*; the purpose whereof was to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; for they bound themselves to each other by Oath to suffer no Person but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* if the present King without Issue male should fail.

A Combination call'd the Holy League was made in *France*.

The head of this League is the Duke of *Guise*,

who having given some overthrows to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extoll'd by the Clergy and others, and grew to such a height of Reputation, that entering into *Paris*, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at *Blois* to make him Great Master of the *French* Cavalry, and to consent by Edict to the cutting off the Protestants: So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murder'd; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled: Hereupon so great a Confusion follow'd, that the People every where disobey'd the Magistrates, and spoil'd the King's very Palace at *Paris*; some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurp'd the Royal Authority, seiz'd into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the King's Revenues, call in *Spanish* Soldiers, and in all places denounce War and Violence against the King; and the King in this case being forced to flee to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick, and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree; some would have the Duke of *Lorraine*, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *France*; some the Duke of *Savoy*, as born of the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince potent and courageous; others would have the Duke of *Guise*'s Brother that was murder'd; others, the King of *Spain*; but the greatest part gave their Voices for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one degree nearer ally'd to the slain King than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew. He therefore was proclaim'd King of *France*, with the Title of *Charles* the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* also was at the same time proclaim'd King of *France*, who abode at *Diepe*, a

The Confederates make a new Seal, and usurp the royal Authority.

The King is murder'd by a Monk; being ready to die, he declares the K. of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* is proclaim'd K. of *France*, and at the same time also K. of *Navarre*.

Sea-Town in *Normandy*, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of *France*.

The King of *Navarre* being thus rais'd in Dignity, but weak in Means, implores aid of the Queen of *England*, offering to make a League offensive and defensive: The Queen, out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently Twenty-two thousand pound Sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold as he profess'd he had never seen at one time before) and withal supply'd him with Four thousand Soldiers under the command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonels she appointed Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marshal of the Field, *John Burroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskerville*, and gave them a Month's Pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates, whom the King had vanquish'd a little before at *Arques* beyond all expectation, began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the English they vanish'd away. With this addition of Forces the King marcheth to *Paris*, and being ready to enter the City, caus'd a Retreat to be sounded, as loth to have spoil made of a City that he hoped shortly should be his own: Afterwards, by the assistance of the English, he won many Towns, and then having march'd at least Five hundred Miles on foot, he gave them leave, after a long Winter's Service, to return into *England*; in which Voyage, of Men of note died Capt. *Huntings*, but of a natural Death; also *Stubbs* (he whose right Hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queen's Marriage) and Sir *William Drury*, slain by Mr. *Burroughs* in a single Combat, where the Quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Burroughs*, that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the English Gentry.

1589.

The King of *Navarre* aided by Qu. *Elizabeth* with both Men and Money.

Sir *Will. Drury* is slain by Mr. *Burroughs* in a single Combat, on a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other a Baron's younger Son.

About this time *James* King of *Scots* (with Queen *Elizabeth*'s good liking) espoused *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*, by his Deputy; but she afterwards sailing for *Scotland*, was by Tempest cast upon *Norway*, and there, thro' continual Storms, forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter season set sail thither, that the Marriage (according to his Vow) might be accomplish'd within the Year. Some were of opinion, that those Storms were caus'd by Witchcraft, and was confirm'd indeed by some Witches taken in *Scotland*, who confess'd they had rais'd those Storms to keep the Queen from landing in *Scotland*; and, that the Earl *Bothwell* had ask'd Counsel of them concerning the King's End; who was thereupon cast into Prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasion'd new Stirs in *Scotland*.

*James* King of *Scots* marries *Anne* the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter.

This Year many Noble Personages died; as, *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous in his Offspring that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes than all the Earls of *England*; also *John* Lord *Stourton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at *Brussels* the Lord *Paget*.

Many Great Persons die.

*Will. Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, his numerous Issue.

At this time the Queen, who was always frugal, strain'd one point of frugality more than ever she had done before; for, upon the information of one *Caermarden*, (tho' *Leicester*, *Burleigh*, and *Walsingham* were offended that credit should

D d d d d

be



Customer  
Smith is rais'd  
in his Farm of  
the Customs,  
how much.

be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she rais'd *Thomas Smith* the Customer from Thirteen thousand Pounds yearly, to Two and forty thousand Pounds, and at last to Fifty.

1590.

Many Noble  
Personages die

Sir Fra. Walsingham dies.

Some Disturbances in Ireland, but soon compos'd.

It was now the Year 1590, and the Three and thirtieth of Q. Elizabeth's Reign, in which the Earl of Cumberland made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level with the Ground the Fort of the *Ile of Fiala*, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

This Year was fatal to many great Personages, first died *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* (Son to *John Duke of Northumberland*) without Issue: After him, Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary, a Man more skilful in the Politicks than in the Oeconomicks, more cunning in managing Matters of the publick State, than of his own private Estate, which he left so mean, and died so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by Night, without any Funeral Pomp, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, leaving behind him one only Daughter, famous for her three Husbands, all of 'em the goodliest Men of their time, the first Sir *Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert Earl of Essex*; the third, *Richard Brugh* Earl of *Clanriccard*, by King *Charles* made Earl of *St. Albans*. Within two Months after *Walsingham*, died Sir *Thomas Randal*, who had been 14 times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater Dignities than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Post-mastership of *England*. Soon after him died Sir *James Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland* in *Edward the Sixth's* time; in Queen *Mary's* time was condemn'd of High-Treason, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time set at liberty, and made Governor of *Berwick*, and afterwards Comptroler of her House. After him died *George Talbot*, the 7th Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this House; he was made Earl-Marshal of *England*, and left behind him a Memorial of Wisdom and Integrity. Lastly, died *Thomas Lord Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governor of *Calais*.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gavelock* (so call'd because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Chane O-Neal*, accus'd *Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen* for holding private Consultations with certain *Spaniards*, who in 88 were by Shipwreck cast upon the Coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen*, to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refus'd to do it, took a Cord, and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and on Pardon obtain'd, solemnly undertook in the presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the Peace with *Turlough Leynigh*, not to usurp the Title of *O-Neal*, nor any Authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving Hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observ'd all things very dully. This Trouble allay'd, another arose; for, soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territory of *Monagan*, compell'd those under his Jurisdiction to pay him Tribute; whereupon the Deputy caus'd him to be taken and try'd by a Jury of common Soldiers, and then to be hang'd up, dividing his Lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mahons*, reserving a certain year-

ly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon *O-Rork*, fearing he would be serv'd in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of *Connaught* soon distress'd, and drove into *Scotland*, and, at the Queen's request, was by that King deliver'd up into his hands.

'Twas now the Year 1591, and the Four and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when she, careful lest *Britany* should come into the *Spaniard's* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France* to advertise the King to take care thereof, promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns where they might be in safety. Hereupon he nam'd *Cherburg*, *Granville*, or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that Three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the mean time *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who seiz'd upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a company of 600 Soldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*, and Sir *John Norris* with the rest of the Forces hasten'd into *Britany* soon after. *Roger Williams*, with his own 600, and the help of *Chartres* Governor of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates that had block'd up the passages, whose Valour the *French* King, in his Letters to the Queen, highly extol'd: Whereupon growing more courageous, and not minding his Charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where, in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter Two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

After this, the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, That he had a Purpose to set upon *Roan* before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her to send Four thousand *English* into *Normandy*; which upon certain Conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the command of *Robert Earl of Essex*, accompanied with Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killigrew*, as his Counsellors.

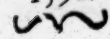
When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all; which seem'd strange, and much troubled him; but by-and-by Sir *Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious Journey; and being come thither, the King told him, He was now of necessity to go himself into *Champagne*, but promiseth to send Marshal *Biron* and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to besiege *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl return'd to his Tents expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before, so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the Affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon such uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolv'd, something still interven'd that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excus'd himself to the Queen

Sir Roger Williams extol'd by the King of France.

Robert Earl of Essex is sent with an Army to aid the K. of France.



1591.



Queen of England, and by the mediation of the Earl, and Mornay Lord du Plessis, whom to that end he sent into England, obtain'd new Supplies, and then besieg'd Roan.

Hacket's prodigious Carriage.

At this time was memorable the prodigious Carriage of one Hacket, born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, a mean fellow and of no Learning, whose first Prank was this; that when, in shew of reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he embrac'd him, he bit off his Nose, and the Man desiring to have his Nose again that it might be sew'd on while the Wound was green, he most villainously eat and swallow'd it before his face. After this, all on a sudden, he took upon him a shew of wonderful Holiness, did nothing but hear Sermons, and get Scriptures by heart, counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary Calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Ministers, and specially one Edward Coppinger, (a Gentleman of a good House) and one Arthington, a great admirer of the Geneva Discipline, that they look'd on him as sent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than

He takes upon him to be Christ.

Moses or John Baptist; and finally, that he was Christ himself, come with a Fan in his Hand to judge the World: And this they proclaim'd in Cheapside, giving out, that Hacket participated of Christ's glorified Body by his special Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over Europe, and to settle a true Discipline in the Church of England; and, that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment, with many other such incredible Blasphemies; hereupon Hacket was apprehended and arraign'd, and at last hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, continuing all the time (and at his death) his blasphemous Assertions. Coppinger a while after starv'd himself to death in Prison; Arthington repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing.

The calling of Bishops at this time cried down by some, but countenanced by the Queen.

Besides these, others also at this time oppos'd the establish'd Government of the Church of England, crying down the Calling of Bishops, with whom sided some Common-Lawyers also, affirming, That the Queen could not depute, nor these Men exercise any such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and, that the Oath *ex Officio* was unchristian. But the Queen conceiving that thro' the Sides of the Prelates she herself was shot at, suppress'd them what she could, and maintain'd the Government formerly establish'd.

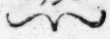
The great Ship call'd the Revenge taken by the Spaniards.

About this time the Lord Thomas Howard, six of the Queen's Ships having waited at the Azores six whole Months for the coming of the Spanish Fleet from America, was at last set upon by Alphonso Bassano with 53 Ships sent out for the Convoy of the American Fleet, where Richard Greenville Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and separated from his company, was so hem'd in by the Spanish Ships, and so batter'd with great Shot, that most of his Men being slain, his Main-mast cut off, himself sore wounded in the Head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not come into the Spaniards's hand, but this being countermanded by most Voices, 'twas agreed to yield it to the Spaniards, upon condition that the Men should be set at liberty. Greenville himself was carried in to the Spanish Admiral, where within two days he died, not without Praise of his very Enemies: Thus the

Sir Richard Greenville's Valour.

great Ship, call'd *The Revenge*, was yielded, but had so many leaks in her Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a Storm; and the loss of this one Ship was soon made good upon the Spaniards, by taking many of theirs

1591.



About this time also Cavendish, who in the Year 1578 had sail'd round about the World, now with five Ships bent his course towards the Magellan Straights, but by reason of foul weather was not able to pass 'em; and being driven to the Coast of Brazil, was there cast away.

Cavendish cast away in the Straights.

And now Enmity encreasing daily between Spain and England, two Proclamations were set forth, one prohibiting, on pain of High-Treason, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of Spain's Dominions; another, forbidding all Persons to entertain any in their Houses till enquiry be made what they were, lest they might entertain Popish Priests, who at this time came swearing into England, by reason the King of Spain had lately founded a Seminary at Valladolid for the English.

A Seminary for the English founded at Valladolid by the King of Spain.

At this time died Sir Christopher Hatton Lord-Chancellor, who, of a mean Gentleman's House, the Queen's favour rais'd to this height of Dignity; a goodly Personage of Body, of a noble, but no aspiring Spirit, the only of all the Queen's especial Favourites that died a Bachelor, and therefore left William Newport his Sister's Son his Heir, who erected for him, in St. Paul's Church, a sumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain months committed to the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Buckhurst; afterwards Puckering, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, was elected, not Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord-Chancellor, dies.

Puckering the Queen's Serjeant is made Lord-Keeper.

At this time also Bryan O-Rork, the Irish Potentate, was arraign'd at Westminster; his Indictments were, for raising Rebellion against the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horse-tail, for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he understood no English) he said, He would not be try'd unless the Queen her self sate in person to judge him: Yet being told, that it was the Law, he only said, *If it must be so, let it be so*; and so was condemn'd, and was executed at Tyburn as a Traytor, whereof he seem'd to make as little reckoning as if it had been but in jest.

Bryan O-Rork an Irish Potentate hang'd, and why.

And now this Year the Queen made the College of Dublin in Ireland a University, which was formerly the Monastery of All-Saints, endowing it with Power to confer Scholastical Dignities.

The College at Dublin made a University.

At this time Sir John Perrot, who had been Deputy of Ireland, and done good service there, was yet by the Malice of his Adversaries, of whom Hatton was one, call'd in question before the Baron Hunsdon, the Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, lately made a Councillor, Sir John Fortescue, Sir John Woolley, and some of the Judges: His Accusations were, first, That he had spoken opprobrious Words against the Queen, saying, She was Illegitimate and Cowardly; secondly, That he had foster'd notorious Traytors, and Popish Priests; thirdly, That he held Correspondence with the Prince of Parma and the Queen's Enemies. To the first of which he confess'd, that in his Passion he had spoken of the Queen unadvisedly, for which he was infinitely griev'd; the rest he deny'd, and all Men knew

Sir John Perrot arraign'd and condemn'd for Treason, but his life being spar'd, he dies in the Tower.



1591.

knew he was never Popishly affected. His Accusers were one *Philip Williams*, some time his Secretary, *Dennis O-Roghan* an *Irish* married Priest, whose Life he had sav'd; and one *Watson*, a fellow of no Worth or Reputation; yet the Crimes being urg'd against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers till eleven a-clock at Night, he was at last condemn'd of High-Treason, but Sentence was not pronounc'd till twenty days after, and yet was not put to death, but died a natural death in the *Tower*. He was a Man of a goodly Personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect for her Father King *Henry* the Eighth's sake.

The Earl of *Essex* challengeth Monsieur *Villars* to a single Combat but is refus'd.

The Earl of *Essex*, after a tedious Winter's Siege in *Normandy*, challeng'd Monsieur *Villars* Governor of *Roan* to a single Combat, who refusing to meet him, he then return'd into *England*, being call'd home by the Queen, whose Favour, by his long absence, might else have suffer'd prejudice.

And now the King of *France* hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, once again was fain to flee to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain Conditions, she granted an Army of Four thousand Men, and some great Ordnance; with which Sir *John Norris* was sent into *France*; whom yet the French King employ'd not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of *Parma's* coming into *France*, he was prevented by Death, when he had govern'd the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniards* fourteen Years; a Prince of excellent Parts, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mention'd but with Honour.

The Prince of *Parma* dies.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent with 15 Ships against the *Spaniards*, and what he did.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* considering that the King of *Spain's* chiefest strength was in his Gold of *America*, sends forth Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships, to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not come forth that Year; whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts, whereof the one he committed to Sir *John Burroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*, he waited other Opportunities; when, soon after, a mighty Carrack came in view, call'd *The Mother of God*, which from the Beak to the Stern was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying Six hundred Men besides rich Merchandise. This great Vessel they took, and in it to the value of One hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Seamen pilfer'd.

The Queen in her progress goes to *Oxford*, where her Entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This Year the Queen going in progress, pass'd thro' *Oxford*, where she was entertain'd by the Scholars with Orations, Stage-plays, and Disputations; and by the Lord *Buckhurst*, Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a *Latin* Oration, wherein she vow'd a Vow, and gave them Counsel; her Vow was, That as she desir'd nothing so much as the prosperity and flourishing state of her Kingdom, so she as much wish'd to see the Universities and Schools of Learning to flourish likewise: Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the Curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the

Laws, but follow them; nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already enacted.

This Year died *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queen *Mary* honour'd with this Title, because his Grandmother was Daughter and one of the Heirs of *John Nevil* Marquis *Montacute*; who, tho' he were a great *Roman Catholick*, yet the Queen finding him faithful always, lov'd him, and in his Sickness went to visit him. There died at this time also *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governor of the Western Borders towards *Scotland*.

1591.

*Anth. Brown* Viscount *Montacute* dies, and how this Honour came to his Family.

At this time *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queen's Authority in matters Ecclesiastical, he the said *Barrow*, as the Ringleader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the Peace of the Church.

*Henry Barrow* a seditious Sectary is put to death.

About this time, by reason of the Queen's Correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end her Subjects might have free trading in those Territories, 'twas maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the *Christians*; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperor, shewing him the falseness of this Report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

And now a constant Report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had really embraced, or was ready to embrace, the *Romish* Religion; which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilks* into *France* with Reasons (if 'twere not too late) to divert him from it; but before *Wilks* came the King indeed had openly profess'd the *Romish* Religion at the Church of *St. Dennis* in *Paris*, of which his Conversion he declar'd the Causes to *Wilks* at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom: And the French Ambassador signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity she wrote to him to this effect.

The King of *France* turns *Roman Catholick*, and acquaints Queen *Eliz.* with the necessity of his doing it.

Alas! what Grief, what Anxiety of Mind hath befallen me since I heard this News! was it possible that worldly Respects should make you lay aside God's Fear? Could you think that He, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last leave you? It is a dangerous thing to do Evil that Good may come thereof; but I hope your Mind may alter: In the mean while I will pray for you, and beg of God, that the Hands of *Esau* may not hinder the Blessing of *Jacob*.

The Queen's Letter to him out of Sorrow for it.

To this the King answer'd, That tho' he had done this in his own Person out of Necessity, yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special Care and Protection.

The King's Answer.

And now was *Richard Hacket* condemn'd and executed for Treason, being sent from the *English* Fugitives beyond Sea, to persuade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, Son to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from *Mary* Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatening him, that unless he undertook this Enterprize, and withal conceal'd him the Abettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows

*Rich. Hacket* condemn'd and executed, and why.



1593.

Ferdinand  
Earl of Derby  
his horrible  
Death.

fellows threatening prov'd not altogether vain, for the Earl within four Months died a most horrible death. This Year Death had his Tribute paid from the Nobility, for there died *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, and three renowned Barons, *Arthur Gray* of *Wilton*, *Henry Lord Cromwell*, and *Henry Lord Wentworth*; besides *Sir Christopher Carlisle*, whose warlike Prowess at Sea and Land deserves to be remembred.

*Tir-Oen* in *Ireland* assumes  
to himself the  
Title of *O-Neal*, more  
esteem'd than  
to be call'd  
Emperor.

In *Ireland*, at this time divers great Men in *Connaught* rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynigh* being dead, *Tir-Oen* assum'd to himself the Title of *O-Neal*, (which in *Ireland* is more esteem'd than to be call'd Emperor;) but on a sudden dissembling his Discontent, he submitted himself to the Deputy, and promis'd all Obedience.

1594.  
The Papists  
think upon a  
Successor to  
the Queen.  
Some would  
have the Earl  
of *Essex*, and  
frame a Right  
to him by De-  
scent.

It was now the Year 1594, and the Seven and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when the good Correspondence between the King of *Scots* and Queen *Elizabeth*, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon they began to bethink themselves of some *English* Papist that might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit Person, they fixed their Thoughts upon the Earl of *Essex*, who always seem'd a very moderate Man; and him they devised to have some Right to the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, K. *Edward* the Third's Son. But the *English* Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and desiring to set the King of *Scots* and the Earl of *Essex* at odds, they set forth a Book, which they dedicated to *Essex*, under the Name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parsons* (*Doleman's* bitter Adversary) *Cardinal Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Scope of which Book was to exclude from Succession all Persons whatsoever, and how near soever allied to the Crown, unless they were *Roman* Catholicks; contending further for the Right of *Isabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William the Conqueror*; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third; Titles obsolete, and which exceed the Bounds of Heraldry or discuss. This Year the 19th of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Essex* for her Deputy.

The most are  
for the *Infanta*  
of *Spain*, as  
having divers  
just Titles.

Prince *Henry*  
of *Scotland*  
is born.

The *Spaniards*  
sent *Lopez*  
a *Jew*,  
and Physician  
to the Queen,  
and how the  
matter was  
carried.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queen's Life; some *Spaniards* thinking to make her away by Poyson, and not daring to trust any *Englishman* in such a business, they treat to that purpose with *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Physician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyse*, and other *Portugals*; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, in relation to *Don Antonio*; who being discover'd by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were arraign'd at *Guild-hall*, and by their own Confessions convinc'd to have conspir'd against the Life of the Queen; they were all condemn'd and executed at *Tyburn*, *Lopez* professing, that he lov'd the Queen as well as *Jesus Christ*; which was the cause of Laughter to them that knew him to be a *Jew*. The next Day after them, was condemn'd *Patrick Cullen* an *Irish* Fencer, sent hither by the *English*

Fugitives, to kill the Queen, who was straight-way executed, tho' he were at that very time sick, and ready to die.

1594.

He is executed  
at *Tyburn*.

About this time *Sir John Norris* having been in a hot Conflict at Sea against the *Spaniard*, where *Sir Martin Forbisher* receiv'd his Death-wound, was now call'd home, with a purpose to send him into *Ireland*: In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins*, Son of *Sir John Hawkins* the famous Sea Captain, had been set forth a Year since, with three of the Queen's Ships, and 200 Men in them, whereof one of them at the Isle of *St. Anne* was by chance fired, and another of them separated by Tempest, return'd into *England*; himself in the third pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*, being the sixth Man in the *Spanish* Accompt that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five Ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffer'd to redeem themselves for 2000 Ducats: But atlast being set upon by *Bertrandus a Castro*, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those Parts, with eight Ships against him, after three Days Battery the yielded, and tho' upon Composition, yet was nevertheless sent into *Spain*, and there for divers Years kept Prisoner.

*Richard Hawkins*  
taken  
Prisoner by the  
*Spaniards*.

But *James Lancaster* in another part of *Ameica* had better success; for being set forth by some *London Merchants* (whose Goods the *Spaniards* had seiz'd) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took 39 *Spanish* Ships, and at *Fernambuco* in *Brafile*, where the Wealth of an *East-Indian* Caraque was lately unloaden, he desperately venturing upon the Shore, loaded fifteen Ships with the Wealth of the *Indian* Caraque; *Sugar-Reed*, *Red Wood*, call'd *Brazil*, and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously return'd home.

*James Lancaster*  
takes 39  
*Spanish* Ships,  
and much rich  
Merchandize.

At *Rome*, about this time, died *Cardinal Allen*, born in *Lancashire* of an honest Family, brought up in *Oxford* in *Oriel College*. In *Qu. Mary's* days he was Proctor of the University, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at *York*: Upon the change of Religion in *England* he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at *Doway* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procur'd a Seminary to be set up in *Doway* for the *English*; another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*; and through Zeal of the *Romish* Religion, forgot whose Subject he was born.

*Cardinal Allen*  
dies, and of his  
Education.

At home, at this time, died *John Peers* Archbishop of *York*, in whose place succeeded *Matthew Hatton*, translated from the See of *Durham*. There died also *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the flower of his Age, miserably tormented, and vomiting stuff of a dark rusty Colour, being thought to have been poyson'd or bewitch'd. There was found in his Chamber a little Image of Wax, with Hairs of the colour of his Hairs thrust into the Belly; which some thought was done on purpose, that Men should not suspect him to be poyson'd: His Vomit so stain'd the silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out; and his Body, tho' put in Searcloths, and wrapped in Lead, did so stink and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Master of the Horse was much suspected, who the same Day the Earl took his Bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also died *George Pines*

The strange  
death of *Fer-*  
*dinand* Earl  
of *Derby*.

E e e e

Lord



1594.

Lord Dacres, a Man somewhat craz'd, the Son of *Thomas Lord Dacres*, hang'd in the Reign of King *Henry VIII.*

And now Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Ruffel* youngest Son of *Francis Earl of Bedford*, is sent Deputy into *Ireland*, to whom *Tir-Oen* submits himself, but dissemblingly.

1595.

*Edmund York* and *Richard Williams* executed for being bribed to kill the Queen. A new Rumour spread of a new Fleet of *Spaniards*, to invade *England*, but false.

It was now the Year 1595, and the Eight and thirtieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who were formerly apprehended, came to their Tryal, and were executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant Rumour was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were coming again against *England*, with a far better Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under Sail; whereupon Soldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Channel; the other to go for *America* under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain *Spaniards*, who loosed from the Sea-coast of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the Morning landing in *Cornwall*, fired a Church standing alone in the Fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *Newlyne*, *Mowshole* and *Pensans*, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one Person; and these were the first and last *Spaniards* that in hostile manner ever set foot upon *English* Ground.

And now Mischief growing daily in *France*, a great number persuaded the King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially having lately receiv'd Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave, that he was receiv'd into the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's Benediction, and upon Conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Voyage to *Guiana*, and what he did.

And therefore at this time were divers Undertakings of the *English* against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having de-flower'd a Maid of Honour (whom he afterward married) had lost the Queen's Favour, and was held in Prison for certain Months; but afterward being set at liberty, tho' banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*; setting Sail from *Plymouth* in *February*, he arriv'd at *Trinidad*, where he took St. *Joseph's* Town, but found not one jot of Money there. From hence with Boats and 100 Soldiers, he enter'd the vast River *Oronoko*, ranging up into *Guiana* 400 Miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, *Amias Preston* and *Summers* pillag'd sundry Towns of the King of *Spain's* in the Western Parts, and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fir'd when they were

in Fight; and these were the Enterprizes of private Persons: But the Queen being inform'd, that great store of Wealth for the K. of *Spain's* use was convey'd to *Porto-Rico* in St. *John's* Island, sent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerville*, with Land-Forces, furnishing them with six Ships out of her own Navy, and 20 other Men of War. They set Sail from *Plymouth* the last of *August*, and 27 Days after, came upon the Coast of the great *Canary*, which being strongly fortify'd, they forbore to assault. A Month after they came to the Isle of St. *Domingo*, where five *Spanish* Ships being sent forth to watch the *English*, lighted upon one of the small *English* Ships which was stray'd from the Company, and putting the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the *English* Navy was bent to *Porto-Rico*; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarn'd, they might accordingly be arm'd: And thereupon as soon as the *English* had cast Anchors in the Road of *Porto-Rico*, the *Spaniards* thunder'd against them from the Shore; Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* were wounded as they sat at Supper, and two Days after died: *Hawkins* also and *Drake*, partly of Disease, and partly of grief for their ill success, died soon after. At the end of eight Months the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired only some few Towns and Ships, but receiv'd infinite damage themselves; lost two such Seamen as the Kingdom, I may say all *Europe*, had not their like left. For the *Spaniards* having of late Years receiv'd great harms by *French* and *English*, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easily to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the Low-Countries, the great Charges she had been at in relieving them Ten Years together; for which she requir'd some considerable Recompense: The States again alledg'd the great Charges they were at in Eighty eight in repelling the *Spaniards* in her Cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable Retribution; but yet for the present nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hans-Towns in *Germany* make a Complaint to the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the King of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *English* Merchants was set up in *Germany*: To which the Queen by Sir *Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the Reason of Queen *Mary's* prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an Answer, that those very Hans-Towns which complained, brought into *England* at this time such store of Corn, that it prevented a Mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have happen'd in *London*.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Personages, *Philip Earl of Arundel*, condemn'd in the Year 1589, the Queen had all this while spared, but now Death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to Contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one only Son,

1595.

*Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerville* are sent to *Porto Rico*.

Their ill success, through grief whereof *Hawkins* and *Drake* died.

This Year many great Personages died.



1595.

Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Ann* Daughters of *Gilliland*. He had two brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one Sister, the Lady *Margaret* married to *Robert* *Sackville*, afterward Earl of *Dorset*, and Father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorset*, now living; a Lady so mild, so virtuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no less, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happiness to know her living, and the unhappiness to be a Mourner at her Funeral. There died this year also *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papist, and Sir *Thomas* *Heneage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to Sir *Moyle* *Finch* of *Kent*, was no small advance of that House. There dyed also *William* *Whitaker*, Master of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir *Roger* *Williams*, and Sir *Thomas* *Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Soldiers.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir-Oen*, sent into *England*, requiring to have some experienced Soldiers sent unto him with forces, who though he desired *Baskerville* to be the man, yet Sir *John* *Norris* was sent unto him with thirteen hundred old Soldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward* *Cornwall* the Governor took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdalous manner (as he was a double-dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputy's servants, and at the same time maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry* *Wallop*, of Loyalty and Obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh* *O'Neal*, bastard Son to *Con* *O'Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster* a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: And in *Connaught*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tir-Oen's* command: And the Forces of the *English* under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to *Armagh*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tir-Oen* forsaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the Title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt him and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tir-Oen* as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private Conference with him (a thing not lawful with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and Hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir-Oen* exhibited certain Petitions, protesting if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal Subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: During which Truce, *Tir-Oen*

dealt secretly with the King of *Spain*, for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldom upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

In the midst of these *Irish* Affairs, *Albert*, Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, mustered together the *Spanish* Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besieged *Calais*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commanded to levy Soldiers, whom she committed to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain news came, that the Town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniards*; Whereupon the Queen's Army was dismissed, and only some Money lent to the *French* King.

But a few days after, a far greater and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Volunteers: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Soldiers under pay, Six thousand three hundred and threescore; Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, One thousand; Mariners, Six thousand seven hundred seventy and two, besides the *Dutchmen*, who brought two and twenty Ships, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* *Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned the Lord *Thomas* *Howard*, Sir *Walter* *Rawleigh*, *Francis* *Vere*, *George* *Carew*, and *Conyers* *Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral commanded the first; *Essex* the second; the Lord *Thomas* *Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis* *Vere*, Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John* *Wingfield* Quarter Master General; *George* *Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers* *Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, Sir *Christopher* *Blount*, Sir *Thomas* *Gerrard*, Sir *Richard* *Wingfield*; *William* *Wingfield* was commander of the Volunteers; and *Anthony* *Ashley*, Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withal, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cape* *St. Vincent*: they lighted upon an *Irish* Barque, which told them, that at *Cales* they were secure, and then in the Haven there were at anchor Gallies, Ships of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The 20th of *June* they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were

1595

*Tir-Oen* to win time, dissimulates

*Albert* Duke of *Austria*, takes *Calais* by a sudden assault.

*Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* *Howard* Lord Admiral, are sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*, and the passages of it.

Sir *John* *Norris* is sent into *Ireland* with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* proclaimed Traytor.

*Norris* out of emulation to the Deputy favours *Tir-Oen*.



1595.

agreed to set upon the *Spanish* Ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for Joy, This business was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the *Spanish* Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntal*, turned their broad sides; so as the *English* fight with them lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Gallies miserably torn, and many of their Men slain, resolved to fire the Ships, or run them on shore. The *Spanish* Admiral being fifteen hundred Tun of Burden, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When the Sea-fight was ended, *Essex* landed Eight hundred Soldiers at *Puntal*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a Mile from the Town, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town: Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he spied a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage* and others leaped down; and the mean while Sir *Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in; and the rest with him. In the Market Place *John Wingfield* was shot in the Head, and with stones from the top of Houses divers were wounded; amongst whom *Samuel Bagnall* received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over, which two were Knighted in the Place. The next day the Castle was yielded, upon condition, that the Inhabitants might depart with the Clothes on their Backs, the rest to be left for spoil. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Ducats the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the Payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port-Real*, when they promised two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismiss them upon composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of Money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, that the *Spaniards* could not be damnified less by this Expedition, than twenty Millions of Ducats. None of Note was slain amongst the *English*, but only *Wingfield*, who also slew a *Spanish* Captain; and now at last, threescore Military Men were honoured with Knight-hood. After this, having spoiled the whole Island, and demolished the Fort, they returned into *England*, much against the Will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprize.

The Queen received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principal Note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex*

and the Admiral above the rest. And now bethinking her self of a fit Man to be Governor of the *Bryll*, which was given by the *States* as a Caution Town for Money due she made choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, although *Essex* commended others to her for the Place: But another thing he took with great Indignation, that in his absence she had made Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to her.

Sir Robert Cecil is made Secretary of State.

And now the King of *Spain*, to recover his Honour lost at *Calais*, setteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Irish* Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms, so as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French* King, against the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions: which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chapel at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her Hand upon the Hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* holding forth the Evangelists, and a great Company of the Nobility standing round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Embassage into *France* to take the *French Kings* oath, and to present Sir *Antony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambassadour in Ordinary in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskerville* wasted into *Picardy* with Two thousand Soldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this Year.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Wardour* returned into *England*, from the War in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperor by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their posterity, Males or Female, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperor's Dominions, may take up voluntary Soldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privy, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the *English* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Sir *Anthony Shirley*, whom the *French* King two years since received into the Order of *St. Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order. This Year many great Persons dyed; *John Puck-*

1595.

Queen Elizabeth enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the King of France.

1596.

An. Reg. 29. Thomas Arundel of Wardour is by the Emperor made Earl of the Empire; and what the Privileges of that honour are.

Whether Honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privy are to be admitted.



1596.

Many great persons die.

*Puckering* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of London, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queens Displeasure; and to cure his Cares, fell immoderately to taking Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cavew* Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's House, and her Cousin German Sir *Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdon's* Sister, in Queen *Mary's* days an Exile in Germany for the Gospel, by Queen *Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Household, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the North, who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis Lord Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom; and *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby*, (who descended of the Blood Royal from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with Sorcerers and cunning Men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queen's favour.

The Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh and others are sent to seize the Spanish Fleet, but are distressed by Tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of Spain was preparing a new Fleet against Ireland; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queen's, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of Provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the Expedition, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Raleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry; *Charles Blount*, Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Cavew*, Sir *Christopher Blount*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Grey*, *Cromwell Rich*, and many others. The 9th of July they weighed Anchor from *Plymouth*, and were to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Groyne*, to seize upon the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, and to intercept the Indian Fleet at their return into Spain; but this Expedition was crossed and overthrown by tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plymouth*: The Navy being amended, they hoisted up Sail the second time, but the Wind fell presently again so cross, that for a whole Months time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plymouth*, the 17th of August they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side-wind hoisted up sail, but before they came in view of Spain, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Cales*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandered no Man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again, where *Raleigh* being distressed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fyal*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a Booty. Upon this *Raleigh* with some of the prime Vo-

lunteers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Raleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, that he had done it only to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the exploit: Whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and then displace him: others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave: saying, He was never like to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and others of *Raleigh's* Company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Raleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his party; *Essex* rebuked him angrily for landing his forces, which none upon pain of Death might do, without the Generals Command; *Raleigh* made answer, that the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Raleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

From hence they sail to *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy, and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the Indian Fleet, but that *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded, because the Harbour was not good. And now see the unluckiness of ill counsel, for the English were not gone above an hour or two from this place, when lo, the American Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them laden with treasure) cometh thither, which hearing that the English were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the English took, and then were minded to set upon the rest in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from thence to *St. Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six Miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town and well furnished with Merchandize, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days, and the common Soldiers found good Booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the East-Indies, which, by a warning piece shot off in a Dutch Ship, perceiving that the English were there, run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the English had ill luck every where in this Expedition: And the 9th of October they hoisted sail for England; but within two days, a terrible tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the Spanish Fleet also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one Spanish Ship was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Soldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the Spanish Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from Spain

1596.

For this he is questioned by the Earl, his Answer and the Lord Tho. Howards mediation, reconciles all.

The English miss the Spanish Fleet through ill counsel.

F f f f f

Spain

Raleigh without leave goes ashore, and takes Fyal.



1594.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of Nottingham to the discontentment of the Earl of Essex

The Earl of Essex is made Earl Marshal, of purpose to take place of the Admiral.

The sawcy speech of a Polish Ambassador to the Queen, and her Answer.

Baskerville and Sir Arthur Savage's Service in recovering of Amiens.

Spain; but the Divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the Spaniards and the English.

But now at his return, the Earl of Essex found that done in England, in his absence, which infinitely discontented him; Sir Robert Cecil made Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster; and which was more, Charles Lord Howard, created Earl of Nottingham, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good service at Calles: This glory he envied him, and besides stomached it, that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom should have Precedence of all Men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marshal of England, by which he recovered his place again.

About this time, an Ambassadour came into England, from the King of Poland; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having procured a peace between the King his Master, and the Turk, he clean contrary expostulated unkindness, for breach of Privileges in trading with Spain, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherwise right himself. The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied; How was I deceived? I expected an Ambassador, and behold an Herald; such a speech I never heard of in my life-time. And after some further checking of him for his boldness, she referred him to her Council; and then retired into her Closet. The Ambassador afterward in private Conference with some of the Council, excused himself, saying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To this Message, the Council gave the like Answer as they had given before to the Hans-Towns, upon the like occasion: Though now again, the Hans-Towns obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the English from trading in Germany, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hans-Towns from trading in England; and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

This year the Chancellor of Denmark came into England to restore the Garter, which she had bestowed upon the Kings Father, and withal offering the King's help to make Peace for the Queen with the Spaniard. The Queen thanked him, but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of France her Ally, and had taken Amiens the strongest Town in Picardy: Though why should the Queen be so tender of the French King, when now to get an Aid of four thousand Soldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Pope's Nuncio a very commodious Peace, if he would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, Amiens was recovered again by the valour of Baskerville, (who died at the Siege) and of Sir Arthur Savage, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

About this time a Parliament was holden at Westminster, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord dela Ware, and restored to his Blood, which by Act of Parliament in the reign of King Ed-

ward the Sixth was tainted. Also to this Parliament was called Thomas Lord Howard, by the Title of Baron Howard of Walden.

In Ireland at this time, a great part of Ulster, and almost all Connaught, was in Rebellion; whereupon Russel the Deputy was called home, and Thomas Lord Burroughs sent in his place, a Man very stout and courageous, but no Soldier. This infinitely discontented Norris, who thought himself sure of the place, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of Munster drave him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Earl Tir-Oen craveth and obtaineth a months Truce of the new Deputy; at the months end the Deputy marched against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at Black-water, when suddenly the Rebels shew themselves upon a hill hard by, against whom the Earl of Kildare marches and puts them to flight; but yet with some loss of his own side, as Francis Vaughan the Deputies Brother in Law, Turner a Serjeant Major, and two Foster-Brothers of the Earl of Kildare, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few days he died himself.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at Black-water, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again, (for this was the main place of their strength) which caused the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, but unhappily died by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely than before; but being still repelled, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of Thomas Williams the Captain and the Garison Soldiers saved the place, who, when their Horse-flesh was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kind of misery. And now the Lord Burroughs the Deputy being dead, the Army, by direction from England, was committed to the Earl of Ormond, and the Government to two Lords Justices, Adam Loft-house Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, and Robert Gardiner: to this new Lieutenant, Tir-Oen exhibited a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time stirreth up Mac Hugh to a new Rebellion in Lemster.

In France at this time, the French King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with Spain; which the Queen understanding, she sent into France Sir Robert Cecil, Herbert and Wilks, (who died at his landing in France.) The States likewise sent thither Justine of Nassaw and Barneveldt, and others likewise into England to dissuade the Peace, but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the French King shortly after concluded a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States; but to the great good, and establishment of the French Commonwealth.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her Peoples Safety, sent Sir Francis Vere to the States, to know if they were willing to join in a Treaty of Peace with the Spaniards: if not, what

1595.

The Lord Tho. Howard is made Baron of Walden.

The Lord Burroughs is sent Deputy into Ireland. Norris that expected the place, discontented, falls sick and dies.

The Fort of Black-water gained by the Deputy.

The Lord Burroughs dies.

Tir-Oen complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances, and at the same time stirreth up Mac Hugh to a new Rebellion.

The King of France concludes a Peace with Spain against Queen Elizabeths liking.



1595.

A Consultation, whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England or no. Burleigh is for it, Essex against it.

what they would afford towards a War; and to deal earnestly with them about repayment of Money due to her from them. At home in the mean time was holden a great Consultation, Whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England, or no? and many Reasons were on both sides alledg'd. Burleigh Lord Treasurer was for Peace, Essex for War, and so vehement in it, that the Treasurer, after long debating, in a strange manner of presage, reach'd forth the Book of the Psalms to him, pointing him to that Verse, *The bloody-minded Man shall not live out half his Days*: Which made Essex afterward set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his Opinion.

The Queen gives the Earl a box on the Ear, and why and how he took it.

But now another Consultation was held about a fit Man to be Deputy of Ireland; The Queen intended to send Sir William Knolles, Essex's Uncle; but Essex was violent for Sir George Carew, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means persuade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turn'd his back upon the Queen, muttering certain Words. Whereupon she growing impatient, gave him a box on the Ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance: Essex laid his Hand upon his Sword hilt, and swore a great Oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an Indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King Henry the Eighth's hands; and so in rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonish'd by the Lord Keeper, he became more mild; and in a short time return'd into the Queen's favour.

The Lord Burleigh Lord Treasurer dies.

About this time William Cecil Lord Burleigh, and High Treasurer of England, finding himself to droop with Age, (for he was now threescore and seventeen Years old) sent Letters to the Queen, entreating her to release him of his publick Charge; whereupon she went to visit and comfort him; but within a few Days he ended his Life, after he had been the principal stay of the English Common-wealth for many Years together. One great good he did to his Country a little before his death, that he brought the States of the Low-Countries to a Composition for the payment of Eight hundred thousand Pounds, by thirty thousand Pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of Denmark's Subjects having lately seiz'd upon some Goods of the English as Prize, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollars; the Queen sent the Lord Zouch, and Christopher Perkins Doctor of Law, in Embassyage to the Dane, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Elector's Daughter of Brandenburg, and also to crave restitution of the English Goods; who obtain'd, that in lieu thereof threescore thousand Dollars were repaid. And now George Clifford Earl of Cumberland, having with a Navy of eleven Ships waited for Portugal Caragues and the American Fleet, till the Season of the Year was past (they not daring to stir forth) he at last set upon Porto-Rico, and took it; but seven hundred of his Men falling sick of Calentures, and dying within forty Days, he was fain to return home with some Honour, but little profit.

The Earl of Cumberland takes Porto-Rico.

About this time, one Edward Squire was arraign'd of High Treason; he had been at first an

ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable, and going as a Soldier in Drake's last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into Spain; there he came acquainted with one Wallpole an English Jesuite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition for an Heretick, and the Fellow tasting of Misery, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick Cause. His ghostly Father perswaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of Essex, and sent him into England with a certain Poyson, wherewith to anoint the Pomel of the Queen's Saddle, and the Chair in which the Earl should sit, which he accordingly perform'd, but neither of them took effect, whereupon Wallpole suspecting Squire's Fidelity, was bent to revenge it, and sent one into England, who in general terms should lay this aspersion upon him; whereupon Squire is call'd in question, and never thinking that his Confessor would detect him, directly denied all at first, but after being himself betray'd, confess'd all the matter, and was executed.

Edward Squire executed, and why

This whole Year the Rebellion was hot in Ireland; for Tir-Oen, notwithstanding his pardon lately obtain'd, all on a sudden besieg'd the Fort at Black-water, to the raising of which Siege the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marshal, Tir-Oen's sworn Adversary, him Tir-Oen slew, and put his whole Army to rout, and achiev'd such a Victory, with so great loss to the English, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in Ireland; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Soldiers were slain at this skirmish, and soon after the Fort of Black-water was yielded up. And now Tir-Oen's Fame began to resound as the Assertor of the Liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all Munster break forth into Rebellion: For the cherishing whereof Tir-Oen sent thither Ouny Mac-Rorye and Terrell (who originally an English-man, was grown a deadly Enemy to the English Nation) with four hundred Kerns. Against these Thomas Norris, President of the Province, march'd to Killmallock with a good force; but finding that the Irish Soldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperse his Army, and retire to Cork. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoiled the Country, and in cruel manner put all the English to the Sword. Furthermore they declare Fitz-Thomas to be the Earl of Desmond; but upon condition he should hold of O-Neal; that is, of Tir-Oen, who now dispatch'd Letters to the Spaniard, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of Peace with the English; and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffer'd some kind of submission to the Lieutenant, but withal made unreasonable demands.

Tir-Oen breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the English a great defeat.

Yet at the same time makes some offer of Submission.

The State of Ireland being thus in combustion a serious Consultation is holden whom to send to quench it: The Qu. and most of the Council thought Sir Charles Blount Lord Mounjoy the fittest Man; but Essex covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too bookish to prove a good Commander: He seem'd to aim at the place for himself, tho' he made a shew modestly to refuse it, and yet still ready with

1596.

1597.

A Consultation is held, whom to send against Tir-Oen.



1597.

At last the E.  
of Essex is sent  
with ample  
Authority.

with his exceptions if any other were nominated: Many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his Hands, for his Followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the Blood Royal of Scotland and England, and had better right to the Crown than any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority to make War, or conclude Peace, and pardon all Offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desir'd; indeed greater than ever Ireland had seen before, twenty thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse: With these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into Ireland; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he march'd towards *Munster* against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoining. His Forces being now impair'd, he tarrieth to make them up, but in the mean time sendeth Directions to *Sir Conyers Clifford*, President of *Connaught*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their Forces) while he assaulted them in another: *Clifford* march'd towards *Belike*, 1500 Soldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the Conduct of *O-Rork*, (his Son that was hang'd here in England.) The English repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish *Clifford* and many of the old Soldiers were slain.

*Essex* having by this receiv'd new Supplies out of England, and a check for neglecting the Queen's Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster* with 1300 Foot, and 500 Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a Messenger requested parley; *Essex* refuseth, saying, He might speak with him the next Morning between the two Armies: The next Day word is brought to *Essex*, that *Tir-Oen* crav'd the Queen's mercy, and that he might only be heard to speak, appointing the shallow of *Bala Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the Girts) had private conference a full Hour. A while after, *Con* (*Tir-Oen's* base Son) came to *Essex*, requesting in his Father's Name a second parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present; *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the Day appointed, many Words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should treat the next Day concerning a Peace: Between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six Weeks to six Weeks, till *May-day*.

A Truce is  
concluded.

The Queen  
writes to *Essex*,  
blaming  
his delay.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much Time and Money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earl's proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his Mind, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatch'd very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: With which Letters *Essex* was so nettled, and chiefly troubled that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself, that he began

to cast strange projects within his Mind, and held private Consultations of returning into England with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries: But from this course the Earl of *Southampton* and *Sir Christopher Blount* dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a Month over he went, and came to the Court at *None such* to inform the Queen of the State of Ireland. By the Way the Lord *Gray of Wilton* cross'd him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offer'd to kill for his Contempt; but *Essex* would not suffer him; and made such haste, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy-Chamber. She entertain'd him courteously, but not with the Countenance she was wont: And after a little talk, bid him keep in his Chamber; and soon after committed him to Custody in the Lord Privy Seal's House; where entering into consideration of his Case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderful Letters to his Friends, of the Vanity of the Things of this Life.

It was now the Year 1600, and the 42 of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of Ireland, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the Possessions of such as continu'd in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon *Sir Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a Spear, and was himself thrust through withal. Whereupon the Queen sent *Sir Charles Blount* Lord *Mountjoy*, to take upon him the Deputy's place, who loseth no time, but first of all march'd towards *Ulster*, buildeth a Fort within eight Miles of *Armagh*, which in honour of *Sir John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he call'd by the Name of *Mount Norris*; where he placed *Edward Blaine*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those Parts: From thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, where in the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order *Donel-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking Hostages of them; then back into *Ulster* again, being Victor wheresoever he cometh, and at *Tredah* receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other Rebels who fell at his Feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first Year, and no less successful was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drove out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*; and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province, in April he overcame it, and made it so quiet by December following, that the Rebels maintain'd no one Fort in it against the Queen.

And now a new Consultation was holden in England touching a Peace with the K. of Spain, the which he fought both by the French King and by *Albertus* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the Netherlands out of Spain, where he was married to the Infanta. The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the French K. to nominate both the Time and Place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the Month of May, and *Buloign* in France: But now foreseeing that a Question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search ancient Records concerning that point. These Men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court

1597.

*Essex* without  
leave comes  
over to the  
Queen.

Is welcom'd  
with committing  
him to  
the Lord Privy  
Seal.

1600.

The Earl of  
*Tir-Oen* upon  
*Essex's* departure  
carries  
himself as  
Monarch of  
Ireland.

*Sir Charles  
Blount* Lord  
*Mountjoy* is  
sent Deputy  
into Ireland.

A Treaty of  
Peace is agreed  
on in Spain.



1599.

The English Commissioners have a charge not to give Precedence to Spain; and why.

Court of Rome, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the rest, as the Lady and Mistresses, that amongst Kings the first place is due to the Kings of France, the second to the Kings of England, and the third to the King of Castile; That the English quietly held this privilege in the General Councils of Basil, Constance, and others: Besides the Kingdom of Castile, (which is the Spaniards first Title, and which is but an upstart in regard of England) had Earls, but no Kings till the Year 1017. In like manner Pope Julius the Third gave Sentence for Henry the Seventh of England, against Ferdinand, who was then King of Castile.

At the Day appointed, the Delegates met at Bulloign, Sir Henry Nevill, Leiger Ambassador, Sir John Herbert, Robert Beal, and Thomas Edmunds for the English, and other for the K. of Spain and the Archduke. The English had Instructions, first, concerning Precedency, in no case to give way to the King of Spain; yet if they contended, to put the Matter to the decision of Lots, rather than the Treaty should be dissolv'd; and for the rest, to purpose and mention the reviewing of the ancient Burgundian League, freedom of Commerce, &c.

The Spaniards being deny'd Precedence, break off the Treaty.

At the meeting, when they had severally shewed their Commissions, the English challenge the Precedency, the Spaniards do the like, and in so peremptory a manner, that without it they would dissolve the Treaty. Hereupon the English made a proposition to let pass the Question of Precedency; and to transact the business by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for three-secre Days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpose; and at three Months end they parted.

The famous Battel of Newport won by the Valour of the English.

The States the mean while were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea-coast of Flanders into their Command; and thereupon they landed an Army there of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of Maurice of Nassau; and fifteen hundred of the English under the command of Sir Francis Vere, and his Brother Horatio. At which time happen'd the famous Battel of Newport against the Archduke, where nine thousand of the Spaniards were slain; and the Victory, by the Valour of the English, fell to the Dutch; for so forward were the English in this Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were slain and fore wounded, eight Captains kill'd, and of the rest every Man hurt.

The Company of East-India Merchants founded by the Queen.

All this Year and the Year past sundry quarrels and complaints arose between the English and French, touching reprisals of Goods taken from each other by Parties of either Nation. Also touching Customs and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of Blois, and deceit in English Cloths, to the great Infamy of the Nation. In Denmark likewise arose controversies touching Commerce, and the Fishing of the English upon the Coast of Island and Norway. The Queen also at that time, for the encrease of Navigation and Commerce, founded the Company of the East-India Merchants, allowing them large Privileges: But whether this hath prov'd beneficial to the Common-wealth (there having been by this

means such a mass of Money and great store of other Commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and so many Mariners lost every Year, wise Men make a Question.

About this time also Pope Clement the Eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breves into England, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, to suffer no Person whatsoever to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queen's death, but one that should promise by Oath, to promote with all his might the Roman Catholick Religion, how near soever otherwise he were ally'd to the Blood Royal of the King of England.

This Year by reason of intemperate Weather, happen'd a great scarcity of Corn in England, and thereby many grievous Complaints were occasion'd. The common People cast out reproachful Slanders against the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, as the Granter of Licenses for transportation of Corn; but he apply'd to the Queen, she forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the Fault upon Broggers of Corn, and Forestallers of Markets, and gave order that the Slanderers should be apprehended and punish'd.

The Earl of Essex, who had now been Prisoner six Months in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverse Counsellors Gilley, Merrick and Henry Cusse, and then he shew'd so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then sent him to his own House, and to be there confin'd, always protesting that she would do nothing that should be for his Ruin, but only that which should be for his Amendment. Nevertheless, when as the common People extoll'd his Innocency, she could not for the removal of suspicion of Injustice, free her self and her Councillors, but bring him to tryal; not in the Star-Chamber, lest the Censure should fall too heavy on him, but in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, where the Cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The Objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into Munster, neglecting the Arch-rebel Tir-Oen; entertain'd a Parley with him against the Dignity of the Queen's Majesty, and the Person of a Viceroy, which he represented: And, that the said Parley was suspicious, in regard it was private. Some Aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt Sentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two Years since; as these, *No Storm is more fierce than the Indignation of an impotent Prince. What! cannot Princes err? May they not injure their Subjects?* and such like.

He falling upon his Knee at the End of the Board, profess'd he would not contend with the Queen, nor excuse the Faults of his young Years either in whole or in part; protesting that he always meant well, however it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withal shedding many Tears, so as the standers-by wept also. Yet could he not contain himself, but began to plead Excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed

1599.

The Earl of Essex upon his penitence is allow'd to live at his own House.

Yet he is brought to a private Tryal in the Lord Privy Seal's House, and what was objected against him.

The Earl protests his innocency, and sheweth his repentance with Tears.



1599.

What his Censure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

Cuffe taxeth the Earl for cowardise.

The Earl's submissive Letter to the Queen.

1601.

Being deny'd the Farm of sweet Wines, he grows again discontented.

Useth all the ways of popularity.

ceed as he began, to fly to the Queen's Mercy, who would not have him question'd for disloyalty, but only for a Contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in Words, which in Deeds he had not perform'd. At length, in the Name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Councillor, suspended from the Functions of the Earl Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and be imprison'd during the Queen's pleasure. She had given express charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderful humility and mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly she remov'd *Barkeley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large, only admonishing him, to make his own Discretion his Keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who always perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of Cowardise and Pusillanimity, that the Earl in anger commanded his Name to be put out of the Roll of his Servants; yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffe's* mind himself.

*Essex* being now ready to go into the Country, remember'd himself to the Queen by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these Words; *That he kiss'd the Rod, and the Queen's Hands, which had only corrected, not overthrow him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed Eyes which had been his load-stars, whereby he had steer'd his course, while he held on his way at lawful distance: But now he resolv'd to eat Grass with Nebuchadnezzar, till it pleas'd the Queen to restore his Senses.* She being greatly joy'd with these his Speeches; *Would to God (said she) his Deeds be answerable to his Words: He hath long try'd my Patience, I must now make tryal of his Humility.*

And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queen's Favour, that he became a Suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; but she, to try his Temper, and with what Mind he would bear a Repulse, made him answer, That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had often times in her Mouth the Aphorism of Physicians, That foul Bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to find whether the Ulcer of his Mind were thoroughly cured or no; for being not thoroughly cur'd, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as tho' every denial of a Courtesie were an Injury that requir'd Revenge, his Melancholy was presently turn'd into Choler: Now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again, telling him, That it was now plain the Queen determin'd to make him as poor as *Job*; that he should live of the Basket, and gather Crumbs under the Table. Hereupon he return'd to London. *Southampton* is sent for out of the Low-Countries, his Doors are set open for all Comers: *Merrick*, his Steward, receiveth to his own Table decay'd Soldiers, discontented and audacious Persons; Sermons are made there every Day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signs of Popularity appear'd; which matters coming to the Queen's

Ears, alienated her Affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despis'd by him; for (not to say the worst) he had murmur'd, That the Queen was now old, and decrepit and wither'd as well in Mind as Body.

And now again he runneth upon desperate counsels for the removal of his Adversaries from the Court, seeketh to screw himself into the K. of *Scot's* favour, to whom he traduceth his Adversaries, by name *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecil*, and the Admiral, as inclin'd to the Spanish Faction, and at one and the same time seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his Party, but few of his Counsel; and these were the Earls of *Southampton*, *Sir Charles Davers*, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* Captain of the Garrison of *Plymouth*, *Sir Christopher Blount*, and some others. With these he met privately in *Drury-House* to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favour'd him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, Whether it were better to set upon the Tower of London, or the Queen's Palace; this latter they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner; *Blount* should keep the great Gate with a select number of Men, and *Davers* seize upon the Presence Chamber: Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mews*, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurer's House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four Months in contriving, was by this means quite dash'd, for they had ready at the present neither Soldiers nor Ammunition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on: At which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex's* Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Citizens to promise him their Aid: which made *Essex* to applaud his own great good Fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely, the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, *Sir William Knolls* and the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, sent by the Queen to *Essex's* House, who could hardly be suffer'd to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confus'd number of People, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland* and *Southampton* in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to *Essex*, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, promising Justice if any Person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cry'd out, They lie in wait for my Life, we are met to defend ourselves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly Multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, kill them, cast away that Great Seal. *Essex* retireth into the house, the Lords follow him; he chargeth them to make the doors fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (saith he) I must go into the City to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

There

1601.

Who were his chief adherents and Counsellors.

They resolve to set upon the Queen's Palace, and in what manner.

But are prevented.

The Lord Keeper and three other of the Privy Council, sent to *Essex's* House, to know the cause of this concourse. And his Answer.

But presently giving charge to keep the Lords, he goes into the City.



1601.

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh haste into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith's* house, who shifteth himself forth at a Back-door; and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartned; *Gorge* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, while the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl was content that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *Gorge* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by Water.

He comes to Sheriff *Smith's* house, looking for aid, but *Smith* was gone. *Essex* is proclaimed a Traytor.

*Gorge* goeth and letteth all the Lords at liberty.

*Essex* returning and finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night *Essex* yields himself to the Lord Admiral.

He is sent to the Tower together with the Earl of *Southampton* and other Lords.

*Essex* and *Southampton* are arraign'd.

Now when *Essex* thought to remain, he found a Chain fastned cross the street, at the West end of *Paul's*, and Men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his Sword, and having once given the word, *Blount* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queen-Hytbe*, and went to *Essex* House; where, finding the Counsellors all dismissed, he grew extream angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral besiegeth the House, commanderh them to yield. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolveth to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the Company) greatly urged it, saying, it were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex's* mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their Weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten a clock at night, *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more, were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the Besiegers. The next day *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Soldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishop's house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queen's direction; and with them *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Darvers*, and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common Prisons.

On the 19th of February, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment before their Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High

Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded if it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, That in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they liable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indicted of High Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Councillors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queen's Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withal averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Telverton* aggravated the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private Revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex*, by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the Spaniard: whereto *Essex* replied, That he heard indeed, that *Cecil* the Secretary, should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecil* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion; which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Councillor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecil*) it is a Fiction; still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecil* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him by all manner of Obtestations to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable assembly, and to *Cecil* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* named Sir *William Knolls*, *Essex's* Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecil's* entreaty, said, That *Cecil* two years since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High-Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queen's mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cuff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orel* an old Soldier, were called to their Tryal; but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk Gre-*

1601.

They plead not guilty.

But are found guilty by their Peers.



1601.

W

*Grevil*, That most of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* should have their Tryal, the rest to be sent back to prison. These were all condemned, but their lives spared, which favour *Raleigh* (for a good sum of Money received of *Baynham*) procured.

*Essex* in the mean while, requested he might speak with some of the Counsellors, to whom he reconcilled himself, and to *Cecil* specially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in safety while he lived, he requested he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievously inveigheth against some of the Conspiracy; and wisheth to speak with some of them, but especially with *Blount* and *Cuffe*; whom as soon as he saw, he brake forth in these words; O Cuff, ask pardon of God, and the Queen, for thou hast chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty. Also he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambassador in France, to have been acquainted with the Conspiracy; and that others in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, Deputy of Ireland knew of his purpose, and others in England; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy* ordering the Affairs of Ireland in good fashion, the Queen wisely would take no notice of it.

*Essex* complains of *Blount* and *Cuffe*.

The 25th day of February, which was to be the fatal day, there were sent to the Earl divers Ministers, to give him ghostly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her self, one while remembering the ancient kindness she had shewed him, she commanded he should not be executed; then again, thinking of his stubbornness, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had said openly, That he could not live, but she must perish; countermanding her former word, she gave order that he should be executed.

He is executed in the Tower.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and sundry of the Nobility present, among whom *Raleigh* also; but being told, it was an unhumane thing to stand by and behold the death of his Adversary, he withdrew himself into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Essex* being ascended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, cast up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God have mercy for the manifold sins of his youth, but this last especially, which he said was a bloody, crying and contagious sin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counsellors, commended his spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the first bereft him both of his sense and motion.

*Cuffe's* pleading for himself at his Tryal.

The 5th of March, Sir *Christopher Blount*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gyllie Merrick* and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryal in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Queens Delegates. The Heads of their Indictments, were the same which were objected to *Essex* and *Southampton*. The others said little in their defence, only *Cuffe* stood upon these two answers; Whereas (saith he) I am challenged of Treason, because I was in *Essex* house the day of the Rebellion: by the same Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indicted; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Consultation in *Drury-House*, it is no more to be called High-Treason, than an Em-

bryo may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other side demonstrated, That no necessity lay upon him to tarry in the House; and that the Consultation in *Drury-House* was itself a Treason, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* said only this, The Earl of *Essex* raised me, and he hath overturned me.

The 13th of March, *Merrick*, and *Cuffe*, are drawn to *Tyburn*, where *Cuffe* entering into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then after prayers to God, and desiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was cast from the Ladder: a Man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boisterous and turbulent disposition. In the same manner dyed *Merrick*.

*Merrick* and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, and there executed.

The 15th of March, Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Christopher Blount* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill, albeit *Davers* offered ten thousand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept prisoners; though *Smith*, after some time, was upon sureties suffer'd to go at large. The 8th of July Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was present at the Consultation in *Drury-House*, yet had not revealed their sinister purposes; and had imparted to *Essex* the secrets of his French Embassage. He confessed, That at the Earl's entreaty, he shewed him the Commentaries of the French proceedings, was present at one of their Consultations only, but contemned their Counsels, yet durst not be an Informer against so great Personages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to Prison.

Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Christopher Blount* beheaded at Tower hill.

One act by the by is not here to be omitted. *Essex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Countess of *Essex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which she had received from him, to the Custody of one *Rhibove*, a Dutch Woman that waited on her: this Dutch Womans Husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving some passages in it which might bring the Earl of *Essex* into danger, got a cunning Fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the said Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatening to give the same to her Husbands Adversaries, unless she would presently give him three thousand Pounds. She, to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, to get another sum of the Earl's Adversary. This imposture being found out, he was censured to perpetual imprisonment, condemned in three thousand Pounds (two of which were to go to the Countess) and his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; A notorious Cheater.

Soon after a Parliament was assembled, where The Queen in grievous complaints being tendered to the lower House touching Monopolies, the Queen, by way of prevention, sendeth out Proclamations, declaring the said Licenses and Patents to be void in part, leaving some part to the discussion of the Laws: which thing was so acceptable to the lower House, that they presently sent eighty

The Queen sets forth a proclamation, declaring all Monopolies to be void.



eighty select Persons, together with the Speaker. to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side gave them thanks for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recall her from an Error whereinto thro' Ignorance, not Wilfulness, she was fallen.

In Ireland the Deputy, at the entry of the Spring draws his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself. *Carew*, President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receives Intelligence, that the *Spaniards* invited by *Tir-Oen* had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not persuade the Deputy they had any design for Ireland; but in the midst of September certain news was brought the *Spaniards* were in fight, who wanting Wind to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinsale* the 23d of September, and land their Soldiers without resistance. *Richard Perry*, having but few Soldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave *Kinsale* to the *Spaniards*, into which they enter with Ensigns display'd, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants were bidden welcome.

*D'Aquila*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, publish'd a Declaration, wherein he shew'd, That Queen *Elizabeth* was depos'd from her Kingdom by Sentence of the Pope, her Subjects absolv'd from their Allegiance; and, that the *Spaniards* were now come to deliver Ireland from the Jaws of the Devil. *Tir-Oen* joyns his Forces with them, so as they were now Six thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, and promis'd themselves assured Victory, the *English* being not near so many. The 24th of December a Battle is joyn'd, where after long fight the Victory inclin'd to the *English*. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonnell*, and the rest cast away their Weapons, and save themselves by flight: *Alphonso O Campo*, chief Ruler of the *Spaniards*, together with three other Captains, was taken Prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, 1200 were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belong'd to the *Spaniards*; of the *English* not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

After six days *d'Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some Person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer: Sir *William Godolphin* is sent, to whom he complain'd of the Cowardise and (he fear'd) Treachery of the *Irish*; and therefore, altho' he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make Composition: whereupon at last it was agreed, the *Spaniards* should yield up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Beer-haven*, and *Castle-haven*, and should depart with Life and Goods, and Colours display'd. The *English*, at a reasonable price, should furnish them with Ships and Provision into *Spain*, and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of England, till they were arrived in *Spain*, &c.

And now the *Spaniards* being driven out of Ireland, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monson*, with eight Ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something on the Coasts of *Spain*. On the 19th of March, *Levison* hoisteth Sail, and *Monson* afterward, ha-

ving in vain tarried behind for some Dutch Ships to joyn with them. *Levison* in the mean time lighted upon the *Spanish* Navy of Eight and thirty Ships, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When *Monson* was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, that a mighty *Indian* Carrack of Sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*: There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Galleys, and the Carrack it self appear'd as big as a Castle, yet they resolv'd to fire it if they could not take it. The next Day they thunder'd so violently against the Galleys, that within seven Hours the Marquis of *St. Cross*, together with the *Portugal* Galleys, which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fir'd, and in them was great store of Powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Levison* signifieth to the Captain of the Carrack, That the Galleys, which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refus'd Mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much Speech to and fro, it was at last agreed, That the Carrack, with the Ordnance and Merchandize, should be yielded up. Thus the *English*, having a fair Wind, return'd home with a Booty to the value of a Million of Ducats, by the *Portugal* account, and not past five of their Men lost in the Voyage.

At this time there arose a Contestation amongst the Popish Clergy here in England, for the Jesuites and secular Priests made bitter Investives in their Writings one against the other. The original of the Priests Quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuites, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoiled them of their Faculties, and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declar'd *Schismatics* and *Hereticks*. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly always with the *Catholics* till such time as they set all in a combustion in England, and by their Treasons caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the *Catholics*. *Parsons* they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator, and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of London politickly nourish'd the Contention; and all he gain'd was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

In France, the Marshal *Biron*, for entering into dangerous Attempts against the publick Peace, was arraign'd, and lost his Head: His Confession brought some others into danger, and amongst them the Duke of *Bouillon*, of the *Protestant* Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of France sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his Marriage unlawful, and the Pope's Dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had destined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown, and conspir'd the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her

H h h h h Leiger

1602.

The *Spaniards* land in Ireland and take *Kinsale*.

*Tir-Oen* joins his Forces with the *Spaniards*, which together make a great Army, but in battel are defeated.

*Alphonso O-Campo*, their chief Leader, is taken Prisoner.

*D'Aquila*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, requires a Composition, and departs.

Sir *Richard Levison* sets upon the *Spanish* Fleet of Treasure, but can't prevail.

*Levison* takes a Carrack of 1600 Tun, worth a Million of Ducats.

The Jesuites and the secular Priests contend against one another.

Both order'd to depart the Realm.

The King of France complains to the Queen against the Duke of *Bouillon*, and her Answer.



1602.

Leiger Ambassador adviseth the King not too credulously to entertain those Reports, as doubting these Suggestions might proceed from some of the *Spanish* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, the Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deserv'd; and, that he was one of the chief Architects of *Essex's* Treason; and being question'd by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning sleights and open force practis'd against the States of *Geneva*, and the Queen reliev'd them with a great Sum of Money, gather'd amongst the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

*Tir-Oen* yields himself to the Deputy absolutely, without any Condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen* perceiving himself in a desperate state, resolv'd to sue for Mercy, and promis'd at last to submit his Life and Fortune to the Queen's pleasure, without any Condition. Hereupon being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the Room he fell on his Knees, and then passing on a few steps, prostrated himself again, saying, *I confess, and crave Pardon for my great Fault against God, and a most bountiful Prince, my dread Sovereign: I flie to the Queen's Mercy, as a sacred Anchor, permitting her to dispose of my Life and Fortune at her pleasure.* On this his submission the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal Pleasure; but before he could come into *England* the Queen dy'd.

#### Her Taxations.

IN a Parliament holden the First Year of her Reign, a Subsidy was granted of 2 s. 8 d. the Pound of Goods, and 4 s. of Lands, to be paid at two several payments, of every Person, spiritual and temporal. In her sixth Year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, one Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth Year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offer'd to her four Subsidies upon condition she would declare a Successor, but she refus'd their Offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subsidy which they had granted, saying, *'Twas all one whether the Money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own.* In her thirteenth Year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her Charges of repressing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subsidy of 6 s. in the Pound; and by the Temporality, two Fifteenths, with a Subsidy of 2 s. 8 d. in the Pound. In her Six and thirtieth Year a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy two whole Subsidies, and by the Laity three, besides six Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, should not be drawn into Example. In her fortieth Year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were granted her by the Clergy three entire Subsidies, and by the Laity as many, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. In her Two and fortieth Year, to furnish her with Money towards the *Irish* War, she delegated certain Commissioners to confirm the Crown-lands to the Possessors that held any controverted Titles, and to take Money for the Confirmation, thereby to take

The Queen refuses to burden her Subjects with any Subsidies.

Controverted titles to crown Lands confirmed by her.

away the Troubles by Concealers, who at this time were very busie.

1602.

#### Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her first Year, an Act was made, That every Person should go to Divine Service upon *Sundays* and *Holydays*, or else pay Twelve-pence to the Poor: Also 'twas enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church for longer than One and twenty Years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Successors. In the third Year, a Proclamation was made, that the *Teston* coin'd for Twelve-pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embased to Six-pence, should not be current but for Four-pence; the Groat, but for Two-pence; and the piece of Two-pence, but for a Penny: And not long after, all the said base Moneys was call'd in, and fine Sterling Money was allow'd for them after the same Rate. For *Ireland* also she coin'd Sterling Money; where Nine-pence in *England* went for Twelve-pence there. The Queen was the first that brought certain Countries to deliver Provision at a certain Rate, that so they might be freed from the Purveyors; also the first that granted Allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her sixth Year, in a Parliament then holden, 'twas made Treason to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy, yet with this limitation, that by it the Blood should not be dishonour'd, nor Goods confiscate, nor the Oath to be requir'd of any Baron of the Kingdom: Also this Year, by a Common-council in *London*, it was enacted, That all such Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrain'd to sell their Householdstuff, Leases of Houses, or suchlike, should first cause the same to be cry'd thro' the City, by a Man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpose, and he to receive One farthing in the Shilling for his pains. In her Three and twentieth Year she represseth by Proclamation excess in Apparel, gold Chains, and Cloaks which Men wore down to their Heels: The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches besides the Hilt: Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrain'd, Inmates forbidden, and expresse charge set forth, that no Dwelling-house should be new built within three miles of any City-gates, under pain of Imprisonment and loss of the Materials. In her time was set on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the serving of Colleges with Provision, to the great benefit of those scholastical Societies. In her Two and fortieth Year she setteth forth Proclamations against the transportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that case provided. This Year also she founded the Company of the *East-India* Merchants, allowing them ample Privileges. In her Three and fortieth Year all Monopolies are call'd in by Proclamation. In her Four and twentieth Year severe Laws are made against *Papists*, some inflicting Death, some Fine and Imprisonment. In her Eight and twentieth Year a Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting to sow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queen's Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns corporate. In her Five and twentieth

Bishops limited for letting in their lands

All base Money call'd in.

Provision for the Queen's House first ordain'd.

Allowances to Judges in their Circuit first ordain'd.

Outcries for sale of Goods first ordain'd.

Buildings in *London* restrain'd.

College-Rents to be paid part in Provision, how first ordain'd.

*East-India* Company first set up. All Monopolies call'd in.

Woad not to be sow'd near the Queen's Palace.

Year



1602.



Year was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Chirurgery, to begin to be read in the College of Physicians in London, and the Reader to have a Stipend no less than those of the Universities erected by K. Henry VIII.

*Affairs of the Church in her Time.*

The Protestant Religion is by degrees establish'd.

ON Sunday the first of January next after the Queen's coming to the Crown, by virtue of her Proclamation, the *English Litany* was read according as 'twas used in her Grace's Chapel, and in all Churches thro' the City of London, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the Day, begun to be read at Mass-time in the *English Tongue*. Also in a Parliament holden in her first Year, the First-fruits and Tithes were restor'd to the Crown, and the supreme Government over the State Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common-prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the *English Tongue* was restor'd, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was establish'd. The Bishops that refus'd the Oath of Supremacy were all remov'd, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all Persons should go to Divine Service on Sundays and Holy-days, and a Fine of Twelve-pence impos'd on every one that should absent, the same to be given to the Poor. In her fourth Year the Queen was solicited by Pope Pius to send her Orators to the Council of Trent, which she refus'd, as not acknowledging it a lawful Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth Year, 'twas enacted, and by a general consent declar'd, that the election of the Archbishops and Bishops in England, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously call'd in question) was Lawful and Canonical, and were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chose and consecrated. In her eleventh Year there arose in England two contrary Factions in Religion; on the one side Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sanders, and other Divines that had fled out of England, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queen's Subjects, which they had deriv'd from the See of Rome: On the other side, Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, Benson, and others, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of England, together with the Church-Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the Romish Religion, protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of Rome, and used all diligence to have the Church of England reform'd in every point according to the Rule of the Church of Geneva. These, altho' the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how on a sudden their followers encreas'd, known by the envious Name of Puritans. This Sect so mightily encreas'd, that in her sixteenth Year the Queen and Kingdom was extreemly troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cry'd down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government, (as a thing polluted with Romish Dregs) setting forth Books likewise, intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and *The Defence of the Admonition*;

Puritans, how encreas'd.

they refus'd to resort to the Divine Service publickly in use, framing to themselves other Rites; whereupon the Queen, to suppress them; whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-prayer to be put in execution; and those Books, on pain of imprisonment, to be deliver'd into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queen's Council. And this Year were taken at Mass in their several Houses, the Lord Morley's Lady and her Children, the Lady Guilford, and the Lady Brown, who being thereof indicted and convicted, suffer the Penalty of the Law in that case provided. Until the 20th Year of Qu. Elizabeth's Reign, the Papists in England were mercifully conniv'd at, while they solemniz'd their own Rites within their private Houses, (tho' that also were against the Laws) but whenas that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallow'd Beads, or reconcil'd any of the Queen's Subjects to the See of Rome; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till Cuthbert Mayn, a Priest and obstinate maintainer of the Pope's Authority against the Queen, was executed at Launceston in Cornwall, and the Gentleman's Goods that harbour'd him confiscated, and himself adjudg'd to perpetual imprisonment. In her Three and twentieth Year divers Priests and Jesuites came into England, amongst whom Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, Englishmen and Jesuites, being now bound for England, to promote the Catholic Cause; at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any Children beyond Sea, should by a certain Day call 'em home; and, That no Person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also arose up in Holland a certain Sect, naming themselves *The Family of Love*, where only who were adopted into that Family were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all Reprobates, and damn'd; and, That it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath whatever they pleas'd, before any Magistrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed under these Titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lord's Sentences*, *The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*, *The publication of Peace upon Earth*, by the Author H.N. But who this Author was they would by no means reveal; at last he was found to be Henry Nichols of Leyden, who blasphemously preach'd, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: All which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the 28th Year of her Reign, some (out of a desire of Reformation) began to pick Quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of Holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the Oath *Ex Officio*: They complain'd likewise of the Nonresidence of Ministers, and the like; but the Queen (who always hated Innovation, which for the most part changes for the worse) would give no Ear unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Ecclesiastical affairs deroga-

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Severe Laws against Papists, when and why enacted.

Parsons and Campion come into England.

The Family of Love, where and when it began.

Parliaments not to meddle in Ecclesiastical affairs.



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Three Articles almost gasping: whereupon he provided Three Articles, to which every Minister should subscribe. Three Articles to which every Minister must subscribe.

The first, *That the Queen had supreme Authority over all Persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were; and, That no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The second, *That the Book of Common-prayer and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of GOD, but may lawfully be used; and, that they will use that, and no other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at London in the Year 1562, and publish'd by the Queen's Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of GOD.*

'Tis incredible what Reproaches the Archbishop incur'd by setting forth these Articles, both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility, yet by his Patience and Constancy he brought at last Peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Neither did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge*,

The Brownists from whom came the Sectaries call'd Brownists; Author, who.

and *Richard Harrison* a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private Spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispers'd at this time over *England*, condemn'd the Church of *England* for no Church, and ensnar'd many in the Nets of their new Schism; neither could they be restrain'd, tho' their Books were prohibited by the Queen's Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned Men, and one or two of the Ringleaders executed at *St. Edmunds-bury*. In her 31st Year these Puritan Flames brake forth again; Books are written by the Name of *Martin Mar-prelate*, and a Demonstration of the Discipline by *Penry* and *Udal*, against the Government of Bishops; and nothing would please them but the Discipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigstone*, Knights, besides *Cartwright* (the Father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pardlow*, *Payn*, and others, who, tho' call'd in question, fined, and imprison'd, could never be reclaim'd. In her 36th Year the Queen caus'd the Severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church and the publick Peace, by scattering their monstrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queen's Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

Martin Mar-prelate writes against Bishops

#### *Works of Piety in her Time.*

THIS Queen converted *Westminster-Abby* into a Collegiate Church, and there ordain'd a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and

twelve Almsmen. In her third Year the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Grammar-School in the Parish of *St. Lawrence Pountney* in *London*: Also this Year *William Harper* Mayor of *London* founded a free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her 7th Year,

on the 7th of *June*, *Sir Thomas Gresham* laid the first Stone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*, which in *November* the Year after, at his own charges was finish'd, being the Year 1567. In her 10th Year the Citizens of *London* built a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the Water whereof is convey'd out of the *Thames*: Also this Year *Sir Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London* caused to be enclos'd within a Wall of Brick one Acre of Ground near unto *Bedlam*, without *Bishopsgate*, to be a place of Burial for the Dead of such Parishes in *London* as lack'd convenient Ground within their Parishes: He also built a convenient Room in *Paul's Church-yard*, on the south side of the Cross, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon-time. *Sir William Petre*, having himself been born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, gave to *Exeter College* in *Oxford* One hundred pound Lands a year: He also built at *Ingershale* in *Essex* Almshouses for Twenty poor People, giving them some competent Maintenance. *Sir Thomas Gresham* had his Dwelling-house in *Broadstreet*, *London*, which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil-Law, Physics, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick, and Phe-

torick, allotting to the Professors very competent Allowances. In her 17th Year died *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar-School in *Rochdale*, in the County of *Lancaster*: He also procur'd to *Corpus-Christi College* in *Cambridge* thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same College, procuring to it the Patronage of *St. Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other Works of like kind. *Sir Nicholas Bacon* Lord-Keeper, gave for Six Scholars to be found in *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*, 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. for ever. *Edward Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury* founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*; where he was born, and gave many Pen-

sions to both Universities. *Frances Countess of Suffex*, Sister to *Sir Henry Sidney*, founded *Suffex-Sidney College* in *Cambridge*; as likewise *Sir Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emanuel College* in the same University. *Sir Thomas Bodley* erected and furnish'd the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of *Pauls*, endow'd *Brazen-nose Col-*

lege in *Oxford*, where he was brought up, with 200 l. per ann. and died in the Year 1662. *Sir Roger Manwood*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven Almshouses in *Canterbury*, giving to every Alms-man 4 l. yearly: And our worthy Country-man *William Lambert* built an Alms-house at *Greenwich*, which he call'd, *The College for the Poor of Queen Elizabeth*. Also in her time, namely, in the Year 1595, *Bevis Bulmar* Gent. built a large House of great height, call'd an Engine, at the Bridge-foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* Water to serve in the middle and west parts of the City: As also in her time, (namely, in the Year 1596) *Ralph Rokeby*, one of her Masters of Request, then dying, gave by his Will

The Royal Exchange, by whom built, and when.

Gresham College in Broadstreet given to Professors of the Sciences.

Suffex-Sidney College in Cambridge founded.

Emanuel College in Cambridge founded.

The publick Library in Oxford erected.

The publick Library in Oxford erected.

The publick Library in Oxford erected.

The publick Library in Oxford erected.

The publick Library in Oxford erected.



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Will, to *Christ's Hospital* in *London*, 100 l. to the College of the *Poor of Queen Elizabeth* in *East-Greenwich*, 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge* 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Oxford* 100 l. to the Prisoners in the two Compters of *London* 100 l. to the Prisoners in the *Fleet* 100 l. to the Prisoners in *Ludgate* 100 l. to the Prisoners in *Newgate* 100 l. to the Prisoners in the *Kings-bench* 100 l. to the Prisoners in the *Marshalsea* 100 l. to the Prisoners in the *White-Lyon* 20 l. a liberal and pious Legacy, and worthy not to be forgotten.

## Casualties in her Time.

The Pulse to beat of one that was dead.

A Vein of Copper found. Also the Stone call'd *Lapis Calaminaris*.

Gunpowder first made in England.

The Spire of Paul's Church burnt with Lightning.

Many monstrous Births.

A monstrous Fish taken in Lincolnshire.

An exream Frost.

IN the first Year of her Reign died Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom 'tis reportd for certain, that his Pulse did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as strongly as if he had been still alive. In her third Year there was found, near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, a most rich Vein of pure and native Copper, which had lain neglected a long time; also the Stone call'd *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great use in Brass-works, was first found in *England* at this time, and in most plentiful manner. Likewise this Queen was the first that caus'd Gunpowder to be made in *England*, which before was had from foreign Parts, and at dear Rates. In her third Year the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, being 520 foot from the Ground, and 260 from the square Steeple where 'twas placed, and was made of Wood Materials, but cover'd with Lead, was by Lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the space of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but not the Spire: The Queen gave towards it a Thousand Marks in Money, and a Thousand Load of Timber, and the City granted a Benevolence and three Fifteenths, and the Clergy also contributed to it. Also this Year there were many monstrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two Heads, and a long Tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrow'd a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A Manchild was born at *Chichester* in *Sussex*, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Breast and Belly monstrous big, about the Neck a great Collar of Flesh and Skin, growing like the Ruff of a Shirt. In her sixth Year, upon the return of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Pestilence was brought into *England*, but especially into *London*, where, in one Year there died Twenty-one thousand five hundred. This Year also, in the Month of *December*, was driven on the Shore at *Grimsby* in *Lincolnshire*, a monstrous Fish, in length 19 yards, his Tail 15 foot broad, and 6 yards between the Eyes; twelve Men stood upright in his Mouth to get the Oil. In her seventh Year, on the 21st of *December*, began a Frost, so extreame that on *Newyears-Eve* People pass'd over the *Thames* on foot; some play'd at Football, some shot at Pricks, as if it had been firm Ground: Yet this great Frost, the 3d of *January* at Night, began to thaw, and by the 5th Day there was no Ice at all to be seen; which sudden Thaw caused great Inundations. In her eighth Year, within the space of ten Months, there died in *London* seven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, *Sir Martin Bowes*, *Sir Richard Mallory*,

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*Sir William Hewet*, *Sir Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that Year. The same Year also, in the Town of *Oswestry* in *Shropshire*, Two hundred Houses, in the space of two hours, were consumed with Fire. In her tenth Year were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham Bridge*, near to *Ipswich*, 17 monstrous Fishes; some of them being 27 foot in length. And in the same Year, many Dutch fleeing into *England* to avoid the Persecution of the Duke d'Alva, were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and such wove Stuffs both Woollen and Linen. In her Time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberland's* Grounds, which she, as her Prerogative, seiz'd upon. In her thirteenth Year a prodigious Earthquake hapned in the East parts of *Herefordshire*, near a little Town call'd *Kynaston*. On the 17th of *February*, at six a-clock in the Evening, the Earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at first a great bellowing noise, which was heard a great way off) lifted itself up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the same time. In the place from whence it was first mov'd it left a gaping distance forty foot broad, and fourscore ells long; the whole Field was about 20 Acres: Passing along, it overthrew a Chapel standing in the way, remov'd a Yew-tree planted in the Church-yard from the West into the East; with the like force it thrust before it High-ways, Sheep-folds, Hedges, and Trees, making tilled Ground Pasture, and again turning Pasture into Tillage: Having walk'd in this sort from *Saturday* in the Evening till *Monday Noon*, it then stood still. In her fifteenth Year, in the Month of *November*, a new Star (or rather a Meteor, but that it was found to be above the Moon) was seen in *Cathedra Cassiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightness, and in that place was carried by the diurnal motion of the Heavens 16 months together, tho' after 8 months 'twas perceiv'd to grow less and less. In her sixteenth Year was a great Dearth, so as Wheat was sold at five and six Shillings the Bushel, and other things in proportion. In her seventeenth Year a vast mighty Whale was cast upon the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, 20 ells long, and 13 foot broad from the Belly to the Back-bone, and 11 foot between the Eyes. One of his Eyes being taken out of his Head, was more than a Cart with six Horses could draw: The Oil being boil'd out of the Head, was *Sperma Ceti*. This Year also the *Thames* ebb'd and flow'd twice within an hour, and in the Month of *November* the Heaven seem'd to be all on a fire: Also, on the 24th of *February*, being a great Frost after a great Flood, there came down the River *Severne* such a swarm of Flies and Beetles, that they were judg'd to be above an hundred quarters; the Mills thereabout were damm'd up by them for the space of four days, and then were cleans'd by digging 'em out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth Year a strange Apparition hapned in *Somersetshire*, three-score Personages all cloath'd in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; after their appearing, and a little while tarrying, they vanish'd away, but immediately another strange

The Art of making Bayes and Serges; when, and by whom brought first into *England*.

A prodigious Earthquake.

A mighty Whale taken at *Thanet* in *Kent*.



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company in like manner, colour, and number appeared in the same place; and they encounter'd one another, and so vanish'd away: And a third time appear'd that number again, all in bright Armour, and encounter'd one another, and so vanish'd away. This was examin'd before Sir *George Norton*, and sworn by Four honest Men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth Year, in the beginning of *April*, about six a-clock after Noon, hapned an Earthquake not far from *York*, which in some places struck the very Stones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The Night following the Earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of *May*. In this Year also, in the Town of *Walsbam* in *Sussex*, a Child of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a Trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance; and at last coming to himself, he utter'd to the standers-by many strange speeches, inveighing against Pride, Covetousness, coldness of Charity, and other enormous Sins. In her Six and twentieth Year, being the Year 1588, the like Prodigy hapned in *Dorsetshire* as in the Year 1571 had hapned in *Herefordshire*; a Field of three Acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, mov'd from its place, and passed over another Field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there staid. In her twenty-eighth Year, Tobacco was brought out of the *West-Indies* into England by *Ralph Lane*. In her thirty-fifth Year there was so great a Drought, as not only the Fields, but the Springs themselves were dry'd up, and many Cattle every where died for want of Water: The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a Horseman might ride over at *London-bridge*. In her thirty-sixth Year was a great Plague in *London* and the Suburbs, 17890, besides the Lord-Mayor and three Aldermen; and *Michaelmas Term* was held at *St. Albans*. For the Price of Victuals in her Time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kind; for *John Stow* reports, That in his Youth he fetch'd many a Halfpenny-worth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had less than three Ale-Pints for a Halfpenny in Summer, nor less than two Ale-Pints for a Halfpenny in Winter. Also in the Year 1522, a fat Ox was sold at *London* for Twenty-six Shillings at the most; a fat Weather for Three Shillings four Pence; a fatted Calf, the like price; a fat Lamb for Twelve-pence; three pound of good Beef for one Penny.

Another prodigious Earthquake.

Tobacco first brought into England, and by whom.

#### Of her Personage and Conditions.

SHE was of a Stature indifferent tall, slender, and freight, fair of Complexion, her Hair inclining to pale yellow, her Forehead large and fair, her Eyes lively and sweet, but shortsighted, her Nose a little rising in the midst, the whole compass of her Countenance something long, yet of admirable Beauty, but the Beauty of her Mind was far more admirable: She had been a Subject, which taught her to rule: She had been in Misery, which taught her to be merciful; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more Justice, and with Justice mingled more Mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a Woman, but that she was Ruler over Men; and more Humility in her than was fit for a

Prince, but that she meant to be a President to Women. She delighted in nothing so much as the Love of her People, which she effectually procur'd by ordaining Good Magistrates, and forbearing Impositions: Her Way not to need them was Frugality; and her Way to have them when she needed, was Liberality. She made Honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an Influence from her self, she kept it as her self, a *Virgin*, and would not prostitute it to *Unworthy Persons*. She declin'd being a Mother of Children, to the end she might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed no Mother ever lov'd her Children more than she did her People; and therefore never Children lov'd a Mother more than her People did her. She coveted not so much to be an Owner of Riches, as of rich Subjects, for she thought Money lay as safe in their Coffers as in her own; and indeed she never wanted when they had it, and they always had it when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council than she, yet never Prince needed it less; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Council. In fine, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wise, just, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be said of her; in all which, if ever she had an Equal, yet she never certainly had a Superior. In playing her Game of Fortune she lov'd not an After-game, for she liked Preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her Mind, both by Speech and Writing; and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms and extempore Orations, 'twould certainly excel any thing extant in that kind; and for her Writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept better State with less state-lines: Her Pensioners and Guards were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: Her Maids of Honour, and other Women about her, the fairest and most beautiful Ladies of the Realm, and yet her self a *Diana* amongst her Nymphs; insomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertain'd at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, *It was hard to judge of Stars in the presence of the Sun.*

#### Of her Death and Burial.

IT was now the Year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old-age and Sickness, retir'd herself at the end of *January* to *Richmond*, at which time, as a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her Finger wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the Flesh in such manner, that it could not be gotten off without filing. At the beginning of her Sickness the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her Appetite by little and little fail'd her; withal she gave her self wholly to Sadness and Heaviness, which some imputed to her Care for the loss of the Earl of *Essex*; others, because she heard that divers of the Nobility sought the Favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun-rising, and neglecting her: But howsoever in *March* a kind of benumbedness seiz'd upon her,

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her, with a deep Melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her Meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom she pray'd fervently till such time as her Speech fail'd her, which fail'd a Day before she died. She being in this case, 'twas thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her Mind concerning a Successor, to whom she gave this Answer; *My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not that a mean Person should succeed me:* The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, *I will* (said she) *have a King succeed me, and what King but the King of Scots, my nearest Kinsman?* After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of GOD; *That do I,* (said she) *nor do my Thoughts ever wander from Him:* And when her Tongue no longer serv'd her, it was evident, by the lifting up of her Hands and Eyes, that her Thoughts were fix'd upon Him: And so, on the 24th Day of March, being the last Day of the Year 1602, she yielded up her Soul to GOD, when she had liv'd Threescore and nine Years, six Months, and seven Days; and reign'd Four and forty Years, four Months, and seven Days. Her Body was embalm'd, wrap'd in Lead, and brought to White-hall, from whence, on the 28th of April following, in great Solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of St. Peters, Westminster, and there interr'd in the Vault of her Grandfather King Henry the Seventh, in his magnificent Chapel, where our Renowned Sovereign King James hath built her a Princely Monument, inscrib'd with Epitaphs to her Eternal Glory. At her Funeral were said to be Mourners in black, to the number of One thousand and six hundred Persons.

*Men of Note in her Time.*

THE Ocean is not more boundless than the number of Men of Note in her Time, but tho' all of them cannot be reckon'd, yet some of them must not be omitted. And, to begin with Statesmen, an exquisite Statesman for his own Ends was Robert Earl of Leicester; but for his Country's Good, Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh; as also Sir Francis Walsingham, that great Underminer of Conspirators. Famous Seamen were, the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, afterward Earl of Suffolk; and of meaner Rank, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Forbisher, Sir Walter Raleigh, Cavendish, Preston, Ryman, and (to name the worthiest last) Sir Francis Drake, who, tho' he were but a short square-bodied Man, yet his Great Acts have made the Spaniards believe that he was some goodly Personage. Great Commanders by Land were Robert Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Roger Williams, Baskerville, Savage, and the Honour of his Family and our English Nation, Sir John Norris. Learned Gentlemen and Wri-

ters were, Sir Thomas Chaloner, employ'd by Queen Elizabeth as her Leiger in Spain, who wrote Five Books of the restoring of the English Commonwealth, in elegant Verse, while (as he said) *he liv'd in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer;* Roger Ascham, born in Yorkshire, notably skillful in the Greek and Latin Tongues, who had sometimes been Schoolmaster to Queen Elizabeth, and her Secretary for the Latin Tongue; but taking too great Delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and died in mean estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry: Sir Thomas Smith, born at Saffron-Walden in Essex, some time Secretary to King Edward the Sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the English Commonwealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the English Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the Greek; the first Man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colleges with Provision: Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eaton, and Reader to Queen Elizabeth, who set forth all St. Chrysostom's Works in Greek, and by translating of Cornelius Tacitus deserv'd as much of the English Tongue as he of the Latin: But above all, the admirable Sir Philip Sidney, who by writing in a light Argument, shew'd how excellently, and beyond all comparison, he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were John Jewel, born in Devonshire, Student in Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, in Queen Mary's time an Exile, by Queen Elizabeth made Bishop of Salisbury, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and died at scarce Fifty Years of age, in the Fourteenth Year of Queen Elizabeth. John Whitaker, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, who learnedly answer'd all the Books of Bellarmine: Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, some time Fellow of New-College in Oxford, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christ's Descent into Hell: Richard Hooker, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much Meekness smother'd his great Learning, yet hath something discover'd it in his Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and died in the Year 1599: Alexander Nowel, Dean of Pauls, who, forbearing deeper Works, set forth a Catechism according to the Doctrine of the English Church, and died in the Year 1620. After such Men, it might be thought ridiculous to speak of Stage-players; but seeing Excellency in the meanest things deserves remembering, and Roscius the Comedian is recorded in History with such Commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with some of our Nation: Richard Bourbidge and Edward Allen, two such Actors as no Age must ever look to see the like; and, to make their Comedies compleat, Richard Tarleton, who for the Part called the Clown's Part, never had his match, nor never will have. For Writers of Plays, and such as had been Players themselves, William Shakespear and Benjamin Johnson have specially left their Names recommended to Posterity.

1602.

Roger Ascham  
his Delight in  
Gaming and  
Cock-fighting.

Famous Play-  
ers and Play-  
makers.



## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her First Year  
 Sir *William Hewet* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Lodge*, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her second Year  
 Sir *William Chester* was Mayor.  
*Christopher Draper*, *Thomas Roe*, Sheriffs.

In her third Year  
 Sir *William Harper* was Mayor.  
*Alexander Avenon*, *Humphry Baskerville*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth Year  
 Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Mayor.  
*William Allen*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth Year  
 Sir *John White* was Mayor.  
*Edward Banks*, *Rowland Hayward*, Sheriffs.

In her sixth Year  
 Sir *Richard Mallory* was Mayor.  
*Edward Jackman*, *Lionel Duckett*, Sheriffs.

In her seventh Year  
 Sir *Richard Champion* was Mayor,  
*John Rivers*, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her eighth Year  
 Sir *Christopher Draper* was Mayor,  
*Richard Lambert*, *Ambr. Nicholas*, *Jo. Langley*, Sheriffs.

In her ninth Year  
 Sir *Roger Martin* was Mayor,  
*Thomas Ramsey*, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth Year  
 Sir *Thomas Roe* was Mayor,  
*John Oliph*, *Robert Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh Year  
 Sir *Alexander Avenon* was Mayor,  
*Henry Beecher*, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth Year  
 Sir *Rowland Hayward* was Mayor,  
*Francis Barnham*, *William Bove*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth Year  
 Sir *William Allen* was Mayor,  
*Henry Milles*, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth Year  
 Sir *Lionel Duckett* was Mayor,  
*Richard Pipe*, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth Year  
 Sir *John Rivers* was Mayor,  
*James Harvey*, *Thomas Pulloceel* or *Pullison*, Sheriffs.

In her sixteenth Year  
 Sir *James Hawes* was Mayor,  
*Thomas Blancke*, *Anthony Gamage*, Sheriffs.

In her seventeenth Year  
 Sir *Ambrose Nicholas* was Mayor,  
*Edward Osborne*, *Wolstane Dixey*, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth Year  
 Sir *John Langley* was Mayor,  
*William Kempton*, *George Barne*, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth Year  
 Sir *Thomas Ramsey* was Mayor,  
*Nicholas Backhouse*, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In her twentieth Year  
 Sir *Richard Pipe* was Mayor,  
*George Bond*, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her 21st Year  
 Sir *Nicholas Woodroffe* was Mayor,  
*Martin Calthrop*, *John Hart*, Sheriffs.

In her 22d Year  
 Sir *John Branch* was Mayor,  
*Ralph Woodcock*, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her 23d Year  
 Sir *James Harvey* was Mayor,  
*Richard Martin*, *William Webbe*, Sheriffs.

In her 24th Year  
 Sir *Thomas Blancke* was Mayor,  
*William Roe*, *John Haydon* deceased, *Cuthbert Buckle*  
 succeeded, Sheriffs.

In her 25th Year  
 Sir *Edward Osborne* was Mayor,  
*William Mashaw*, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In her 26th Year  
 Sir *Thomas Pulloceel* was Mayor,  
*Stephen Slaney*, *Henry Billingsley*, Sheriffs.

In her 27th Year  
 Sir *Wolstane Dixey* was Mayor,  
*Anthony Ratcliffe*, *Henry Pranel*, Sheriffs.

In her 28th Year  
 Sir *George Barne* was Mayor,  
*Robert House*, *William Elkin*, Sheriffs.

In her 29th Year  
 Sir *George Bond* was Mayor,  
*Thomas Skinner*, *John Catcher*, Sheriffs.

In her 30th Year  
 Sir *Martin Calthrop* serv'd one part, Sir *Richard Mar-*  
*tin* the other.  
*Hugh Offley*, *Richard Haltonstall*, Sheriffs.

In her 31st Year  
 Sir *John Hart* was Mayor,  
*Richard Gurney*, *Stephen Some*, Sheriffs.

In her 32d Year  
 Sir *John Allot* serv'd one part, Sir *Rowland Hayward*  
 the other.  
*Nicholas Moseley*, *Robert Brook*, Sheriffs.

In her 33d Year  
 Sir *William Webbe* was Mayor,  
*William Rider*, *Bennet* (or *Benedict*) *Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her 34th Year  
 Sir *William Rowe* was Mayor,  
*John Garret*, or *Gerrard*, *Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her 35th Year  
 Sir *Cuthbert Buckle* serv'd one part, Sir *Richard Martin*  
 the other.  
*Paul Banning*, *Peter Haughton*, Sheriffs.

In her 36th Year  
 Sir *John Spencer* was Mayor,  
*Robert Lee*, *Thomas Bennet*, Sheriffs.

In her 37th Year  
 Sir *Stephen Slaney* was Mayor,  
*Thomas Lowe*, *Leonard Hallyday*, Sheriffs.

In her 38th Year  
 Sir *Thomas Skinner* serv'd one part, Sir *Henry Billingsley*  
 the other.  
*John Watts*, *Richard Goddard*, Sheriffs.

In her 39th Year  
 Sir *Richard Saltonstall* was Mayor,  
*Henry Rowe*, *John More*, Sheriffs.

In her 40th Year  
 Sir *Stephen Some* was Mayor,  
*Edward Holmedon*, *Robert Hampson*, Sheriffs.

In her 41st Year  
 Sir *Nicholas Moseley* was Mayor,  
*Humphry Walde*, *Roger Clerke*, Sheriffs.

In her 42d Year  
 Sir *William Rider* was Mayor,  
*Thomas Smith*, *Thomas Campbell*, *William Craven*,  
 Sheriffs.

In her 43d Year  
 Sir *John Garret*, or *Gerard*, was Mayor,  
*Henry Anderson*, *William Glover*, Sheriffs.

In her 44th Year  
 Sir *Robert Lee* was Mayor,  
*James Pemberton*, *John Swinnerton*, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

An. Dom.  
1603.

King James  
is proclaim'd  
King of Eng-  
land, Scotland  
and Ireland.

Sir Robert Cary  
acquaints  
him with the  
Queen's death

**J**AMES the Fourth King of Scotland married Margaret eldest Daughter of Henry the Seventh King of England, by whom he had James the Fifth, who had one only Child Mary Queen of Scots, who had one only Son, James the Sixth, who from James the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdom of Scotland; and from Margaret, King Henry the Seventh's eldest Daughter, (the male Line being clean extinct) unquestionable Title to the Crown of England; whereupon Queen Elizabeth being dead about Ten a-clock in the Morning the Twenty-fourth of March, King James the Sixth, King of Scotland, was the very same Day (Mr. Secretary Cecil himself reading his Title and Queen Elizabeth's Will) proclaim'd King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by sound of Trumpet, first at White-hall, and then in Cheapside, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all sorts of People, that we may truly say, Sorrow was never more deceiv'd than at this time; for where, upon the Death of Queen Elizabeth, 'twas expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting, now that very Sorrow was swallow'd up of Joy, her Death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other points in a manner the same, the like Wisdom, the like Learning, the like Justice, the like Religiousness in them both; only better'd in this, that we chang'd a Queen of Seventy Years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of Thirty-six, whom we might well hope to enjoy many Years.

Queen Elizabeth was no sooner dead, but Sir Robert Cary, a younger Son of the late Lord Hunsdon, posted away unsent to King James in Scotland, informing him of the Accident; for bringing which News the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of Leppington. But tho' it were sufficient for the King's information that he heard the News by Sir Robert Cary, yet it

was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council, in discharge of their Duty, if he heard it not from them; and therefore, within a very few Days, as soon as they could provide fit Men, they sent first Sir Charles Percy and Mr. Thomas Somerset, and after them Sir Thomas Lake Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general Applause of all the Realm to receive him for their Sovereign, and also to inform him in what terms the State of the Kingdom stood, that so he might not come altogether a Stranger when he came into it.

Queen Elizabeth indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without Incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnish'd with all the Fruits of Peace, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things, the chiefest, a wise Council; for she left Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor, Thomas Lord Buckhurst Lord Treasurer, Charles Earl of Nottingham Lord Admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil Principal Secretary: Four such Men, that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these, and divers others besides (all whom the King now by his Letters authorizeth to exercise their several Places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own chusing,

as namely, the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and then after the Lord Henry Howard, the one the Brother, the other the Son of the late Duke of Norfolk, who had suffer'd so much, that at last he suffer'd for the Queen his Mother. But altho' the calling of these two last to such Place was done (no doubt) out of Favour to that House, yet one of them being known, the other doubted, to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended as a Favour to that Side: And the Catholics were not a little confident of his good Inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a Conceit; for in the late Queen's sickness, a

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little

An. Dom.  
1603.

The King adds  
new Council-  
lors,



*An. Dom.* 1603. little before her Death, Pope Clement VIII. had written two Briefs to the Catholics in England, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, when that miserable Woman should happen to die, (so he pleas'd to stile the most glorious Queen that ever liv'd) but such a one of whose good Inclination to the See of Rome they should at least be well perswaded.

The King sets forward into England.

And now King James having settled the Government of his Kingdom of Scotland, and made convenient Preparation for his Journey, on the Fifth of April 1603, he set forward, and rode that Day from Edinburgh to Dinglaffe, and from thence the next Day to Berwick, where having stay'd two Days, the Eighth of April he rode to Witherington, a House of Sir Robert Cary's; from thence the Ninth to Newcastle, where he stay'd Sunday, and heard the Bishop of Durham preach: And so joyful were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of his stay they bore the Charges of his Household. The Thirteenth of April he set forward to Durham, thence the 14th to Walthworth, the 15th towards York, where his Train increas'd to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an Inhibition of the Peoples resorts and flocking to him.

To whom it belong'd to bear the Sword before the King at York.

At York it was a Question to whom it belong'd to bear the Sword before the King in that place; for both the Earl of Cumberland claim'd it as hereditary to his House, and the President of the North claim'd it as belonging to his Place, but it was adjudg'd to George Earl of Cumberland, who accordingly did it. From York, the Eighteenth Day, the King rode to Grimstone, to a House of Sir Edward Stanhope's; the Nineteenth to Pomfret, and so to Doncaster, where he lodg'd at the Sign of the Bear and Sun. The Twentieth of April he rode towards Worsuppe, a House of the Earl of Shrewsbury; from thence the Twenty-first to Newark upon Trent, where a Cutpurse being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant hang'd; a most unseasonable Delinquent, who would force the King to a Work of Justice at a time when he intended nothing but Mercy! the Twenty-second to Beaver Castle, a House of the Earl of Rutland's, hunting all the way as he rode: From Beaver the twenty-third to Burleigh, where having staid two or three Days, the Twenty-seventh he remov'd to Hinchinbrook, a House of Sir Oliver Cromwel's, where the Heads of the University of Cambridge met him: From thence he rode towards Royston, and as he pass'd thro' Godmanchester, a Town close by Huntingdon, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with 70 Team of Horse, all trac'd to fair new Ploughs; at which the King wondering, they said, It was their ancient Custom so to do, when any King of England pass'd thro' their Town, and by which, as being the King's Tenants, they held their Land. At Royston he lodg'd that Night, at Mr. Chester's House, at his own charge, which he had not done before since his coming into England. The 30th of April he rode to Standon, a House of Sir Thomas Sadler's, where he staid Sunday and heard the Bp of London preach. The 2d of May he removed to Broxbourn, a House of Sir Henry Cocks, Cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord-keeper, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords: The 3d of

At Godmanchester the King is presented with 70 Team of Horse, and why.

May he came to Theobalds, a House of Sir Robert Cecil, when all the Lords of the late Queen's most honourable Privy-Council presented themselves, and there the Lord-keeper made a grave Oration. At this House, the 4th of May, the King made divers Noblemen of Scotland of his Privy-Council here in England, namely, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Marre, the Lord Hume, and Sir George Hume Treasurer of Scotland, Sir James Elphinston his Secretary, and the Lord of Kinlofs made afterward Master of the Rolls. Saturday the 7th of May he rode towards London, where by the way the Sheriff Swinnerton and the Aldermen met him, and by their Orator Mr. Richard Martin made him an eloquent Oration, and then he rode on to the Charter-house near Smithfield, a House belonging to the Lord Thomas Howard, where he staid four Days, and at his departing from thence made the Lord Zouch and the Lord Burgley of his Privy-Council. But we must not here omit, that from the King's first setting forth of Scotland, as he was in all places receiv'd with royal Entertainment and rich Presents, so he again carried himself most affable, and distributed his Favours in most plenteous manner, in some places discharging all Prisoners but such as lay for Treason or Murder; but especially in conferring the Order of Knighthood; of which sort the first he made was Mr. John Peyton, Son to Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of the Tower; after him, divers Scots, in sundry places; at Theobalds twenty-eight (of which number the Compiler of this Work, tho' unworthy, was one); at the Charter-house above fourscore; and not many Days after, no fewer than at least a hundred; and before the Year went about, God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with so many Milites, having no War toward; but it was indeed fit to give a Vent to the passage of Honour, which during Queen Elizabeth's Reign had been so stop't, that scarce any County of England had Knights enow to make a Jury.

*An. Dom.* 1603.

Divers Noblemen of Scotland made of his Privy-Council.

What number of Knights the King made.

Before we go further, 'twill not be amiss to shew what Great Men attended K. James out of Scotland, as namely, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Marre, the Lord Hume, and many other great Lords, and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his special favour; first Sir George Hume, made afterward Earl of Dunbarre; then Sir Thomas Erskin, made Earl of Kelly; then Sir John Ramsay made Earl of Holderness; (which two last had the Fortune to come first in to his rescue against the Gowries) then Sir James Hay, made afterward Earl of Carlisle; and then Sir Richard Preston, made Earl of Kildare in Ireland, but whose great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of Ireland he was unfortunately cast away and drown'd.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of Scotland.

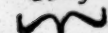
Sir Richard Preston, Earl of Kildare, unfortunately drown'd.

But tho' King James was now safely come himself to London, yet he accounted himself but half come, until his Queen and Children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to go and conduct 'em, of Lords, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, and Sir George Carew Knt. Lord President of Munster; of Ladies, the Countess of Worcester, the Countess of Kildare, the Lady Anne Herbert, Daughter to Henry Earl of Pembroke,

What Lords and Ladies were sent to attend the Queen at her coming.



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1603.



broke; the Lord Scroope's Lady; the Lady Rich, Wife to the Lord Rich, and the Lady Walsingham one of the late Queen's Bedchamber: But altho' these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty, as, the Countess of Bedford, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecil, the Lady Hatton, the Lady Harrington, and divers other: And with this Princely attendance the Queen, with two of her Children, namely, Prince Henry, of the age of 9 years, and the Lady Elizabeth, on the eleventh of June came to York, where resting themselves some few days, on the 27th of June they came to Easton in Northamptonshire, a House of Sir George Fermor's, where the King met them at Dinner, and afterward they rode together to a House of Sir John Fortescue, and so to London. The King's younger Son, Charles Duke of Albany, came not at this time, as being not 3 years old, therefore not thought able to endure such a Journey; but the year following falling sick of a Fever, Dr. Atkins, one of the King's Physicians, was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his Fever, and the first Week of October brought him safe to Windsor, where the King then lay; for which Service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usual Practice, he grew to a greater Wealth than was usual for Physicians.

Lords made by  
the King.

King James had distributed the meaner Order of Knighthood very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his Distributions to a higher degree; and thereupon, the 20th of May, he made Sir Robert Cecil Baron of Esfindon, Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penhurst, Sir William Knowles Baron of Greys, and Sir Richard Wootton Baron of Morley: Not long after he made the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst he made Earl of Dorset.

Ambassadors  
from all Prin-  
ces of Christen-  
dom come to  
congratulate  
the King's  
happy coming  
to the Crown.

The King had by this time found the Love and Affection of his own People, but the Affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspence; when now, to take away that doubt came first, in the beginning of June, an Ambassador from the Palgrave of Rhine, presently after another from the States of Holland and Zeland; another from the Archduke of Austria; another from the King of Spain; from the Seignior of Venice another; another from the Duke of Florence; and lastly, on the Eighth of June, Monf. de Rosny from the King of France; all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of England: For entertaining of which Ambassadors, and all other that should come after, the King had erected an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him 200 pounds a Year Fee; and the first that had the Place was Sir Lewis Lewkenor, a Gentleman, who, besides other good Parts, was very skilful in the neighbouring Languages.

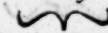
The Office of  
Master of the  
Ceremonies  
erected.

Fourteen Ser-  
jeants at Law  
made.

Upon the 17th of May this year were made fourteen Serjeants at Law, whereof eleven had receiv'd Writs the last Year of Queen Elizabeth, namely, Thomas Coventry, Robert Haughton, Lawrence Tanfield, John Crook, Thomas Foster, Edward Phillips, Thomas Harris, James Altham, Henry Hubbard, Augustine Nicholls, and Robert Parker; to whom the King added three new, John Sherly, Geo. Snygge, and Richard Hutton, who kept their Feast together in the Middle-Temple Hall.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Q. Elizabeth had been forgotten, but King James, more tender of Wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer Valentine Thomas so to escape; who, after he had lain many Years Prisoner in the Tower, was, on the 4th of June, arraign'd at the Kings-bench Bar, and for Conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, on the 7th of June, after six a-clock at Night, drawn to St. Thomas Waterings, and there hang'd and quarter'd.

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Valentine Thomas, for Offences against Q. Elizabeth, hang'd and quarter'd.

About this time the Honourable Charles Lord Montjoy return'd out of Ireland, bringing along with him Hugh O-Neal Earl of Tir-Oen, at whose coming to the King, the Lord Montjoy was sworn of the King's Privy Council; and the Earl of Tir-Oen, who had been the cause of so much English Bloodshed, was yet pardon'd, and Proclamation made, That by all Men he should be used with Respect and Honour.

The Ld Montjoy brings Tir-Oen into England, who is fully pardon'd

All this while the King had mov'd within his own Sphere, and had done nothing out of the Realm. His first Employment abroad was now in June, to his Brother the King of Denmark, to whom he sent in Ambassage the Earl of Rutland, upon two Occasions; the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named Christianus; the other, to present him with the Order of the Garter. Upon the like Employment, soon after, he sent the Lord Spencer to Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and, after honourable Entertainment, return'd home.

The Earl of Rutland sent with the Garter to the King of Denmark; the Lord Spencer to the Duke of Wirtemberg.

'Twas now a time that every Man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the Happiness of a peaceable Government; when suddenly, like a Storm in a fair Summer's Day, brake forth a Treason of a strange composition; for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this there were People of all sorts, Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well-manag'd Treason, and yet was the shallow'st that was ever set on foot; so shallow, that it could scarce be observ'd, either what the Authors of it ail'd, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King James at his first coming to the Crown shew'd to the Earl of Southampton, was like to breed no good Blood in those that were his Opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the E. of Southampton, and appointed him to meet him upon the Way, so when he heard of an Intention that the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh had to meet him, he sent them word, they should spare their Labour: But whether it were so, or no, it seems they found some cause of Discontentment, and Discontentment will never want Complices: And by this Means was the Composition of this Treason made up; and thereupon were apprehended Henry Lord Cobham and George Brook his Brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, and Sir Edw. Parham, Knights, Bartholomew Brookesby and Anthony Copley, Gentlemen, William Watson and William Clerk, Priests: But tho' they were apprehended in July, yet they came not to their Arraignment till November fol-

A Treason  
of a strange  
Composition.



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1603.

The Lord Cob-  
ham, Sir Wal-  
ter Raleigh,  
and others,  
arraign'd at  
Winchester;  
and why.

following; for, by reason of the Sickness, which was then hot in London, the Term was put off till *Craftino Martini*, and then to be kept at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*; only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Dut- chy of *Lancaster*, were kept in the King's Ma- nor at *Richmond* in the County of *Surry*: And so, on the 4th of *November* following, all the 'fore said Delinquents were remov'd from the Tower of *London*, and other Prisons, by strong Guards to *Winchester*, and there arraign'd, whose Indictment was for conspiring,

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was prov'd, That the Lord *Grey* intended to obtain a le- vy of 2000 Men, for defence of the *Low- Countries*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Points, it was proved, That the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, met at *St. Martins in the Fields*, and there consulted about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, sub- verting the State, and to set up the Lady *Arabella*. And particularly for the Point of sub- verting the State, it was proved, That *Watson* was designed to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Se- cretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of *England*. And for effecting of these Treasons, it was proved, that *Watson* the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all Parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last Point, it was proved, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for 600000 Crowns, and the Lord *Cobham* to get to the Archduke and the King of *Spain* to perswade them to assist the Lady *Arabella*. These things being prov'd against them, on the Days in which they were severally indicted, the most which was repli- ed in mitigation of their Fault, was first by *Watson*, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crown'd; and then by the Lord *Grey*, That it was but a ver- bal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore could be no Treason. But these Assertions be- ing both refuted, they were all (except Sir *Ed- ward Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their several Days of Indictment, found guilty of Treason, and had Judgment accordingly. The Priests, *Watson* and *Clerk*, were executed at *Winchester* the 29th of *November*; *George Brook* was beheaded the 5th of *December*, but then the Hand of Justice stay'd; and this was the course the King held in shewing Mercy. After the Death of the Three before named, he sign'd three other Warrants for the Execution of the late Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, on a certain Day then following; but before that Day he privately framed another Warrant, written with his own Hand to the Sheriff, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Tichburn*) by which he countermanded the former War- rants; and, that there might be no notice took of it, he sent it by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a Scotchman,

And all con-  
demn'd but  
Sir *Edward*  
*Parham*.  
*Watson* and  
*Clerk* execu-  
ted.  
*George Brook*  
beheaded;  
the rest spar'd,  
and the course  
the King held  
in it.

and one utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect till after their several Confessi- ons, and at the very point of their Execution, which was accordingly perform'd: At which time 'twas a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents, falling upon their Knees, lamen- ted their Misdoings; and most of all, how they extoll'd the King's unspeakable Mercy. But tho' thus pardon'd, yet were they carried back to the Tower, where the Lord *Grey* not long af- ter died, and in him was extinct that Barony, which had formerly brought forth many valo- rous and worthy Men. Sir *Griffith Markham*, after some time, was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he liv'd long after in mean account. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was after- ward discharg'd of Imprisonment, but depriv'd of his Estate, liv'd many years in great penury, and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourish'd in great Honour many Ages. Sir *Wal- ter Raleigh* was kept in the Tower, where, to his great Honour, he spent his time in Writing, and had been a happy Man if he had never been releas'd: But such is our state, that no Man's Fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, until discover'd by the Event.

But in this mean time many Things had pass'd; for his Majesty having deferr'd the Feast of *St. George* until his being at some of his own Houses, held now the said Feast at *Windsor* the 2d of *July*, where the Prince was install'd Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Den- mark*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, tho' their investing have been spoken of before.

And now was Preparation made for the King's Coronation; and for a Preparative to it he first restor'd the Earl of *Southampton*, and then rais'd in Honour these following; Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord-Chancellor, he made Baron of *Elf- mere*; Sir *William Russell*, Baron of *Thornough*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Tho. Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormleyton*. After this, he conferr'd inferiour Orders, and made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen-Ushers and divers other, and lastly, made 62 Knights of the *Bath*, most of 'em Noblemens Sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special Worth. These things done, on the 25th of *July*, being Saint *James's Day*, the King and Queen were toge- ther crown'd and anointed at *Westminster* by the Hands of *John Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canter- bury*, in presence of the Nobility and others, namely, Sir *Robert Lee*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 principal Citizens admitted to attend them, all other Citizens stay'd from passing thither, ei- ther by Water or Land, by reason of the Sick- ness: And the first of *August* following, all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to re- pair to the Court till the Winter following.

At

An. Dom.  
1603.

The Ld *Grey*  
dies in the  
Tower, in  
whom that  
Barony was  
extinct.

The Lord *Cob-*  
*ham* discharg'd  
of Imprison-  
ment, but liv'd  
in great penu-  
ry; and in him  
that Barony  
was also ex-  
tinct.  
Sir *Walter*  
*Raleigh* is  
kept in the  
Tower; where  
and how he  
spent his time.  
The Prince  
and others  
made Knights  
of the Garter.

Divers Lords  
made.

The King and  
Queen crown-  
ed together.



An. Reg.  
1604.

The 5th of  
August kept  
Holiday, for  
the King's de-  
liverance from  
the Gowries.

All Letters of  
Mercy call'd in.  
A Treaty of  
Peace with  
Spain, and  
who were  
Commissioners

A Peace con-  
cluded, and  
the solemn  
manner of  
confirming it.

Charles E. of  
Nottingham,  
Lord-Admiral,  
is sent into  
Spain to take  
the King's  
Oath; his En-  
tertainment.

The King's  
Presents to the  
King and  
Queen of  
Spain.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had; which, tho' it were had in Scotland, yet he would have notice of it taken in England; which was, his deliverance from the Conspiracy of the Gowries on the 5th day of August three years before; and thereupon Friday being the 5th of August, was by Commandment appointed to be Holiday, with Morning-prayer, Sermons, and Evening-prayer that Day, and Bonfires at Night; which was then, and after, during his Life, solemnly observ'd.

King James had in him as 'twere two Persons, one as he was King of Scotland, (and in this he was in perfect Amity with the King of Spain) another as he was King of England, and in this he had some Difference with Spain; but he, as *Rex pacificus*, took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olivebranch, and thereupon when at his coming into England, he found Letters of Mart granted against the Spaniards, he first caus'd them all to be call'd in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconciliation: In which Treaty, handled at London the 18th of August 1604, the Commissioners for the King of England were Tho. Earl of Dorset, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Charles Earl of Devonshire, Henry Earl of Northampton, and Robert Viscount Cranburn. For the King of Spain, John de Velasco Constable of Castile, John de Tassis Earl of Villa Mediana, and Alexander Robidius Professor of the Law in the College of Millain: For the Archdukes, Charles Count of Aramburg, John Richardot President of the Privy-Council, and Lodowick Werreikin Principal Secretary. By whom a Peace being concluded and continued in many Articles, the Summer following the King of Spain sent Don John de Velasco Constable of Castile and Duke of Fryas, also Pedraca de la Syerra, his Great Chamberlain, accompanied with divers Marqueses, Earls, and Barons; who coming into England, were by the Earl of Devonshire, on the 19th of August, brought to the Court, where the King in his Chapel, in the presence of the Commissioners and other English Lords, (the Duke of Fryas holding the King's Hands between his) took his Oath upon the Holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League

agreed upon: And in March following, being now the Third Year of King James, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, was sent into Spain, to take in like manner the King of Spain's Oath; who, accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of 650, the 15th of April arriv'd at the Groyne, whence he was conducted to Valledolid, 300 Miles off, where the King of Spain then kept his Court, being entertain'd in all Places as he pass'd at the King of Spain's charge, with so great Provisions, and such demonstration of Love and Gladness, that it plainly shew'd the Spaniards were as glad of our Friendship as we of theirs.

The Lord-Ambassador being come to the Court, he caus'd Thomas Knoll Esq; to deliver the Presents sent from the King of England, which were Six goodly Horses, with Saddles and Saddle-cloths very richly embroider'd, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen; two Cross-bows, with sheafs of Arrows; four Fowling-pieces inlaid with Plates of Gold, and a

couple of Lyme-hounds of singular Qualities; which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted: And then, on the 30th of May, the Lord-Ambassador being sent for, the King came forth into a large Room, where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Archbishop of Toledo read the Oath, at the reading whereof the Lord-Ambassador held the King's Hands between his, and the King kneeling laid his Hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscrib'd to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilst the Earl of Nottingham was thus imploy'd in Spain, the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Hertford was likewise sent Ambassador to Albertus and Isabella, Archdukes of Austria, to take their Oaths for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at Brussels the first of May with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestow'd on the Archduke's Servants to the full Sum of 3000 Pounds, so the Archduke, at his departure, bestow'd upon the Earl a Jewel worth 900 Pounds, and a Suit of Arras worth 300, and bore his Charges all the time of his stay at Brussels. And now was K. James truly *Rex pacificus*, in Peace and Amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

A little before this, in the Month of August, Ostend taken in the Year 1604, the strong Town of Ostend in Flanders, after above 3 years siege, and the slaughter of above 120000 Men of both sides, and in defence whereof Sir Francis Vere General, and his Brother Sir Horatio Vere, had shew'd great Valour, was by the Marquis Spinola taken, for which Service the King of Spain made him Duke of Santa Severina, and the Lord-General of all the Forces in the Low-Countries.

It was now the Third Year of King James's Reign, when he kept St. George's Feast at Greenwich, and there made two new Knights of the Garter, namely, the High and Mighty Prince Duke Ulrick, Heir of Norway, and Brother to our gracious Queen ANN; and the Right Noble Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton. And upon the Saturday following, in the Hall at Greenwich, being richly hung with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount, and four Barons; namely, Sir Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranburn, he created Earl of Salisbury: Tho. Cecil, Lord Burleigh, his eldest Brother, he created Earl of Exeter; and Philip Herbert, younger Brother to the Earl of Pembroke, he created Earl of Montgomery: Then Robert Sidney, Baron of Penhurst, Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount Lisle: Sir John Stanhope, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord Stanhope of Harrington: Sir George Carew, Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord Carew of Clifton: Mr. Tho. Arundel, of Devonshire, he made Lord Arundel of Warder; and Mr. William Cavendish he made Lord Cavendish of Hardwick.

About this time a strange Fancy possess'd the Brains of a profess'd Physician, one Richard Haddock, of New-College in Oxford, who pretended to preach at Night in his Sleep, in such sort, that tho' he were call'd aloud, or stirr'd and pull'd by the Hands or Feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling: And this he did often in the presence of many honourable Persons that

L1111

came

An. Reg.  
1604.

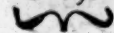
Ostend taken  
by Marquis  
Spinola.

An. Reg. 3.  
1605.

Earls and Ba-  
rons created.

Richard Haddock  
pretending  
to preach  
in his Sleep.



An. Reg.  
1605.The Imposture  
discover'd by  
the King.The King tries  
the Nature of  
the Lyon with  
a Cock and a  
Lamb.Charles, the  
King's young-  
er Son, is  
created Duke  
of York; and  
the solemn  
Manner of it.

came to hear him, so as within a short time his Fame was spread thro' the Land by the name of *The sleeping Preacher*. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty sat up the most part of a Night to attend the event; when at last *Haidock* making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his division, applying it to his Purpose; for in his Preaching his Use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Cross in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of England; and having ended his Sermon, seem'd to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observ'd the manner of his carriage, after a few days, call'd the said *Haidock* before him, and in conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable Sagacity in discovering of Fictions) made him confess, that all he did was but Imposture; and thereupon to fall upon his Knees and ask forgiveness, which the King granted, upon condition that in all places he should openly acknowledge his Offence, because many were brought into belief, that his nightly Preaching was either by Inspiration or by Vision.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing K. James thought it not unworthy the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the Lyon, and make a solemn matter of it: For on Monday the 3d of June (taking with him the Duke of Lenox, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to be cast before them, which they (as being their natural Enemy) presently kill'd, and suck'd his Blood. Then a live Lamb was put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its Innocency) never offer'd to touch, tho' the Lamb was so bold as to go close to them. Then the King caused those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastiffs to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turn'd him upon his Back; and tho' the Lyon were superior to them in Strength, yet it seems they were his match in Courage, and so much superior as they were first assailants, with whom otherwise perhaps the Lyon would not have offer'd to meddle.

On Friday the 4th of January, in the King's second Year, Charles Duke of Albany, the King's second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of York, which because 'twas done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. First were appointed Knights of the Bath, the Duke of Albany himself, then the Lord Willowby, the Lord Chandois, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, William Cecil Son and Heir to the Viscount Cranburn, Allen Percy Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, Tho. Somerset second Son to the Earl of Worcester, Francis Mannors Brother to the Earl of Rutland, Tho. Howard second Son to the Earl of Suffolk, and John Harington Son and Heir to the Lord Harington; the Earls of Oxford and Essex were Esquires to the Duke of Albany: All the Knights took their lodging that Night in the first Gatehouse going to King-street, where they supped, and had Baths provided for 'em; the next Morning being Saturday, they went into the Park in their Hermits Weeds, the Minstrels playing and the Heralds going before them in-

to the Court, and so into the Chappel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chappel, in a rich Cope, holding the Bason.) After this they went up into their Lodgings, and there new attired themselves in Robes of Crimson Taffaty, with Hats and white Feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber: where, by the King, they were girded with the Sword, and had gilt spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chapel, and there offered their Swords. The next day being Sunday, and Twelfth-day, in Robes of purple Satin, with Doctors Hoods on their Shoulders, and Hats with white Feathers, they issued out of the Revelstry with the Duke of Albany (being then to be made Duke of York) into the Hall, where the King sat under the Cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bath follow'd, and then the Earl of Suffolk Lord-Chamberlain came alone; then follow'd Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, and Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of York; after whom Wriothesley Earl of Southampton carried the Coronet, George Clifford Earl of Cumberland the golden Rod, the Earl of Worcester the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of Nottingham bore the Duke of Albany in his Arms, supported by the Earls of Dorset and Northumberland; who all coming in this order before the King, the Duke of Albany was, after the Patent read, created Duke of York, with the Robes and Coronet put on him, and the golden Rod deliver'd into his Hand: All which perform'd, they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

About this time, on the 15th of June, Tho. Douglas, a Scotch-man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent hither but 3 days before from the Count Palatine of Rhine. His Offence was, he had counterfeited the King's Privy-Seal to divers Princes of Germany; one to the Archbishop of Cologne, another to the Archbishop of Trier, another to the Duke of Cleve, another to the Archbishop of Magumia, and a fifth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine; whereof being examin'd and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into Smithfield, and there hanged and quarter'd.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at Westminster, on the 19th of March following; when, four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen, and Prince rode solemnly in great state thro' the City of London, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all Demonstrations of Love and Observance: And the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the Causes of his calling it: But, in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discover'd a Plot of Treason, so damnable and foul, that Posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it. The Plot was, to blow up with Gun-powder both Houses of Parliament, at a time when the King, Prince, and all the Nobility should be sitting in the upper House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the lower.

An. Reg.  
1605.The Gunpow-  
der Treason.

The



An. Reg.  
1605.By whom  
first plotted.And with  
what Assist-  
ants.By what  
means first  
discovered:

The principal contriver of this Plot was Robert Catesbie, a Gentleman of great account in Northamptonshire, descended from that Catesbie who had been a special Counsellor of King Richard the third, to whose Family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This Catesbie, not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Guido Fawkes, and at last Sir Everard Digby, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret: For effecting of this Plot, they hired a House close adjoyning to the Upper House of Parliament; where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About Candlemas they had wrought the Wall half through; when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered; but sending Guy Fawkes (who went now under the Name of John Johnson, as Mr. Percy's Man) to see what the matter was: He brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and were now a felling, and the Room offer'd to be Let for a yearly Rent. This Room therefore, as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Mr. Percy presently went and hired, laying into it twenty Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, from being discovered. Thus the first part of the Plot was put in good readines. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: For though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of York and the Lady Elizabeth should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of York, Percy undertook; and for surprizing the Lady Elizabeth, they agreed upon a Match of Hunting near to Dunchurch, under colour whereof they would draw Company together, and surprize her at the Lord Harrington's House in Warwickshire, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tenderness of Heart took some of them, lest their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous Slaughter, a Letter was framed and sent to the Lord Montague, Son and Heir to the Lord Morley, brought him by one of his Footmen, which he received from an unknown Man in the Street: The Letter was this; *My Lord, out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your Life, to forbear your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the Wickedness of this Time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement: For though there be no appearance of any stir; yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This Counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger is past as soon as you*

*have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at White-hall, (the King being then a hunting at Royston) and delivered it to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State; and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester and Northampton, who as soon as the King was returned from hunting, acquainted him with it, the Earl of Salisbury telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a Fool, or Madman, because of those Words, (*for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter*) for if the Danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with Powder; and thereupon commanded diligent search should be made in the Parliament-House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoyning: Which Search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Montague, who entering the Cellar under the Upper House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. Percy's own Provision: But then (it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. Percy, who used to make but little stay in Town) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose, and then spying the said Fawkes to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his Pocket a piece of Touchwood, a Tinder-box to light the Touchwood, and a Watch, which Mr. Percy had bought the Day before to try the short and long burning of the Touchwood, which he had prepared to give fire to the Train of Powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the Confederates met at Dunchurch, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State; signifying withal, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick Cause; hoping thereby to have many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: But this availed them nothing; for first Sir Richard Verney high Sheriff of Warwickshire, chased them from thence, and Sir Richard Welsh Sheriff of Worcestershire, knowing them to be entered into Mr. Littleton's House at Walbach, beset them round, where Catesbie and Percy issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the Wrights, John and Christopher, were likewise slain outright: Thomas Winter was taken alive; all which time Francis Tresham remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression; but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confessed all, and within a few Days after dyed of the Strangury. On the seven and twentieth of January following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest

An. Reg.  
1605.Fawkes first  
apprehended.Catesbie and  
Percy slain.The rest of  
the Confe-  
derates ar-  
raigned,  
condemned  
of and executed.



An. Reg.  
1605.



The Earl of  
Northumber-  
land com-  
mitted to  
the Tower,  
and why.

A Present  
from the K.  
of Spain to  
K. James.

Another  
from the Q.  
of Spain to  
the Q. of  
England.

The Lord  
Monteagle's  
Reward for  
being a means  
of discovering  
the Treason.

The fifth of  
November  
kept holy in  
thankfulness  
of this deliv-  
erance.

of the Confederates; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Fawks*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Warwickshire* Esq; *John Graunt*, late of *Tortbrook* in the County of *Warwick* Esq; *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Stainingfield* in *Suffolk* Esq; *Sir Everard Digby*, late of *Gottburst* in *Buckinghamshire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgment to die, and on the *Thursday* following *Sir Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered, at the West End of *Paul's Church* in *London*, and on the *Friday* the other four; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Fawks*, were executed in the *Parliament Yard* at *Westminster*. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as *Sir Everard Digby*; and indeed worthily; for he was of a goodly Personage, and of excellent Parts, and had, it seems, been cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason. The 7th. of *November* the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon suspicion of being acquainted with the Plots, was first commanded to his House, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great Plot discovered, and the Plotters punished, to the great rejoycing of all People; insomuch, that even the King of *Spain's* and Arch-Duke's Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw Money among the People in token of Joy. And at this time, on the fourth of *January*, the *Spanish* Embassador delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master; namely, six Jennets of *Andalusia*, with Saddles very rich embroidered, and Saddle-cloths of Cloth of *Tissue*: One of which Jennets was snow-white, and had a Main which reached to the Ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treason: But as soon as that was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, on purpose to congratulate the King's happy deliverance from the intended Powder-Treason; and the Present was brought by *Don John de Mendoza*, which was a Robe of *Murrie Sattin*, embroidered all over with *Amber-leather*; and upon the *Leather*, in every Seam and Skirt, twice embroider'd about with *Gold*; the fore-part whereof were set with eight and forty Taggs three Inches long of beaten *Gold*, hollow within, and filled with *Ambergrise*; also two large Chains of *Ambergrise*; two Carkanets of *Ambergrise*, a Velvet-Cap with *Gold Buttons*, curiously enamelled, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large Vessel of *Gold*, in form of a *Bason*; so as it seems there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick Cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King *James*, not to be unmindful to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee-Farm of Crown Land 200 *l.* to him and his Heirs, and 500 *l.* a year besides during his Life: And not to be unthankful to God for the Deliverance, he caused the fifth of *November*, being the Day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then so-

lemnly performed and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

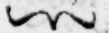
But in the midst of this great Joy, there was suddenly spread a Rumour of great Sorrow, for on *Saturday* the 22d of *March* News was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at *Oking*, twenty Miles from *London*, stabbed with an invenomed Knife; whereupon the Court Gates were presently shut, and double Guard set in all Places about *London*, and all Mens Minds were infinitely distracted; but within two Hours all these Clouds were dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect Health: For which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signify it to the People; and that Afternoon the King came himself to *White-hall*, where thousands of People ravished with Joy came flocking to see him; and so general was the rejoycing, that the *Spanish* Embassador gave *Sir Lewis Lewknor*, Master of the *Ceremonies*, a Chain of *Gold* of good value, for bringing him the News: Though after it was thought by some, that this Rumour was but politickly devised to make the Parliament and People more tender of the King's safety, and by making them more sensible what a Treasure they had of his Life, to make them more willing to part with their Treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

The 28th of *March* following, *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *English* Jesuits, was arraigned in *Guild-hall*, for concealing the fore-said Treason, where he had Judgment to be hanged, drawn and quartered; and accordingly, on the 3d of *May*, was drawn from the Tower to the West End of *Paul's Church*, and there executed. At his Death he confessed his Fault, and asked Forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treason against the King or State, as a Course which God would never prosper.

On *Tuesday* the 20th of *May* were enstalled at *Windso*r Knights of the Garter, *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Byndon*; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of *Salisbury* beyond ordinary promotion.

There was yet a Fag-end of the late Powder-Treason behind to be examined; whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Sturton*, were brought from the Tower to the Star chamber, and there, not charged indeed with any point of the Treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to their Summons, for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord *Mordant* ten thousand Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* six thousand, and to be Prisoners during the King's pleasure. But on the 27th of *June*, *Henry Earl of Northumberland* was likewise brought from the Tower to the Star chamber, and more directly charged with Circumstances concerning the Treason, especially in regard of *Thomas Percy*, whom he had admitted

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1605.



A Rumour spread, that the King was slain at *Oking*, but false: and the Joy upon hearing the truth.

*Henry Garnet* a Jesuite executed, and why.

*Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Sturton* fined, and why.

*Henry Earl of Northumberland* fined, and why.



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admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, without administering unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Refusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand Pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept Prisoner during the King's pleasure, as indeed he continued many Years, and at last released; was yet confined.

1606.

It was now the fourth Year of King James's Reign, and was a time of Princely Visitation; for this Summer, the 17th. of July, Christian King of Denmark, Brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight Ships came into the River of Thames, and anchored before Gravesend; to whom the next Day, King James with Prince Henry, and divers of the Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to London, where he stayed till the 12th of August following: In which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state through the City, where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been shewed the chief Places about London; as namely, the Old Exchange, the Tower, the Monuments at Westminster, and had gone up to the Top of Pauls, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of Salisbury, four Days together at Theobalds; had seen Tilting, Fencing, Wrestling, and many other Pastimes; on the 12th of August, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince with many other great Lords, he departed to his Ships, and in eight Days arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converse together like private Persons, and are not kept asunder with Jealousies of State.

Francis Prince of Vaudemont comes to England, with what great Train, and of his Entertainment.

After the King of Denmark's departure, on the 23d. of September arrived at London Francis Prince of Vaudemont, third Son to the Duke of Lorraine, accompanied with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of Quality, and six-score of common Persons, who all, the 25th of September, went by Coach to the King at Hampton-Court, where 14 Days together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrection in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, about Inclosures by Captain Pouch, and how suppressed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little disturbance; for in May, the Year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, throwing down Inclosures at first, without any particular head: But at last rose up a base Fellow, called John Reynolds, whom they named Captain Pouch, because he had a great Leather Pouch hanging by his Side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all comers: But when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their Disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent Henry Earl of Huntington, Thomas Earl of Exeter, Edward Lord Zouch, and Sir Edward Cook Lord chief Justice of England, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their Offences; some by Death, as for Treason; some by Fines, as for Routs; but Captain Pouch was made exemplar.

On Friday the 12th of June his Majesty, attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord

Mayor Sir John Wats, who after dinner presented him with a Purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be Free of his Company, the Cloth-workers: To which the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to Sir William Stone Master of their Company, and said, Stone, give me thy Hand; and now I am a Cloth-worker: And in token of my special Favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a Brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the Time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: At which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the Cloth-workers.

On Thursday the 16th. of July, the King and Prince with many Lords dined at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where the Master and Warden of that Society presented the King with a Purse of Gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and therewithal shewed him a Roll, wherein were registered the Names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dutcheses, 1 Archbishop, 31 Earls, 66 Barons, 7 Abbots, 7 Priors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company; but the Prince his Son should be Free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his Head: Whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a Purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be Free of the Merchant-Taylors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like; all which was performed with great Solemnity.

The 4th. of July this Year, Sir Thomas Knevet was called by Writ to the Parliament by the Name of Baron of Esrick: The next Day Sir Julius Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn a Privy-Councillor; and the 16th. of November following Sir Jervis Clifton, Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the Name and Title of Baron of Layton Bramfiewold, whose only Daughter and Heir was soon after married to Eysme Steward, Baron of Aubigny in France, sole Brother of the Duke of Lenox; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

About this Time, Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the King's great Clemency to him, together with Tyrconell, Hugh Baron of Dungannon, and divers other Irish Lords fled into the Parts beyond Sea, with purpose to sollicite foreign Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

On the 11th. of April this Year, George Jervis a Seminary Priest, and the 23d. of June following, Thomas Garnet a Jesuite, were both executed at Tyburn; Thomas Garnet having the Favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The 19th. of April at White-hall, dyed Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, whose Death (because he dyed suddenly as he sat at the Council-Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his Head opened,

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1605.

The King is made Free of the Cloth-workers.

The Prince is made Free of the Merchant Taylors, and a List of great Personages that had been of that Company.

Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir Jervis Clifton made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

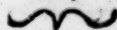
The Earl of Tir-Oen flies beyond Sea, to sollicite Princes against the King.

George Jervis a Seminary Priest, and Thomas Garnet a Jesuite executed, and why.

The Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer of England, dies suddenly.



An. Reg.  
1605.



opened, there were found in it certain little bags of Water, which whether by the straining of his study the Night before, in which he sate up till eleven a-clock, or otherwise by their own maturity suddenly breaking and falling upon his Brain, caused his sudden Death; so certain it is that Death comes not always by determinate Steps, but sometimes *per saltum*; and we all carry about us the Causes of sudden Death, tho' insensible of them till we be insensible. This Lord was of excellent Parts, and in his Place exceeding industrious, and I have heard many *Chequer-men* say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the King's profit, and the good of the Subject.

The 20th of May, at Windsor were made two Knights of the Garter, George Earl of Dunbar, and Philip Earl of Montgomery; but the Earl of Dunbar, within a Year or two after, left both his Honour and his Life, but not his Life without Honour, having been a faithful Servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interr'd in the Church at Westminster.

Divers English  
Pirates turn  
Turks.

About this time were many famous English Pirates that stuck not, some of 'em, to turn Turks, and lived in great state at Tunis, of whom the chief were Ward, Bishop, Sir Francis Verney, and Glarville; whom, after many Depredations and outrageous Acts at Sea, partly the King of Spain suppress'd, and partly the King of England; and Nineteen of their Associates being taken, were hang'd at Wapping.

The New Exchange on the  
Strand built.

Also at this time in the Strand, on the North side of Durham House, where stood an old long Stable, Robert Earl of Salisbury, now Lord Treasurer of England, caused to be erected a stately Building, which, upon Tuesday the tenth of April, in the Year 1609, was begun to be richly furnish'd with Wares; and the next Day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies, came to see it; and then the King gave it the Name of Britain's Bourse.

Fishing on the  
English Coast  
forbidden to  
Strangers.

On the 8th of May this Year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all foreign Nations, That after August they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland, nor the Isles adjacent, without special License from the Commissioners in that behalf ordain'd.

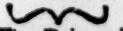
Allom first  
made in En-  
gland, and by  
whom.

At this time the making of Allom, which heretofore with great Charges had been fetch'd from foreign Parts, was by divers that labour'd in it (and now lastly by Sir John Bourchier) brought to perfection in England; and thereupon the King prohibited, upon pain of confiscation, any Allom to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole Traffick thereof to himself.

The King  
hath Aid of  
his Subjects for  
making Prince  
Henry Knight.

And now the King, according to an ancient Custom, had Aid of his Subjects thro' England for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight, which was yet levied with great Moderation; and the Prince, to shew himself worthy of it, perform'd his first Feats of Arms at Barriers with Wonderful Skill and Courage, being not yet full Sixteen Years of age.

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1610.



The Prince is  
created Prince  
of Wales, and  
the solemn  
manner of his  
creating.

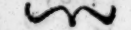
'Twas now the Eighth Year of King James's Reign, being the Year 1610. When Prince Henry being come to the age of 17 years, it was thought fit he should be initiated into Royalty; and thereupon, the 30th of May this Year, he was created Prince of Wales in most solemn manner, which was thus: Garter King at Arms

bore the Letters-patents, the Earl of Sussex the Robes of purple Velvet, the Earl of Huntington the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Rutland the Ring, the Earl of Derby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cap and Coronet, the Earls of Nottingham and Northampton supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only, and bareheaded; and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bath, 25 in number, all great Men and great Mens Sons, the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary, read the Letters-patents, the Prince kneeling all the while before the King, and at the Words accusom'd the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cap, the Coronet, the Rod, and the Ring, and then kissed him on the Cheek; and so the Solemnity ended.

After this, it was thought fit he should keep his Court by himself, and thereupon Sir Thomas Chaloner, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governor, was now made his Lord-Chamberlain, Sir Edward Phillips his Chancellor, and all other Officers assign'd him belonging to a Prince's Court; wherein he shew'd himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seem'd to be a King while he was yet but Prince; and all Mens Eyes began to fix upon him.

King James had long since shut up the Gates of Janus, and was in Peace with all Princes abroad; his only care was now to keep Peace at home: And to this end, the three first Days of June, in his own Person, he heard the Differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Protections out of the Kings-Bench and Common-Pleas. To this end, the 8th, 9th, and 10th of June, he heard the manifold Complaints of the Abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy-Royal: To this end, the 4th of June 1610, he once again, by Proclamation, commanded all Roman Priests, Seminaries, and Jesuites, as being the chief Incendiaries of Troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the 5th of July next, and not to return upon pain of Severity of the Law; as also all Recusants to return home to their Dwellings, and not remain in London, nor to come within ten Miles of the Court, without special License. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was presently administer'd to all sorts of People, and their Names settified to the Lords of the Council that refused to take it. And this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody Fact committed lately by one Ravillack, upon the Person of the Renowned King of France, Henry IV. And whereas Queen Elizabeth, in her 43d Year, had granted her Letters-patents to continue for Fifteen Years to the East-India Merchants, now upon their humble Petition the King was pleas'd to enlarge their Patents, giving them a Charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a Body corporate and politick; which so encourag'd the Merchants, that they built a Ship of 1200 Tun, the greatest that ever was made in this Kingdom by Merchants, which the King and Prince honour'd with going to Deptford to see it, and then nam'd it The Trade's Encrease; and at this time gave to Sir Tho. Smith (Governor of that Company) a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel wherein was his Picture: But

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1610.



He keeps  
Court by him-  
self, and who  
were his great  
Officers.

Seminaries  
and Jesuites  
commanded to  
avoid the  
Realm, and  
why.

The East-  
India Compa-  
ny made a Cor-  
poration, with  
large Privile-  
ges. They  
build a Ship  
of 1200 Tun  
call'd The  
Trade's En-  
crease, which  
was cast away  
in the Red-  
Sea.



An. Reg.  
1610.

The King builds a Ship of 1400 Tun, call'd The Prince, and gives it to the Prince.

The King dissolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of England.

Sir Rob. Carre comes into the King's favour, and of the many Honours heap'd suddenly upon him.

But this great Ship having been in the *Red-Sea*, and returning to *Bantam*, was there lost, and most of her Men cast away. But then the King himself built the goodliest Ship of War that was ever built in *England*, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying 64 pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own Dignity, *The Prince*.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this Year, and was prorogued to a certain Day, the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his Designs, or for some other Cause known to himself, on the last Day of *December*, under the Great Seal of *England* dissolv'd it.

Before this time one Sir *Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, or of the Borders, at a time of tilting before the King, chanc'd with a Fall off his Horse to break his Leg, upon which mischance he was forced for some Days to keep his Bed, in which time the King was sometime pleas'd to come and visit him; and then it was first perceiv'd that the King had begun to cast an Eye of Favour upon him: And indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wise) many great Favours were heap'd upon him; so as on *Easter-Monday*, in the Year 1611, he was created Viscount *Rocheſter*: On the 22d of *April* 1612 was sworn a Privy-Councillor: On the 4th of *November* 1613 was created Earl of *Somerſet*; and the 10th of *July* following made Lord-Chamberlain.

But this Sunshine of Fortune lasted not long, yet not by any Inconstancy in the King, but by the Earl's own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Essex* had before this time married the beautiful Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, who, upon Causes judicially heard, were afterward divorc'd, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce this great Favourite (the Earl of *Somerſet*) takes her for Wife, the King gracing their Marriage with all demonstrations of love and favour, and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that Night; and a few Days after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were feasted at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair Weather was overcast; for it happen'd that one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earl's special Friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a *Wife*, and, it seems, not thinking the Lady in all Points answerable to his Description, had been an earnest Dissuader of the Match; and to strengthen his Dissuasion, laid perhaps some unjust Imputation upon the Lady's Fame; which so incensed them both against him, that a less Revenge could not give them Satisfaction, than to take away his Life. So true is that Saying,

*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*

Upon this they find Pretences to have the said Sir *Thomas* committed to the *Tower*, and there, by their Instruments, effect their Revenge; some say by a poyson'd Tanzey sent him to eat; some, by a poyson'd Glistre ministred unto him; but howsoever, effected it was: For which Fact Sir *Jervis Telvis*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and three or four others of inferior condition, were

put to death: The Lady and Earl themselves were arraign'd and condemn'd, but thro' the King's great Clemency had their Lives spared; but in such sort as was to them no less grievous than Death itself, being never after suffer'd to see the King's Face, nor to come near his Court. This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King *James* was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *alter idem*, a Bosom-friend, with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose Shoulders he might sometimes lay a Burthen which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new Friend was Mr. *George Villiers*, a Gentleman of a good House, but a younger Brother, but of so delicate a compoſure of Body, and withal of so excellent parts of Mind, as if Nature had framed him on purpose to be a King's Favourite; and indeed never any Man was partaker of the royal Influence like to him; made first a Knight, and Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse; a while after created Earl of *Buckingham*, then Marq. of *Buckingham*, and made Lord-Admiral; lastly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greatest Title of Honour a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power; for all Matters of Grace pass'd from the King by him: And to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Father's death had married a younger Son of the Lord *Compton's*) was created Countess of *Buckingham*; his Sister, who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Husband made Earl of *Denbigh*, his two Brothers were made, one of them Viscount *Purbeck*, the other Earl of *Angleſey*; beside many other of his Friends and Kindred highly advanc'd; for this Lord affected not an Advancement that should be only personal, but rather be in common to all his Family; and was not of the disposition of some, who, like great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them Underwood, tho' it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they'd be less subject to the violence of Winds if more flood together: And tho' never Man had juster cause to be envied than he, yet never any Man was less envied, because tho' his Honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retain'd the like Temper of affable Carriage after his advancement as he had done before.

But before all these favours were heap'd upon him, many other great Passages had intervened; for first, after the death of *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* had been Lord-Treasurer, and after him *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*; but this Lord, tho' of most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seems less ready in discharging the Place; and whether for this, or for his Lady's taking too much upon her by his Indulgence, the Staff was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in such a sequence of *Treasurers* as no Age before had ever seen, all wise and able Men indeed, but yet in whom the Office seem'd an Employment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King: For, first, Sir *Henry Montague* was taken from the *Kings-bench*, and on the 4th of *December* 1620, made Lord-Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of *Mancheſter*; and before the Year

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1610.

The Earl of *Somerſet* and his Lady condemn'd, but their Lives spared.

Mr. *George Villiers* comes into the King's Favour, and of the many Honours heap'd suddenly upon him.

*Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, Ld Treasurer, hath the Staff taken from him.

Four Ld Treasurers made in four Years.

went

His falling into Disgrace, and why.

Sir *Tho. Overbury* poyson'd.

Sir *Jervis Telvis* executed.



An. Reg.  
1610.

went about put off: after whom Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, from Master of the Wards, was made Lord-Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of *Middlesex*, and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King 50000 Pounds. After him Sir *James Lee*, from Chief-Justice of the *Kings-bench* was made Lord-Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Marlborough*; and then, having made a good Return of his Place, put it off himself. After him Sir *Richard Weston*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord-Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Portland*.

1612.

The Lord  
Sanquer of  
Scotland  
hang'd, and  
why.

Also the 25th of *June*, 1612, the Lord *Sanquer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private Revenge suborn'd *Robert Carlisle* to murder *John Turner*, a Master of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a Shelter for Villany, but according to the Law, on the 29th of *June*, the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraign'd and condemn'd by the Name of *Robert Creighton Esq*; was before *Westminster-hall* Gate executed, where he died very penitent.

A Lottery  
granted for the  
Plantation of  
*Virginia*.

About this time the King, in special favour for the present Plantation of the *English Colonies* in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery, to be held at the West-end of *Pauls*, whereof one *Thomas Sharplys*, a Taylor of *London*, had the chief Prize, which was Four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary*, late Queen of *Scotland*, the King's Mother, was translated from *Peterborough* to *St. Peter's Church* in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chapel-royal there, where it was interr'd in a royal Tomb which the King had erected for her.

Sir Rob. Sher-  
ley comes into  
England Am-  
bassadour from  
the King of  
*Persia*.

About this time also Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son of Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Sussex*, Knight, who sixteen Years past had betaken himself to travel, and had serv'd divers Christian Princes for the space of five Years, but chiefly *Rodolphus* the Roman Emperor, who for his Service made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into *Persia*, and serv'd the *Persian* ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery, and held him in so great account that he gave him the Lady *Teresia* of *Persia*; after this the *Persian* imploy'd him to sundry Princes of *Europe*, and sent him in special Embassage into *England*, to King *James*, to whom he deliver'd his Letters, and shew'd his Commission; all which signified the *Persians* great love and affection to his Majesty, with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Higness's Subjects thro' all the *Persian* Dominions. After a Years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and Prince *Henry* Godfather, he left the Child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

An. Reg. 10.  
Frederick  
Prince Pala-  
tine of the  
*Rhine* comes  
into *England*.

It was now the Year 1612, and the tenth of *K. James's* Reign, when the illustrious Prince *Frederick* Count-Palatine of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been before with the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the 16th of *October* arriv'd at *Gravesend*, to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *White-hall*, and from thence into the great Banqueting-house, where the King, the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, entertain'd him in all kind manner,

and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex House*, appointed for his lodging. It was many Years since any King's Daughter had been married in *England*, which now happening, and to so illustrious a Prince, was just cause of triumph and rejoicing: But see the Misery of Human Affairs; Joy can no sooner be setting forth, but Sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now it hapned; for, on the 29th of *October*, the Prince-Palatine, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at *Guild-hall*, Prince *Henry*, who was also invited and expected, could not come, being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant Fever, which reign'd that Year in most parts of this Land, whereof on the sixth of *November*, between seven and eight a-clock at Night, at his Court of *St. James's*, he died: But he being infinitely belov'd of the People, and one that had given great Hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caus'd suspicion in many Mens heads that death was not without Violence offer'd to Nature: Some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat; some, by Gloves of a poyson'd Perfume, given him for a Present; but these were but idle Rumours and Conceits: It seems Divine Providence had ordain'd it should be said of him, *Hinc tantum terris ostendent Fata, nec ultra esse finent*, whose Death would have given a great Blow to the Happiness of this Kingdom if there had not been another Prince left, of a milder Spirit perhaps, but so accomplish'd with all excellent Endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henry* as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henry*, who died at the age of 18 Years, 8 Months, and 17 Days, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey-Church at *Westminster*, and there interr'd in the Chapel Royal, on the 17th of *December* following.

This Accident something appall'd the general Joy, but yet Triumphs went on.

Upon *St. Thomas Day* the *Palsgrave* and *Grave* *Maurice* were elected Knights of the Garter; and the 27th of *December* the *Palsgrave* was betroth'd to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On Sunday the 7th of *February* the *Palsgrave* in Person was install'd Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*; and at the same time was *Grave Maurice* install'd by his Deputy, Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*. On the 14th of *February*, being *Shrove-Sunday* and *St. Valentine's Day*, this happy Marriage of the *Palsgrave* with the Lady *Elizabeth* was solemniz'd in the Chapel at *White-hall*: The Bride was led to Church by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton* Lord Privy-Seal: She was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones; her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments. The King gave her in Marriage, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* married them, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* preach'd the Bridal Sermon; which ended, the Bride was led home by two married Men, the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord-Admiral.

This Marriage was solemniz'd the first Night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies, the second Night with a magnificent Masque of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple* and *Lincolns-Inn*; the

An. Reg.  
1612.

Prince Henry  
falls sick, and  
dies.

The Count  
Palatine is  
betroth'd to  
the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Is married to  
her, and the  
Solemnity of  
the Marriage.



They take  
their leave,  
and depart.

The order of  
Baronets e-  
rected: and  
why.

Sir Peckfall  
Brockas hands  
in a white  
sheet at Pauls,  
and why.

1614.

Christianus  
King of Den-  
mark come  
the seconds  
time into En-  
gland: and  
how he was  
entertained.

## A call of Ser- jeants at Law.

The Military  
Garden first e-  
rected.

Water  
brought to  
- London from  
S Chadwell in  
e Hertfordshire,  
by Sir Hugh  
Middleton

\*ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΊΔΕΙΝ

N n n n n

The



1615.

Smithfield  
first pav'd all  
over.

The Lady Ar-  
abella secretly  
marries Mr.  
William Sey-  
mour.

She dies in the  
Tower.

Prince Charles  
is created  
Prince of  
Wales.

Sir Edward  
Coke, the Lord  
Egerton, and  
Sir Henry Yel-  
verton put  
from their  
Places.

Sir John Ben-  
net, Judge of  
the Preroga-  
tive-Court,  
put from his  
Place; and  
why.

The King  
makes a Jour-  
ney into Scot-  
land, where  
he stays six  
Months.

The next Year, being 1615, another memo-  
rable Act for the Benefit and Beauty of the City  
of London was perform'd; for Smithfield, which  
was before a rude dirty Place, was now pav'd  
all over, and strong Rails sequestering the middle  
part of it, were set up to make it a fair walk-  
ing-place, and fit for Market, or any other use.

The Lady *Arabella*, a near Kinswoman of the  
King's, had some time before, without the  
King's privity, secretly married Mr. *William*  
*Seymour*, younger Son of the Earl of *Hertford*,  
now Earl of *Hertford* himself; for which they  
were both committed to the Tower: And now  
this Year, on the 27th Day of September, she  
ended her Life there, and was buried in the  
Chapel-Royal at *Westminster*.

This Year also in July were install'd Knights  
of the Garter, *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *George*  
*Villars* Master of the Horse, and Sir *Robert* *Sidney*  
Viscount *Lisse*; and in other kind of Honour,  
the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carew*, and Dr. *An-*  
*drews*, Bp. of *Ely*, were sworn Privy Councillors.

*Wales*, by the Death of Prince *Henry*, had  
been a good while without a Prince; and now  
to supply that Place, Prince *Charles* is created  
Prince of *Wales*; in joy whereof, the Town of  
*Ludlow* in *Shropshire* and the City of *London* per-  
form'd great Triumphs. And the more to ho-  
nour his Creation, there was made twenty five  
Knights of the Bath, all of them Lords or Ba-  
rons Sons: And yet more to honour it, there  
were forty select Gentlemen of the Inns of Court  
that perform'd solemn Jufts at Barriers, with  
great Magnificence.

This Year was a Censure of divers great De-  
linquents: For first Sir *Edward* *Coke* was upon  
Displeasure discharg'd from being Lord Chief-  
Justice of the King's-Bench; and two Days after  
his Discharge, Sir *Henry* *Montague*, the King's  
Attorney; he was first made Lord Keeper, and  
the Lord *Egerton* dying soon after, Lord Chan-  
cellor. Not long after him, Sir *Henry* *Yelverton*,  
the King's Attorney, for adding new Privi-  
leges to the *Londoners* Charter without the  
King's privity, was in Displeasure put from  
his Place; and in his room was plac'd Sir *Tho-*  
*mas* *Coventry*, the Solicitor. But a while after,  
Sir *Henry* *Yelverton* was made a Puiny Judge of  
the Common-Pleas; having indeed the Repu-  
tation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Censuring stayed not  
here; for much about this time, *Thomas* Earl of  
*Suffolk*, Lord Treasurer of England, had the Staff  
of his Office taken from him; which was soon  
after deliver'd to Sir *Henry* *Montague*, Lord  
Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench. If Sir *John*  
*Bennet*, Judge of the *Prerogative-Court*, had made  
a little more haste, he might have made one in  
this number of Delinquents: But he came short  
three or four Years; and then being charg'd  
by his own Servant with Bribery, he was put  
from his Place, and censured in the Star-Cham-  
ber to pay 2000 Pounds; and in his room was  
placed *William* *Byrde*, a Man of more Integrity.

Tho' King *James*, upon the Death of Queen  
*Elizabeth*, came to reside in England, yet he for-  
got not that *Scotland* was his Native Country;  
and therefore, after he had spent some Years  
in England, to acquaint himself with the State  
of the Kingdom, in March, this Year 1616, he

made a Journey into *Scotland*: For tho' he  
had left very able Men to sit at the Helm there  
in his Absence, yet he knew, that it is the Ma-  
ster's Eye that makes the Horse fat: So it is the  
Prince's Presence sometimes that keeps out ma-  
ny Distempers in a State, that would otherwise  
creep in. And now, when in his staying six  
Months there, he had seen all things well settl'd,  
both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Tem-  
poral; and made it appear, that he resided not  
in England out of any neglect of *Scotland*, but to  
the end he might be in the Place of most Con-  
veniency to both Kingdoms. On the 15th of  
September he return'd to London, not more to  
the Grief of the Scots to leave him, than to the  
Joy of the English to receive him; so much was  
King *James* as a just and wise Prince belov'd  
of both the Nations.

The 15th of February 1617, in the 15th Year  
of this King, *Francis* *Ashley*, of the *Middle-Tem-*  
*ple*, London, Esquire, where he had been Reader  
the Year before, was by a Writ call'd to be  
Serjeant at Law, *Eo tempore solus Serviens ad le-*  
*gem electus*, and the 5th of July following was  
knighted; and about that time was Steward of  
the Marshalsea of the King's House; and by  
King *Charles*, the 5th of May, in the first Year  
of his Reign, was by Letters-Patents made one  
of the King's Serjeants at Law, and so continu'd  
unto his Death, which happen'd by the Will of  
God, the 28th of November, 1635, at *Serjeants-*  
*Int* in *Fleetstreet*, and was Recorder of *Dorchester*  
in *Dorsetshire*; where, together with his Lady,  
in the great Church he lies involtd; leaving  
*Dorothy*, his only Daughter and Heir, (by the  
Lady *Anne* his Wife, the eldest Daughter and  
Co-heir of *Bernard* *Samwayes* of *Winterborne* St.  
*Martin* in the County of *Dorset*, Esq;) married  
unto the Honourable *Denzil* *Holles*, Esq; whose  
only Issue is *Francis* *Holles* of *Winterborne* St. *Mar-*  
*tin* afore said, Esq;

Now comes to be related a Matter of special  
observation: Sir *Walter* *Raleigh* had liv'd a con-  
demn'd Man many Years in the Tower, and now  
his Destiny brought him to his End by Liberty,  
which it could not do by Imprisonment; for  
out of a longing for Liberty, he propounded a  
Project to the King; upon which, (as he was  
a well-spoken Man, and of a great Capacity)  
he set such colours of probability, especially  
gilding it over with the Gold he would fetch  
from a Mine in *Guiana*, and that without any  
wrong at all to the King of *Spain*, (if he might  
be allow'd to go the Journey) that the King, if  
he gave not credit that he could perform it, at  
least gave way that he should undertake it:  
And thereupon with divers Ships, accompanied  
with many Knights and Gentlemen of Quality,  
he set forward on the Voyage. But when after  
long search, or shew of search, no such Place  
of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be  
found; whether it were, that he thought it a  
shame to return home with doing nothing, or  
that his *Malus Genius* thrust him upon the De-  
sign, he fell upon St. *Thome*, a Town belonging  
to the King of *Spain*, sack'd it, pillag'd it, and  
burnt it: And here was the first part of his  
tragical Voyage acted, in the Death of his el-  
dest Son; the last Part was acted in his own  
Death at his return: For *Gundamore*, the Spa-  
nish

1616.

1617.

Afterwards  
Baron *Holles*  
of *Isfield*.  
Afterwards  
Sir *Francis*  
*Holles* Ba-  
ronet.

Sir *Walter*  
*Raleigh* is set  
at Liberty to  
fetch Gold  
from *Guiana*.

He sacks and  
pillageth the  
Town of St.  
*Thome*.



1617.

This Fact  
Gundamore  
aggravateth  
against him.

nish Leiger, did so aggravate this Fact of his to the King against him, that it seem'd nothing would give Satisfaction but *Raleigh's Head*, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. *Raleigh* excused it, by saying, That he was urg'd to it by the *Spaniards* first assaulting of him; and besides, he could not come at the Mine without winning this Town. But *Gundamore* was too strong an Adversary for him: And the King preferring the publick Peace before the Life of one Man, already condemn'd, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, he was not new arraign'd or indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former Sentence averred against him, and so carried to the *Gate-house*, and from thence the next Morning to the *Parliament-Yard*; a Scaffold was there erected, upon which, after fourteen Years re-  

For which he is beheaded.

prieval, his Head was cut off: At which time such abundance of Blood issu'd from his Veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continu'd him many Years in Life, tho' now above sixty Years old, if he had not been taken away by the Hands of Violence.

And this was the End of the great *Sir Walter Raleigh*; great sometimes in the Favour of *Qu. Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Hate of the *Spaniard*, who had many things to be commended in his Life, but none more than his Constancy in his Death; which he took with so undaunted a Resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain Expectation of a better Life after it. So far was he from holding those Atheistical Opinions; an Aspersion whereof some traducing Persons had cast upon him.

About this time King *James* made a Progress to the University of *Cambridge*; where, delighted with the Disputations, and other Scholastical Exercises, he stay'd three Days, and could have been content to have stay'd as many Years; for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

In the Year 1619, being the 17th Year of King *James's* Reign, that Knot of Love, which above twenty Years had been ty'd between him and his Queen, was by Death dissolv'd: For on Tuesday this Year, the 2d of *March*, Queen *Anne* died at *Hampton-Court*, whose Corps was brought to *Denmark-House*, and from thence convey'd to *Westminster*; where, in the Royal Chapel, with great Solemnity it was interr'd. A Princess very memorable for her Virtue, and not a little for her Fortune; who, besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admir'd Children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this Knot cast the King into an extream Sickness; and after some recovery, into a Relapse; from which notwithstanding it pleas'd God to deliver him, as having yet some great Work to do.

This Year, on Monday the 3d of May, one Mr. *Williams*, a Barrister of the *Middle-Temple*, was arraign'd at the *King's-Bench*, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King; and upon Wednesday following, was hang'd and quarter'd at *Charing-Cross*.

But an Action of another nature was perform'd this Year, the 17th of July, not unwor-

thy the relating; which was this, That one *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover*, rode from *St. George's Church* in *Southwark* to *Dover*, from thence pass'd by Barge to *Calais* in *France*; from thence return'd back to *St. George's Church* the same Day; setting out about three a-Clock in the Morning, and return'd about eight a-Clock in the Evening fresh and lusty.

In the Year 1621 a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein two great Examples of Justice were shewed; which for future Terror are not unfit to be here related: One upon *Sir Gyles Montpeffon*, a Gentleman otherwise of good Parts; but for practising sundry Abuses, in erecting and setting up new Inns and Alehouses, and exacting great Sums of Money of People, by pretence of Letters-Patent granted to him for that purpose, was sentenc'd to be degraded, and disabled to bear any Office in the Commonwealth, tho' he avoided the Execution by flying the Land: But upon *Sir Francis Mitchel*, a Justice of Peace of *Middlesex*, and one of the chief Agents, the Sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his Face to the Horse's Tail through the City of *London*.

The other Example was of *Sir Francis Bacon*, Viscount of *St. Albans*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, who for Bribery was put from his Place, and committed to the *Tower*; but after some Days enlarg'd. In whose Place Dr. *Williams*, Dean of *Westminster*, was made Lord-Keeper.

The Count *Palatine* being now strengthened with the Alliance of the King of *Great-Britain*, was thought a fit Man to be King of *Bohemia*; and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom: But he was no sooner invest-  

The King hath conferred with Gundamore how the Palatinate might be restor'd.

ed in the Crown, but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in *Prague*; and not only drove him, with his Wife and Children from thence, but took from him also his own Patrimony, the *Palatinate*: So as tho' now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the *Low-Countries* for a place of residence. King *James*, tho' he had never given his consent to the *Palsgrave's* taking upon him that Kingdom, as foreseeing in his great Judgment what the Event would be, yet in his Distress he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter, and thereupon sent *Sir Richard Weston*, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassy to the Emperor, to sollicite the Restoring of the *Palatinate* to the *Palsgrave*; but he returning without Success, the King had then conference with Count *Gundamore* the King of *Spain's* Leiger in *England* what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: Who made him answer, There could be no better Course than to make a Marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which, he said, would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into *Spain*. King *James*, tho' he consider'd the inveterate Grudges between *Spain* and *England*, and how dangerous it might be to put the Heir of the Kingdom into the *Spaniards* hands, yet grounding himself upon saying *Fidelem si putaveris, facies*: And drawn on by the insinuating Speeches of Count *Gundamore*, not perhaps without some Inclination in the *Marquis* of *Buckingham*, was contented at last the Prince should go.

And

1619.

Bernard Cal-  
vert's speedy  
Journey from  
Southwark to  
Calais, and  
back again in  
one Day.

1621.

Sir Gyles  
Montpeffon  
is sentenced  
to be de-  
graded; and  
why.

Sir Francis  
Mitchel is de-  
graded, and  
in what man-  
ner.

Sir Francis  
Bacon, Lord  
Chancellor,  
put from his  
Place for Bri-  
bery.

The Pals-  
grave is chosen  
King of Bohe-  
mia, but is  
soon driven  
out, and his  
Palatinate  
seized on.

The King  
hath confe-  
rence with  
Gundamore  
how the Pa-  
latinate might  
be restor'd.  
Gundamore  
adviseeth by  
making a  
Marriage be-  
tween the  
Prince of  
Wales and  
the Infanta  
of Spain.

The King  
makes a Pro-  
gress to Cam-  
bridge; where  
he stays three  
Days.

1619.  
An. Reg. 17.  
Queen Anne  
dies.



1622.

Hereupon the Prince is sent into Spain, and how accompanied.

Gundomar gets Money of Ladies perswading them of the certainty of the Match.

The Prince's entertainment in Spain.

What hindered the proceeding of the Match.

The King sends for the Prince to return home.

And so Prince Charles sending his Ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquis of Buckingham (who in the time of his being in Spain was created Duke of Buckingham) Endimion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington, (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of Spain) he took his journey by the way of France, went to Paris, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

In the mean time Gundomar a cunning Man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no less for his own profit than his Masters Honour, as he had perswaded the King of the facility of the Match with Spain, so he perswaded a certainty of it, especially amongst Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grist to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred Pounds, to be made Groom of the Stole when the Spanish Princess should come; of another, a good round Sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

But the Prince being arrived in Spain, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindness that could be devised, so as the charge of his Entertainment was said to stand the King of Spain in nine and forty thousand Ducats; but his acquaintance with the Lady much restrained, for in all the time of his staying in Spain, (which was no less than eight Months, being from February to October) he saw her but very seldom, and at good distances, never spake with her but twice, and that before company, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the Knot between them, which was pretended. What the cause should be was much in obscurity; some thought that a difference between the Duke of Buckingham and the Count Olivarez, the King of Spain's great Favourite, was a great hindrance of the Proceeding, but other, and more likely, that the Spaniard indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into Spain for other ends: But what those ends were, was no less uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of Marriage with a Daughter of Spain, till the Daughters of France should be bestowed, thereby to keep him from that Alliance; but others and more likely, that the King of Spain, entertained this Treaty with the King of great Britain, meaning to spin it out till he had compassed some designs in the Low-Countries, and the Palatinate, at least to make King James less vigilant for those parts.

But when much time had been spent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King James partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with delusion, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into England; which the Prince presently signifieth to the King of Spain, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the Marriage still: Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few Days on his Journey, when a Post was

sent to have stayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was so or no, it was Gods Providence that he came safely to his ships, and in them safely into England; arriving at Portsmouth, where he was beheld of all the people, with no less gladness than the Sun after a long Eclipse; and now his safe returning did both justifie King James's judgment in suffering him to go, and the King of Spain's justice in suffering him to come back; and was cause that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spanish faith than they had before. But now it presently breaks out, that this Match with Spain could never take effect; for King James having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very strict and large for exercise of the Catholick Religion, but none at all for restitution of the Palatinate; which made him so much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the Marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of Spain, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: Upon which breach two great points were presently had in consultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the Palatinate by way of Arms, which could not be done by way of Friendship; and for this purpose a Council of War was called, and a proposition resolved on both of Men and Money, for undertaking the enterprise: As also a great contribution by way of Benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this Work gave himself fifty Pounds; as many other far greater Sums, though the collection went not through the whole Land, by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconciliation, so as many that were not over-hasty in their Payment escaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place. It was said the States of Holland offered a very great portion in Marriage to the Prince, if he would match with some Lady of that Country, but Matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of France destined to his Bed, and for this purpose, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Earl of Holland were sent into France, to treat of a Marriage with the younger Daughter of the great Henry the fourth, King of France deceased, and Sister to the present King Lewis; which marriage after took effect, but not accomplished in King James's Days, who died soon after the agreement.

It was now the year 1623, in which in Michaelmas Term there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast in the Middle-Temple Hall.

Two things in this Kings days grew to lose their Lustre; one, the exercise of Tilting, which in Queen Elizabeth's time was so much used, that no year passed without a special solemnity in that kind. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard; which in her time consisted of the choicest Persons both for stature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like: But King James was so intentive to Realities, that he lit-

1622.

The King breaks off all Treaty of the Match, and why.

A Consultation had to recover the Palatinate by Arms.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger Daughter of the King of France, which afterwards took effect.

1623.

A call of fifteen Serjeants at Law.



1623.

little regarded shews: and thereby both these in his time came utterly to be neglected: No solemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what persons were admitted into the other places.

We may here observe, how the Sirname of the Kings of England hath at sundry times been changed. From *William* the Conqueror, to King *Henry* the second, what Sirname they had or whether they had any or no, is most uncertain: But when King *Henry* the second brought in the French Surname of *Plantagenet*; which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King *Henry* the seventh, and he brought in the Welsh Sirname of *Tudor*, which continued the Sirname of all the succeeding Princes till King *James* the sixth of Scotland; and he brought in the Scottish Sirname of *Steward*, in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do so) to the World's end.

*Some passages of small moment I confess are omitted by me in this Reign of King James, as whereof, for want of knowing the Particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation; which if some Men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many Falsities.*

#### Of his Taxations.

The Customs of Merchandize raised.

IN his second Year, in the Month of September, he sent Privy Seals to the wealthiest Citizens of London, for moneys to be borrowed of them: And in October following, the Customs of Merchandises, both outward and inward, were raised, and then were letted out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This year also *Henry* Lord *Mordaunt*, convicted in the Star-chamber for divers misprisions, was fined to pay ten thousand Marks, and *Edward* Lord *Stourton* for the like offence to pay thirty thousand Pounds, and some Years after Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thousand Pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threescore thousand Pounds to the Citizens of London, which the *Londoners* lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, three Years before her Death; an act by which he got more love than he payed Money. In his seventh year he had aid throughout England, for making his eldest Son Prince *Henry* Knight: which though they levied with great moderation, brought him in great sums of Money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three; and in another Parliament, in the year 1623, the Temporality gave him three Subsidies, and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subsidies. Besides three Subsidies he sent abroad many Great privy Seals, and had also a Benevolence throughout the Realm; not without some grudging, but without any just cause; for it should have been remembered, that he took it not of covetousness to gather wealth, but out of very necessity to supply wants: For by his employing many Ambassadors in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his necessary

bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping several Courts, none of all which he could avoid; his Expences were far greater than any of his Predecessors had ever been.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from *Charterhouse*, at his first coming into England, he caused Proclamation to be made, that all Monopolies and Protections should cease; as likewise all oppressions done by Salt-Peter-men, by Purveyors, and Carters. On the 26th of May following he set forth a Proclamation, restraining all persons under great Penalties from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl used for Hawking. The 7th of May, Proclamation was made against Robberies on the Borders; and on the 19th of May, another for uniting the People inhabiting about the Borders of England and Scotland, to live in love and quietness. In this first year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That neither Archbishop, nor Bishop should Alienate, Grant, or Demise, or in any sort convey, no not to the King himself, any of the Honours, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcel of the possession of his Archbishop, or Bishoprick: and if any were, it should be utterly void, and of no effect notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then also caused himself by Proclamation to be entitled King of Great Britain, that the division of England and Scotland might be no more remembered. In his second year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of London, by the name of Masters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Mystery of the Felt-makers, granting them divers privileges and Liberties, for their good Government of their Corporation. In November, of his second year, were Proclaimed in London certain new pieces of Coin, both of Gold and Silver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, English and Scottish. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was devised and ordained, and soon after ministred to all sorts of People.

This year also he made Proclamation to redress the misemployment of Lands, or Goods given to Charitable uses. Also this year, he set forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of Great Britain should bear in their main-top, the Red Cross, commonly call'd St. George's Cross, and the White Cross, commonly call'd St. Andrew's Cross, joined together, and the Subjects of South Britain should carry in their Fore-top only the Red Cross, as they were wont; and the Subjects of North Britain only the White Cross. In his fourth Year, on the 10th of June he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realm before the first of August following; and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his second Year he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates and encrease of new Buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth Year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withal, That the Fore-fronts & Windows

1623.

The cause of the Kings great Expences.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl restrained.

No Bishops to alienate any Lands, not to the King himself.

He is entitled King of Great Britain.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance first devised and ordained.

Flags how to be born in Ships.

Privy Seals sent out, and also a Benevolence.



1623. The Fore-fronts to be made of Brick. An Order for planting of Mulberry-Trees for encrease of Silk-worms. Coins of Gold raised. The Apothecaries made a Corporation. Duels and single Combats restrain'd.

dows of all new Buildings should be either of Brick or Stone; for disobeying whereof, many were call'd in the Star-Chamber, and there fin'd. In his fifth Year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry-Trees, and breeding of Silk-Worms, that *England* might be a Country as well of Silk as of Cloth. In his eleventh Year he instituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated since his institution, and thereby having been devised for the Benefit of *Ireland*, had caused but little Contentment unto *England*. This Year also the King himself in Person came to the Star-Chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coins of Gold within the Realm, he raised the Prizes of them; ordaining the Piece call'd the Unity, which went before but for twenty Shillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown, and all other Pieces to encrease in the like proportion. In his fifteenth Year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themselves and their Successors for ever; and by Letters Patent made them a Body Politick and Corporate. In this time by his appointment a strict Decree passed in the Star-Chamber against Duels and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a Dagger or Knife, making it to be wilful Murther.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

A Conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at Hampton-Court, and how the matter proceeded.

THE King, as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some Dissention of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very first Year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton-Court*, to which were call'd divers Bishops, Deans and Doctors, of one side; and of the other four eminent Divines; namely, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstabs, and Mr. Chadderton; who all meeting before the King, the 14th Day of *January*; the King first signified the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church: Whereupon Dr. Reynolds being their Fore-man, reduc'd all matters disliked or questioned, into these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserv'd in purity, according to God's Word.
2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to Preach the same.
3. That the Church Government might be sincerely administred according to the Word of GOD.
4. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads he drew and moved divers Points: One, that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of *Winchester* challeng'd Dr. Reynolds with all his Learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used

in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of Dr. Reynolds was, That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the Truth of the Original; whereof he alledg'd divers Examples, particularly that in the 105th Psalm 28th ver. where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is said, *They were not Disobedient*: To this it was agreed, That a new Translation should be made: And accordingly soon after was perform'd by the most learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that which is now used. After many other Points moved by Dr. Reynolds, he came at last to Subscription; entreating it might not be exacted as heretofore; which many good Men refused for these Reasons: First; Because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common-Prayer appointed to be read, albeit in some of them there are manifest Errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this the King himself answer'd, That as he would not wish all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to interpret, so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read wherein was any Error: But for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them ready; seeing there was good use of them, to make up the Story of the Persecution of the *Jews*, but withal, he would have the People be taught, they were not to teach a Man, either to sacrifice to the Dead, or kill himself. The next Scruple against Subscription was, That in the Common-Prayer-Book it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain, *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it was answer'd, That for any thing could be gather'd by the Place, he might speak as well to the one as to the other: But the King for more Plainness sake will'd, That the Word *Disciples* should be omitted, and only the Words, *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different Letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another Scruple was concerning the Cross in Baptism, which Dr. Reynolds confess'd to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entring into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: To which the Bishop of *Winchester* answer'd, That in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptism; and the Dean of *Westminster* shew'd out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that in their time it was used in *Immortali lavacro*; which could be nothing but Baptism: And this the King judg'd to be Antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Mr. Knewstabs mov'd how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without Impeachment of their Christian Liberty: At which the King seem'd much mov'd, and told him, He would not argue that Point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament *Le Roy's avisera*; and therefore I charge you (said he) never speak no more to that Point, how far you are to obey, when the Church hath once ordain'd it. Dr. Reynolds added, that the Cross should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abus'd. To which

1623.

Concerning the Cross in Baptism.



1623.

which his Majesty answer'd, That his very Reason was an inducement to him to have it retain'd still : For in as much as it was abus'd (so you say) to superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well us'd before Popery.

Concerning  
the wearing  
of the Sur-  
plice.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice : To which the King answer'd, That seeing it appear'd out of Antiquity, that in celebration of Divine Service, a different Habit appertain'd to the Ministry, and principally of white Linnen ; he saw no reason, but that in this Church, as it had been for Comeliness and Order sake, it might be still continued.

Last of all, Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubs requested, That in regard of some tender Consciences the Surplice and Cross in Baptism might not be urg'd : To which the King himself answer'd, If after the Gospel's preaching five and forty Years amongst you, there be any yet in these points unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of Stubbornness of Opinion, than out of Tenderness of Conscience ; and therefore let them conform themselves, or else they shall hear further of it.

Concerning  
the Ring in  
Marriage, and  
Bishops.

It was now observ'd, that in all their Objections, there was not a Word spoken against Bishops, nor against the Ring in Marriage ; for Dr. Reynolds himself confess'd, that the Ring was a very meet Ceremony ; and the King affirm'd he should not think himself rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring : And as for Bishops, he declar'd himself to be verily perswaded, they were *Divina Ordinationis*, and most necessary to Monarchy ; and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other Points were handled, as about Predestination, Absolution and Remission of Sins, Baptizing by Women, about the Words in Marriage, *With my Body I thee worship*, the Oath *Ex officio*, the high Commission, and some other : In all which the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all jointly promis'd to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it so : And the King was so admir'd for his excellent Resolutions and Answers, that the Archbishop of Canterbury said, Undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special Assistance of God's Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his second Year set forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical Government, and the Book of Common Prayer, in the Form and Estate as Queen Elizabeth left them.

The Book  
of Common-  
Prayer con-  
firm'd by the  
King.

After this he sent divers learned Divines into Scotland to have a Conference with the Divines there ; and, if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an Uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an Union of Possession. And now entering into consideration of this Title of being, *Defender of the Faith* ; he conceiv'd it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to neighbouring Countries ; if not in Authority, at least in Care : And hereupon hearing that the States in the Low-Countries were determin'd to entertain one Vorstius to be publick Professor of Divinity in Leyden, and knowing him, tho' otherwise a learned Man, yet tainted with many erroneous Opinions concerning the Essence and Substance of God,

The King  
solicites the  
States of the  
Low Countries  
not to admit  
Vorstius, and  
why.

making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Eviternity ; teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus actus*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diversitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso ; etiam Principium cujusdam mutabilitatis* : He earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Leiger Sir Ralph Winwood, by no means to admit the said Vorstius into that Place ; lest his Doctrine having once infected their Country, might soon after spread it self into his Dominions. Which Request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expell'd Vorstius from amongst them.

At this time a Synod was assembl'd at Dort in Holland, consisting of learned Divines, sent from the Count Palatine of the Rhine, from Hassia, from Switzerland, from the Church of Geneva, from Bern, Embden, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, and other Provinces : Some also sent from England, as namely, George Bishop of Landaffe, John Davenant Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Samuel Ward Master of Sidney College in Cambridge, Thomas Good Dr. of Divinity, and Walter Belcanquel, a Scottish Man, Batchelor of Divinity : Which Synod was assembl'd to examine and determine the Doctrine of Arminius ; first, concerning God's Predestination, Election and Reprobation ; then concerning CHRIST's Death, and Man's Redemption by it ; then concerning Man's Corruption and Conversion to God ; then concerning the Preseverance of the Saints. In all which Points the Doctrine of Arminius was rejected, as also of Vorstius, and the true Doctrine by a general Consent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States, which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of it, that one of them in scorn made Echo to censure it in this Distich.

*Dodraci Synodus ? Nodus. Chorus integer ? Aeger :  
Conventus ? Ventus. Sessio Stramen ? Amen.*

But who knows not that Ill-will never speaks well, and that nothing is so obvious in the Mouth of an Adversary, as Scandals and Invectives.

In the Year 1616. Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Antonius de Dominis Archbishop of Spalato, in the Territory of Venice, came into England, leaving his Country (as he affirm'd) for Religion ; whereof he set forth in writing many Reasons, and being thereupon entertain'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was afterward made Dean of Windsor, and Master of the Savoy ; in which time he preach'd publicly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, printed in London the first four of his ten Books, Intituled, *Of the Common-wealth of the Church* ; wherein with great Earnestness he maintain'd the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants : But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissembling from the Beginning, or whether out of remorse of Conscience, he repented him of what he had done ; after five Years staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before : Which so incensed King James, that he commanded him (within three Days, at his peril) to depart the Realm ; who thereupon went to Rome, and there inveigh'd as bitterly against

1623.

A Synod held  
at Dort to ex-  
amine the Er-  
rors of Armi-  
nius, to which  
Synod many  
English Di-  
vines went.

Antonius de  
Dominis Arch-  
bishop of Spa-  
lato comes into  
England, and  
sets forth  
Books for the  
Protestant Re-  
ligion.

After five Years  
stay here he  
retracted all,  
and went to  
Rome, but  
died there in  
Prison.



1623.

against the Protestants, as he had done in *England* against the Papists; hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: But notwithstanding his Recantation, according to the Law of the Inquisition (having once revolted, tho' now return'd) he suffer'd the Death of an Heretick, tho' not the Shame; had the Punishment of a Martyr, but not the Honour; and was publickly burnt at *Rome*; yet not burnt alive, but dying in Prison, and then buried; it is said his Body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the King's 10th Year, two obstinate *Arrian* Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edward Wightman*, was burnt for Heresie; *Legat* in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Litchfield*.

*John Trask* holding divers Judaical Opinions is censured, and after Three Years recants.

In his 16th Year, one *John Trask*, a pretended Minister, was censur'd in the Star-Chamber, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions: as, That it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath: For which he was set on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remain Prisoner: But three Years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismatical Opinions.

*George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury* by misfortune killing a Man, is censur'd.

In this time, *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Park, and shooting at a Deer, his Arrow by mischance, glauced and kill'd a Man: Upon which Fact it was much debated, Whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be depriv'd of his Archiepiscopal Function, as having his Hands imbrued (tho' against his will) in Blood: But *Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, standing much in his defence, as likewise *Sir Henry Martin* the King's Advocate, gave such Reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was clear'd from all imputation of Crime; and thereupon adjudg'd Regular, and in State to continue his Archiepiscopal Charge. Yet himself (out of a religious Tenderness of Mind) kept the Day of the Year in which the Mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast all his Life after.

*Works of Piety done by the King, or by Others in his Time.*

Structures of Piety King *James* made none at all, nor many of Magnificence, only the great Banqueting-House at *Whitehall*, a Wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little Buildings at *Royston*, and such like. His greatest Charity was express'd by Largeſſes and Pensions; as first, where the Gentlemen of his Chapel, being thirty three in number, had each of them but thirty Pounds a Year Fee, he made it up forty. Then he enlarg'd the Pensions of his Alms-Knights of *Windsor*, being thirteen in number, from Twelve Pence a Day to Two Shillings. Then as he increas'd the number of the Yeomen of the Guard from 140 to 200, so he increas'd their Pensions from Two Shillings a Day for three Months in the Summer, to seven Groats a Day for six Months in the Summer. Then whereas at his coming, he found but only four Judges in each Court of Law at *Westminster*, he addeth a Fifth, with the like Allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the Works of Piety done by others

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard increas'd, and also their Pay.

Five Judges in every Court.

in his time, were very many, whereof we may justly set in the first place, the Repairing of *Paul's Church*, begun in his time, tho' not finish'd till many Years after: A Work of as great Cost and Labour as the first founding of it; towards the furtherance whereof, tho' many well devoted Persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious than the Learned *Dr. Laud*, first Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who also was a bountiful Benefactor to the College of *St. John's* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor, next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Alms-house at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, where he was born: As likewise *Robert*, the second Earl of *Dorset*, founded another in *Suffex*, to the Maintainance whereof he gave Lands to the value of 300 Pounds a Year. But of all the Alms-houses that ever was founded in *Christendom*, there is none I think, can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton*, Esq; This Man, born at *Snayth* in *Lincolnshire*, having always liv'd a Bachelor, and by sundry Employments and Parsimony, being grown to great Wealth, bought of the Right Honourable *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, his Mansion-House, call'd the *Charter-House*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a Pious Mind converted into an Alms-House, by the Name of *Sutton's Hospital*, endowing the same with above 3000 Pounds of yearly Rent: Wherein are maintain'd 80 poor Men, with convenient Lodging, Diet, and Allowance of Money for Apparel; also 40 poor Children, with the like Provision, and a Grammar-School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: Over all whom, he ordain'd a Learned Man to be Master of the Household, and to be chosen by the Governors, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the King's Letters-Patents, to be *George Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Thomas Lord Ellesmore*, Lord-Chancellor, *Robert Earl of Salisbury*, Lord-Treasurer, *John Bishop of London*, *Lancelot Bishop of Ely*, *Sir Edward Coke*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, *Sir Thomas Foster*, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, *Sir Henry Hubbard*, the King's Attorney-General, *Dr. Overall* Dean of *St. Paul's*, *Dr. Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, *Henry Thursby*, Esq; Master of the Chancery, *Richard Sutton*, Esq; Auditor of the Imprests, *Jeffery Nightringale*, Esq; *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Brown* Gentleman, and Master of the Household for the time being, to be always one: And as any of these 16 Governors should die, the Survivors to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair College in *Oxford*, founded by *Nicholas Wilbe*, Esq; and called after his Name. About this time also, *Edward Allen*, of *Dulwich* in *Surrey*, founded a fair Hospital at *Dulwich*, for Six poor Men, and Six poor Women, and for Twelve poor Children, from the Age of Four or Six Years, to be there maintain'd and taught till the Age of 14 or 16, and to have a School-master, with Diet, and a convenient Stipend. This Man may be an Example, who having gotten his Wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious Use, not without a kind of Reputation to the Society of Players. In this time also, *William Camden*, King at Arms, founded

1623.

The Repairing of *St. Paul's Church* begun.

*Sutton's Hospital* founded.

An Hospital founded at *Dulwich* by *Edward Allen*, sometime a Player.

A History Professor in *Oxford* erected and by whom.



1624.

Hick's Hall  
in St. John's  
street built,  
and by whom.

ded an History Professor in Oxford, to which he gave the Mannor of Boxley in Kent, which some Years expir'd, will be worth 400 Pounds a year. In his 10th Year, Sir Baptist Hicks, one of the Justices of the Peace in Middlesex, who was afterwards made Viscount Cambrden, built a fair Sessions-House of Brick and Stone in St. John's street, which by the Justices was call'd after his Name, Hicks: A great Conveniency for the Justices, who sat before in a common Inn call'd the Castle. He also founded a fair Hospital of Free-stone at Cambridge in Gloucestershire, for Six Men and Six Women, allowing each of them a yearly Gown, and Two Shillings Six-pence a Week, with two Rooms and a Garden. In this King's time, George Patyn, Citizen and Grocer of London, gave to good Uses 3600 Pounds, whereof 1200 Pounds to the two Universities, 900 Pounds for an Alms-house, and a certain Sum of Money to buy two Bells, and make a Chime in Bow-Church. Also Thomas Teasdale of Glympton, in the County of Oxford, Gentleman, gave 5000 Pounds to purchase Lands for perpetual maintenance of Seven Fellows, and Six Scholars, to be placed at Baliol in Oxford, and to be chosen thither from time to time, out of the Free-School of Abingdon in Berkshire; to which School he also gave Lands for the maintenance of an Usher. In this King's time also, Sir Marmaduke Darrel, being Lord of Fulmer, being a Town in Buckinghamshire, where was an old ruinous Church, standing a Mile distant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own Charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furnish'd it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments necessary. Also Thomas Watson of Halstead in the County of Kent, Esquire, new builded a fair Chapel on the North-side of the Parish-Church of Halstead, of Free-stone from the Ground, and gave to the Church Four new Bells, and Two Pulpits. In his time also, Dr. Aylmer, Bishop of London, and Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury, gave certain Sums of Money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at St. Paul's Cross: As likewise Thomas Russel, Draper, gave 10 Pound a Year for ever, to be given to Unbeneficed Ministers that should preach there, and to the same Use, George Bishop, Stationer of London, gave 10 Pounds a Year more. In this King's time also, the Citizens of London new builded Aldgate; where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient Roman Coins. John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a fair Alms-house in Croydon.

Aldgate in  
London new  
builded.

Henry Earl of  
Northampton  
dies, who  
founded three  
Hospitals, and  
where.

On the 15th of June, 1614, died Henry Earl of Northampton, who built from the Ground a House near Charing-Cross; and dying, was buried in the ancient Chapel of Dover Castle; who in his Life-time founded Three fair Hospitals, and endow'd them with a large Maintenance for ever; one at Rising in Norfolk, for 12 poor Women, and a Governess; a second at Clun, in Shropshire, for 12 poor Men, and a Governor; the third at Greenwich, in Kent, for a Governor and 20 poor Alms-Men. In this King's time also, Mr. Robert Dows of London, Merchant-Taylor, gave a compleat Maintenance for ever unto St Sepulchres Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some

Divine to come to the Prison of Newgate the Midnight before Execution, and there to ring a Hand-Bell, and to put the Prisoners in mind of their approaching Death, with a Christian Remembrance and Exhortation; and the next Morning to toll the great Bell from Six a-Clock till Ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution should be past. He also establish'd a Free Singing-School in Christ's Hospital for the better Education of the poor Children there; besides many other good Deeds of Alms. About the same time, Robert Peak of London, Goldsmith, gave to St. Sepulchres Church a Communion-Table of two Yards long, and Three quarters and a half broad, richly gilded over, and at every Corner imbos'd with Plates of Silver. In this King's 14th Year, William Jones of London, Merchant, gave about 8000 Pounds to found a Free-School in Wales, where he was born, with Alms-Houses and Pensioners in London, and a 100 Pounds a Year to a learned Preacher in London; ordaining all things to be order'd by the Company of Haberdashers, whereof himself was free. This Year also, the old ruinous Gate, call'd Aldersgate, was taken quite down, and new builded from the Foundation; towards the building whereof, William Parker, Merchant-Taylor of London, gave 1000 Pounds. In this King's time also was erected a Building near Chelsea, to be a College for Divines to study Controversies of Religion; but on second thoughts, the Cage indeed stands finish'd, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to sing in it, and perhaps never will.

Aldersgate in  
London new  
builded, and  
by whom.

If any other deeds of Alms, or publick Benefits were done in this King's time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleas'd, both here, and in other King's Reigns, to add them as he meets with them; for partly to this end I have digested this Chronicle into such several Heads and Chapters.

#### Of the Casualties happening in his Time.

IN his first Year, on the 27th of April, 13 Persons were slain by misfortune with Gunpowder, at the Gunpowder-Mill in Redriffe, and much other Hurt done in divers Places. This Year also, the Plague in London was so great, that from the 23d of December, 1602, to the 22d of December following, there died in London and the Liberties, thirty eight thousand, two hundred forty four; whereof of the Plague Thirty thousand, five hundred, three-score and eighteen, of them in one Week three thousand fourscore and ten: Where the next Year after, tho' the City was increas'd with a great number of Strangers, yet there died that Year of all Diseases, within London and the Liberties, but only four thousand two hundred threescore and three Persons. In the second Year of his Reign, a strange Accident happened to the Terror of all bloody Murtherers, which was this: One Anne Waters, enticed by a Lover of hers, consented to have her Husband strangled, and then buried him secretly under the Dunghil of a Cow-house: Whereupon the Man being miss'd by his Neighbours, and the Wife making shew of wondering what was become of him, it pleas'd God that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamt one Night, that

A great Plague  
in London.

A Murther  
discover'd by  
a Dream.

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his



1624.

his Neighbor *Waters* was strangled, and buried under the Dunghill of a Cowhouse; and upon declaring his Dream, Search being made by the Constable, the dead Body was found as he had dream'd; whereupon the Wife was apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Fact, was burnt. And now what Hope can Murderers have of being conceal'd, when they are subject to be discover'd by any Man's Dream?

A Porpus taken, and a Whale seen near London.

A great Inundation in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire.

A Frost that continued from December to April.

A monstrous Child born.

A Man and a Child lynig in Bed, burnt to death with Lightning.

The 19th of January, in his Third Year, a great Porpus was taken at *Westham*, in a small Creek a mile and a half within the Land; and within a few days after, a Whale came up within 8 miles of *London*, whose Body was seen divers times above Water, and judg'd to exceed the length of the largest Ship in the River; but when she tasted the fresh Water, and scented the Land, she return'd into the Sea. In his Fourth Year, being the Year 1607, a mighty West-wind brought the Sea into the River *Severn* with such violence, that in some places of *Somersetshire* and *Gloucestershire* the Waters, in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their Houses, so as (notwithstanding all courses that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somersetshire* 80 Persons, and Damages done to the value of 20000 Pounds: At *Coventry* also, the 7th of April, so sudden a Flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it rose in some places above three yards in height, to the great damage and hurt of many: And that which is as much strange, as it suddenly came, so it suddenly abated; so as in four hours and a half it both came and went away. In his sixth Year, being 1609, a Frost began in *December*, which continued till April following, with such violence, that not only the *Thames* was so frozen that Carts loaded were drove over it as on dry Land, but many Fowls and Birds perish'd, as also much Herbage in Gardens, especially Artichokes and Rosemary were destroy'd. This Year also, the 11th of April, a Malt-house in the Town of *St. Edmunds-bury* being by chance set on fire, continued burning till it had consumed 160 Houses; but by the King's Bountifulness (giving 500 Loads of Timber) and the City of *London's* Relief, the Town was forthwith new built, in a fairer manner than it was before.

In the Year 1613, on the 17th of April, in the Parish of *Standish* in *Lancashire*, a female Child was born, having four Legs, four Arms, two Bellies joyn'd to one Back, one Head with two Faces, the one before, the other behind, like the Picture of *Janus*.

This Year also, the 26th of June, in the Parish of *Christ-Church* in *Hampshire*, one *John Hitchel* a Carpenter, lying in Bed with his Wife and a young Child by them, was himself and the Child both burnt to death with a sudden Lightning, no Fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the space of almost three Days till he was quite consumed to Ashes. This Year also, on the 7th of August, the Town of *Dorchester* was quite consumed by Fire, begun in the House of a Tallowchandler, destroying all the Houses, except a few near the Church, and all their Wares and Goods, to the value of 200000 Pounds, yet not any Man or Woman perish'd. About the same time also the Playhouse, call'd the *Globe*, upon the Bank-side,

near *London*, was quite consumed with Fire, by discharging a Piece of Ordnance, and yet no man hurt: And about four Years after, a new-built Playhouse in *Golden-lane*, call'd *The Fortune*, was by neglecting of a Candle clean burnt down to the Ground. In the Year 1614, the Town of *Stratford upon Avon* was burnt: And, lest the Water should be behind in doing of Mischief, so great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, that the Sea enter'd 12 miles into the Land. In the Year 1612, on the 18th of November, a Blazing-Star began to be seen in the South-East about Five a-clock in the Morning, the Flame or Stream whereof inclined toward the West. This Comet, in the Opinion of *Dr. Bembridge* the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon as the Moon is above the Earth, what it portended is only known to God, but the sequel of it was, That infinite Slaughters and Devastations follow'd upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the Year 1623, on Friday the 24th of October, a Roman-Catholick Priest preach'd in the Afternoon at *Hunsdon House*, in *Black-friers* in *London*, in an upper Chamber, where there were assembled above 300 Men and Women; when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor broke, and fell down with such violence that it broke down the Floor under it; in the fall thereof were slain the Preacher, and almost an hundred of his Auditors, besides as many more hurt. In this King's time coarse Paper, commonly call'd *White-brown Paper*, was first made in *England*, especially in *Surrey*, and about *Windsor*.

1624.

Two Playhouses burnt.

A Blazing-star seen.

White-brown Paper first made in England.

#### Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*, whose Marriage was there solemniz'd in the Year 1589, by whom he had born in *Scotland* two Sons; *Henry*, who died before him, and *Charles*, who succeeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the Fifth of that Name, Count-Palatine of the *Rhine*, by whom she had many Children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had also by his Wife *Queen Anne* two other Daughters born in *England*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both died young, the Lady *Mary* at about Three Years old, the Lady *Sophia* the next day after she was born; and were both of them buried with great Solemnity in the Chapel Royal at *Westminster*.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature somewhat higher than ordinary, of a well-compacted Body, of an auburn Hair, of a full and pleasing Visage, in his later days inclining to be fat and burly: As for bodily Exercise, he took most delight in Hunting, which (some thought) he used rather as a retiring himself from the importunity of State-affairs, than for any great Pleasure he took in it: It is said, he had such a fashion in riding that it could not so properly be said he rode, as that his Horse carried him; for he made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, *a Horse never stumbled but when he was rein'd*. He was of an admirable pregnancy of Wit, and that pregnancy he



1624.  
His prompt-  
ness in expre-  
sing his Mind.

His Learning,  
especially in  
Divinity.

His Wisdom.

His Chastity.

he much improv'd by continual Study from his Childhood, thro' which he had acquir'd such a promptness in expressing his Mind, that his extemporal Speeches were little inferior to his premeditated Writings: Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he, but scarce ever any concocted his Reading into Judgment, as he did; by which he became so judicious, that tho' he could not prophecy, yet he could presage, and his Conjectures were little less than Oracles. In all the *Liberal Sciences* he was (we may say) a Master of Arts; but in Divinity, a Doctor; as he made it appear in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and is seen still by the learned Writings he hath left behind him: And as for that part of the Politicks which concerns Monarchy, *Regere imperio populos*, which himself used to call *Kingcraft*, in this he excel'd. He knew how to take the Inclinations of the People at their first bound, and never suffer 'em to rise higher than he could well reach 'em, nor to grow stronger than he could either alter or divert 'em. He would be sure to keep his Subjects in a temper of Contentment, which if he could not do by Preventives, he would by Lenitives. He was so wise, that he could dissemble without seeming a Dissembler; be free in opening his Mind, and yet keep Counsel. He was a provident Pilot, that in a Calm would provide for a Storm; and you'd never find him committing the Fault of *Non putaram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*, but not *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who said, *Cedant Arma Togæ*; and indeed, seeing Peace is the End of both, 'twere not Wisdom to seek it by Arms if it may be had by the Gown, as 'tis in the Aphorism, *Consilio omnia experiri prius, quam Armis sapientem decet*. That which was Bounty in him, being a King, would have been Frugality if he had been a private Person, there being of both one radical Reason. Of all the moral Virtues, he was eminent for Chastity; in which the Poet seems to include all Virtue, where he saith,

*Nulli fas casto scelus infistere limen:*

By *Nulli casto* meaning no virtuous Person; it was a manifest Argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen *Elizabeth*, which was in a manner comparing them together, yet there appear'd no inequality, that it might not untruly be said, King *James* was but a continuation of Queen *Elizabeth*, the same Virtue, tho' different Sexes. And now, to express his Character in a Word, which worthily might be Matter for many Volumes; He was to his Wife a most loyal Husband, to his Children a most loving Father, to his Servants a most bountiful Master, to his Subjects a most just Prince, to all Princes near him a most peaceable Neighbour; that more justly it may be said of him, than of whom it was said, *Quæ te tam lata tulerunt sæcula?* A Prince after *Plato's* own Heart for his Learning; and, which is infinitely more worth, after *GOD's* own Heart for his Religiousness and Piety.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

OF his Death were many scandalous Rumours spread; and some were so impudent as to write that he was poysoned, as the Duke of Rich-

mond and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had been before; but *K. James* being dead, and his Body open'd, there was found no sign at all of Poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be Cause enough to cast him into an Ague, the ordinary Highway; especially in old Bodies, to a natural Death: Of this Ague, after a month's languishing, notwithstanding all Remedies that could be applied, he departed this Life at *Theobalds* on the 27th of *March*, in the Year 1625, in the 59th of his age, when he had reign'd 22 Years compleat: His Body, for the greater State, was convey'd by Torch-light from *Theobalds* to *Denmark-House*, where having rested from the 23d of *April* to the 7th of *May*, it was carried to *Westminster*, and there interr'd in the Chapel-Royal with great Solemnity, but with greater Lamentation, there being scarce any of the infinite Multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said.

*Multa gemens, largæq; humectat flumine vultum.*

*Men of Note in his Time.*

Military Men of Note, in a Time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King *James* was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the *Low-Countries*, we shall find a pair of Brothers that may stand in competition with the greatest Soldiers in the most material times; Sir *Francis Vere*, who was another *Hannibal*, with his one Eye could see more into Martial Discipline than common Men could do with two; and Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was another *Philopæmen*, contain'd in a very little Body a very great both Skill and Courage. But for Men of Note in Learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store; of whom these for example: In the curiousness of Preaching there was Dr. *Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who hath left to Posterity a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews he as well deserv'd the Name of *Chrysostom* as he that had it. In multiplicity of Reading, there was Dr. *Reynolds*, of *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, who seem'd as 'twere a living Library, and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect Index of all the Books had ever been wrote. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief-Justice of the *Kings-bench*, who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seems another *Bartholus* or *Baldus* amongst us. In elegance of Writing, there was Sir *Francis Bacon* Viscount *Albans*, who, besides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of *K. Henry* the Seventh in so sweet a Stile, that (like *Manna*) it pleaseth the taste of all Palates. In the Skill of Antiquities, there was *William Camden*, King at Arms, who hath set forth the Description of *Britain*, and the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, in so lively Colours that he seems to have brought *Britain* out of Darkness into Light, and to keep Queen *Elizabeth* alive after Death. And, to speak it in a word, the *Trojan Horse* was not fuller of Heroick *Grecians*, than King *James's* Reign was full of Men excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I desire the Reader's Leave to remember Two of my Own old Acquaintance, the

1625.

Two eminent  
Soldiers, Sir  
*Francis Vere*  
and Sir *Horatio Vere*.

Two eminent  
Scholars, Dr.  
*Andrews* and  
Dr. *Reynolds*.

Two eminent  
Lawyers, Sir  
*Edward Coke*  
and Sir *Francis Bacon*.



1625.  
Two eminent  
Wits, Dr.  
Dunne, and  
Sir Henry Wot-  
ton.

the one was Mr. John Dunne, who leaving Oxford, liv'd at the Inns of Court, not dissolute, but very neat; A great Visiter of Ladies, a great Frequenter of Plays, a great Writer of conceited Verses, until such time as King James taking notice of the Pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he took him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of St. Pauls; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admir'd by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton, (mine old Acquaintance also, as having been fellows Pupils, and Chamberfellows in Oxford divers Years together.) This Gentleman was employ'd by King James in Embassage to Venice; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter Man for matching the Capaciousness of the Italian Wits: A Man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the English Plantations in the Indies, that were in King JAMES's Time.

The first Plan-  
tation of Vir-  
ginia; and  
what Country  
it is, and a-  
bounding  
with what  
Commodities

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near say as much of King James as was said of Augustus Caesar; *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferet Imperium*. In this better, that where Augustus did it by the violent way of Arms, K. James did it by the civil way of Plantations; for in his Days began the great Plantation of the English in the Indies, and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation of the English in the Indies was that which is now called Virginia, in memory of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth; but called before Wingandacoe. It was first discover'd by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Year 1584; to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: But yet no Colony was sent thither, till the Year 1606. It is a Country in America, between the degrees of 34 & 45 of the North Latitude; but that part of it which is planted by the English, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, & 39. It is no Island, as many have imagin'd, but a part of the Continent adjoining to Florida. The first and chief Town made here by the English, is call'd James Town, in honour of the King's most Excellent Majesty. It is a Country abounding with all sorts of Fish and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yields thirty, and sometimes forty Bushels of Corn upon an Acre; and that (which is to us more strange) hath three Harvests in a Year; the Corn being sowed, is ripe and reap'd in little more than two Months. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing. The first to any purpose was in the Year 1607, under the Conduct of Captain Gosnoll, John Smith, and Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield, who carried a Colony thither of 100 Persons; but of these many dying of Sickness, or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the Year 1608, of 120 Persons, under the Conduct of Captain Nelson. After which, was sent another supply of 70 Persons; and in the Year 1609, a third supply came of 500 Persons, under a Patent granted to Sir Thomas West Lord de la

Ware, but conducted thither by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others. In the Year 1611, was a fourth supply of 300 Men under the Conduct of Sir Thomas Gates. In the Year 1612, two other supplies were sent of 40 Men in each; and now was the Lottery spoken of before granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this Mr. Samuel Argall being appointed Governor in the Year 1618, the Lord de la Ware came thither with a supply of 200 People; but in his stay there died. After this, in the Year 1620, were sent thither eleven Ships, with 1216 Persons; and now they founded themselves into Corporations. In the Year 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt was sent thither Governor, with 1300 Men, Women and Children; and now they founded Schools and Courts of Justice, and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty Miles up, on the River of both sides. But now, when the English were secure, and thought of nothing but Peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them 347 Men, Women, and Children. For repairing of which Loss, the City of London sent presently over a supply of 100 Men. This Massacre happen'd, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty several Places, which made them now upon consultation, to reduce them all to five or six Places, whereby they may better assist each other: Since which time they have always liv'd in good Security. And thus much for Virginia.

Upon their  
security, 300  
of them slain  
by the Savages.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called Bermudas, so called of a Spanish Ship, called Bermudas, which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the West-Indies, that swam a-shore, and there encreased. The first Englishman that enter'd this Isle, was one Henry May, in the Year 1591; but in the Year 1610, Sir George Somers was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his Name, the Isles have ever since been call'd Somers's Isles. In the Year 1612, one Mr. Moor landed there with 60 Persons, and then built the chief Town there, called St. George's, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same Year a supply of 30 more Persons were sent thither, and the Year after 60 more, under one Mr. Barlet, with a shew to survey the Land; but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of Ambergrise, and no less than 80 pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Island some few Years before, and was still retain'd. A while after this, came a Ship called the Blessing, with 100 Passengers; and two Days after came the Star, with 180 more; and within fourteen Days after that again came thither the Margaret and two Frigats with 130 Passengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into Shares. In the Year 1616, Captain Daniel Tuckard was sent from Virginia to be Governor there; and now it began indeed to be a Plantation, for now they began to build them Houses: And now was sent from thence into England, a Ship freighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, tho' sold here oftentimes for Verino's at great Rates. In the Year 1619, Captain Nathaniel

The Planta-  
tion of the  
Bermudas:  
why call'd  
Somers's Isles

Ambergrise  
in great quan-  
tity found in  
this Island

Butler



1624.

*Butler* was sent Governor with new Supplies, in whose time they built them a Church; held Assizes for criminal Causes twice a Year, and began to have Parliaments, as in *England*: And now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their Wives and Families; so as now their number was no fewer than fifteen hundred People, dispersed twenty Miles in length. In the Year 1622, came Governor *Mr. John Bernard*, bringing with him a supply of 130 Persons; but he and his Wife dying presently upon their coming, *Mr. John Harrison* in the Year 1625 was chosen Governor. These Isles of *Bermudas* are in 32 Degrees of Northern Latitude, so as they are distant from *Virginia* at least 500 Leagues, and from *England* above three thousand three hundred. This Country is of a most healthful Air, abounding with all sorts of Fowls, Birds and Fish; and where great pieces of *Ambergrise* are oftentimes found, which is valu'd there at no less than three Pounds and Ounce. And thus much concerning the State of *Bermudas*, till the Year 1624.

The Plantation of *New-England*; and the Commodities of the Country.

Next comes the Plantation of *New-England*; concerning which, we must first know, that King *James* in the Year 1606, granted two Letters Patents for Plantations in *Virginia*; one to the City of *London*, another to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and *Plymouth*, with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least 100 Miles distance between the two Colonies: So as the first Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*: The second Colony was from *Bristol* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is situate between the Degrees of 41 and 45; the very Mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to speak a little of the Country, there are on the Sea-coast, 25 excellent good Harbours, in some whereof there is Anchorage for 500 Sail of Ships of any burden. The Earth as fruitful, and the Air as healthful as any part of the World, abounding with all sorts of Grain, Fowls and Fish, many of such kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent Meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect discovery of the Country, many attempts for settling a Plantation there; many Miscarriages and Disasters in making the Attempts: But all at last came to this, that in the Year 1624, (which is the Limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation settled, tho' but a small one: But a few Years after (by the sending forth of new Supplies) encreased to so many thousands, that if God continue to prosper it as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few Ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in his Realms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. But seeing of these and all other *English* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many, large Discourses are written by divers Authors, it should be more than superfluous to speak more of them in this place: It is sufficient to have shew'd that King *James* had the honour to have them settled in his time, and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

### Of the Earls and Barons made by King JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly set down at the several times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were so many made, that it may not be unfit to set them down in a Catalogue together.

In his first Year were made four Earls and nine Barons; namely, *Henry Howard*, younger Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*; was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earl of *Dorset*; and shortly after *Charles Bloant* Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey of Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stamford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Denby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Denby*) *Sir John Petre* of *Essex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: *Sir William Russel* was made Baron of *Thornough*: *Sir Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in *Staffordshire*: *Sir Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: *Sir Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Elsemere*: *Sir Robert Cecil* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandshire*; and *Sir John Harrington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In his second Year on the 20th of *May* were made four Barons and one Viscount: *Sir Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Penhurst*: *Sir William Knowles*, Baron of *Grays*: *Sir Edward Wotton* Baron of *Marley*; and *Mildmay Fane* Lord *de Spencer*; and in *August* the same Year, *Sir Robert Cecil* Baron of *Essenden*, was created Viscount *Cranburn*.

In his 3d Year, on the 4th of *May*, were created three Earls and one Viscount, and four Barons; namely, *Sir Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Sir Thomas Cecil* his elder Brother, Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exeter*; and *Sir Philip Herbert* younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, was created Viscount of *Lisle*: *Sir John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harrington*; *Sir George Carew* Baron of *Clopton*; *Mr. Thomas Arundel* of *Devonshire*, Baron of *Warder*; and *Mr. William Cavendish* Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his 4th Year, on the 4th of *July*, *Sir Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Estrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the seventh of *September*, *Sir Jervis Clifton* was likewise called by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Layton Bromsensfold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth Year, upon *Easter-Monday*, *Sir Robert Carre* was created Viscount *Rocheſter*; and

In his tenth Year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Sumerſet*.

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In



In his Eleventh Year, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox* was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*.

In his Thirteenth Year, on the 29th of *June*, *Sir James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after was made Viscount *Doncaster*; and *Sir Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng* (afterward by *K. Charles* made Earl of *Caernarvon*.)

In his Fourteenth Year, on the 9th of *July*, *Sir John Hollis* Kt. was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*; and *Sir John Roper*, of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: And on the 17th of *August* *Sir George Villars* was created Baron of *Wadham*, and Viscount *Villars*; and on the 7th of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* Lord *Elsemere* was created Viscount *Brackley*; but he dying soon after, his Son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William* Lord *Knowles* was created Viscount *Wallingford*; and *Sir Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5th of *January* the Viscount *Villars* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the 3d of *March*, *Sir Edward Noel*, of *Rutlandshire*, was made Baron of *Rydington*.

In his Fifteenth Year, on *Newyears day*, *Sir George Villars* Earl of *Buckingham* was created Marquis of *Buckingham*; and on the 12th of *July* *Sir Francis Bacon*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viscount *St. Albans*. Also in the Summer of this Year, the King created four Earls and one Countess, namely, the Viscount *Lisle* was made Earl of *Leicester*; the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*; the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Cavendish* was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lady *Compton*, Wife to *Sir Thomas Compton*, and Mother of the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Countess of *Buckingham*.

In his sixteenth Year, on the 25th of *November*, *Sir John Digby* Vicechamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherbourn*, by Patent to him and his Heirs male.

In his seventeenth Year, in the Month of *June*, *Esme Steward* Lord *d'Aubigny*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*; *James* Marquis *Hamilton* was created Earl of *Cambridge*; and *Sir John Villars*, Brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Baron of *Stock* and Viscount *Purbeck*.

In his Eighteenth Year, *William Cavendish* was created Viscount *Mansfield*, (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *Newcastle*;) and on *Monday* the 4th of *December*, *Sir Henry Montague*, being first made Lord-Treasurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton* and Viscount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*; and *Sir John Ramsey* Viscount *Haddington* of *Scotland*, was created Earl of *Holderness*; and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newenham*, and Viscount *Fielding*.

In his Nineteenth Year *Henry Carew* was made Lord *Carew* of *Leppington*, (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*;) *Sir Edward Montague*, elder Brother to the Viscount *Mandevile*, was made Baron of *Bolton*; the Lord *Darcy* of *Essex* was created Viscount *Colchester* (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *Rivers*) the Lord *Hunsdon* was created Viscount *Rochford*, (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *Dover*) *Sir Lionel Cranfield*, Master of the Wards, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordshire*; and *Sir Thomas Howard*, second Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton* and Viscount *Andover*, (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *Berkshire*.)

In his Twentieth Year, in the Month of *September*, the Viscount *Doncaster* was created Earl of *Carlisle*; the Viscount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*; the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Bristol*; the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middlesex*; and *Sir Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kensington*.

In his One and twentieth Year, the Marquis of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Patent sent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Gray* was created Baron of *Werk*; *Elizabeth*, Widow of *Sir Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viscountess *Maidstone*, afterward by *King Charles* made Countess of *Winchelsea*.

In his Two and twentieth Year, the Earl of *Clanriccard*, of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent* (afterward by *King Charles* made Earl of *St. Albans*); *Sir John Hollis*, Kt. Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, was created Earl of *Clare*; *Sir Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kensington*, was created Earl of *Holland*; the Lord *Fines*, Baron *Say and Seal*, was made Viscount *Say and Seal*; *Sir Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Westmoreland*; *Oliver* Lord *St. John*, of *Bletsoe*, was made Earl of *Bullinbrook*; *Sir Christopher Villars*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Anglesea*; and *Sir James Ley* was made Lord *Ley* (afterward by *K. Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Also this Year *Sir Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and *Sir Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this is the number of all the Earls and Barons made by *K. James*: But in his time also began another sort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the Privileges of *English* Barons, but had only Title to be call'd Lord of some place either in *England* or *Ireland*, tho' they possess'd not a foot of Land in either; of which sort the number being great, I forbear to rehearse them, lest I should be tedious, or otherwise bethought to encroach too much upon the *Heralds-Office*: 'Tis sufficient to have shewn, that *King James* advanc'd so many in Honour, that in a kind it might be said of him as was said of *Augustus Caesar*, That he left *Rome* of *Marble*, which he found but of *Brick*.



# Mayors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

## In his First Year

Sir Thomas Bennet was Mayor,  
Sir William Rummy, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sheriffs.

## In his second Year

Sir Thomas Lowe was Mayor,  
Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Roger Jones, Sheriffs.

## In his third Year

Sir Leonard Holliday was Mayor,  
Sir Clement Scudamore, Sir John Folles, Sheriffs.

## In his fourth Year

Sir John Watts was Mayor,  
William Walthall, John Leman, Sheriffs.

## In his fifth Year

Sir Henry Rowe was Mayor,  
Jeffery Elwes, Nicholas Style, Sheriffs.

## In his sixth Year

Sir Humphry Weld was Mayor,  
George Bolles, Richard Farrington, Sheriffs.

## In his seventh Year

Sir Thomas Campbell was Mayor,  
Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine, Sheriffs.

## In his eighth Year

Sir William Craven was Mayor,  
Richard Pyat, Francis Jones, Sheriffs.

## In his ninth Year

Sir James Pemberton was Mayor,  
Edward Barkham, John Smith, Sheriffs.

## In his tenth Year

Sir John Swinnerton was Mayor,  
Edward Rotheram, Alexander Prescott, Sheriffs.

## In his eleventh Year

Sir Thomas Middleton was Mayor,  
Thomas Bennet, Henry Jape, Sheriffs.

## In his twelfth Year

Sir Thomas Hayes was Mayor,  
Peter Proby, Martin Lumley, Sheriffs.

## In his thirteenth Year

Sir John Folles was Mayor,  
William Goare, John Goare, Sheriffs.

## In his fourteenth Year

Sir John Leman was Mayor,  
Allen Cotton, Cuthbert Hacket, Sheriffs.

## In his fifteenth Year

Sir George Bolles was Mayor,  
William Holliday, Robert Johnson, Sheriffs.

## In his sixteenth Year

Sir Sebastian Harvey was Mayor,  
Richard Herne, Hugh Hametsey, Sheriffs.

## In his seventeenth Year

Sir William Cockaine was Mayor,  
Richard Deane, James Campbell, Sheriffs.

## In his eighteenth Year

Sir Francis Jones was Mayor,  
Edward Allen, Robert Dacie, Sheriffs.

## In his nineteenth Year

Sir Edward Barkham was Mayor,  
George Whitmore, Nicholas Raynton, Sheriffs.

## In his twentieth Year

Sir Peter Proby was Mayor,  
John Hodges, Sir Humphry Hantsford, Sheriffs.

## In his one and twenrieth Year

Sir Martin Lumley was Mayor,  
Ralph Freemam, Thomas Mounson, Sheriffs.

## In his two and twentieth Year

Sir John Goare was Mayor,  
Rowland Heylin, Robert Parkhurst, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF King CHARLES the First.

1625.  
King Charles  
proclaim'd.

**K**ING James being deceas'd on the 27th of March in the Forenoon, the same Day, in the Afternoon, Charles Prince of Wales, his only Son then living, was proclaim'd King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, with the general Acclamations of all sorts of People, as being a Prince of admirable Endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the Age of 25 Years, whereof the most part of One he had spent in Spain, where altho' he was frustrated of the End for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth perhaps than that he went for.

The Celebration of the Funeral of King James.

The Funeral of the deceas'd King was celebrated on the Seventh of May, his Body being brought from Somerset-House to Westminster, where in St. Peter's Church he was with great Magnificence interr'd, the King himself being principal Mourner; which, tho' it was contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, yet he rather chose to express his Piety in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to stand upon any old Niceties and Points of State.

The King and Queen's Espousals at Paris.

The first thing he did after the Celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the Queen, to whom, on Sunday the First of May, he was by his Proxy the Duke of Chevreux espoused at Our Lady's Church in Paris, where the Espousals were perform'd by the Cardinal of Richelieu.

The Queen arrives at Dover.

On Trinity-Sunday, late at Night, she arriv'd at Dover; which being signified to the King, (then at Canterbury) he went to her early the next Morning, and receiv'd her with the greatest Demonstration of Affection; and the same Day they came to Canterbury, where their Nuptials were with all possible Magnificence compleated, and the Duke of Chevreux furrunder'd his Royal Charge to the King.

The King and Queen come to Somerset-House.

On Wednesday the 15th of June they went by Coach to Gravesend, and the next Day they came from thence to Somerset-House in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as

they pass'd by the great Ordnance from several Ships in the River and the Tower of London, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats that could be found on the River of Thames.

1625.

The Third Day after their arrival, their Marriage was declar'd at Whitehall with great Acclamations of Joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony on Royal Thrones before the Nobility. But the Pestilence began to rage in London at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity, tho' neither that nor any thing else did divert the King from the consideration of the other Concernments of the Kingdom; for having summon'd a Parliament to meet on the 18th of June, at the first assembling thereof he set before them the Necessities he was under on account of the War, into which his Father, by their persuation, had enter'd for the recovery of the Palatinate; and demanded a Supply.

The King's Marriage declar'd.

His Speech was very well receiv'd, and tho' it did not produce so great a Supply as the exigence of Affairs requir'd, yet the Commons gave two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy three; and in the Grant of the Laity, the Papists were to pay double.

The King very graciously accepted the Gift, as an Earnest of the good Affections of his People, in reference to greater Sums which he expected to follow: But the Plague encreasing in London, the Parliament, on the 11th of July, was adjourn'd to Oxford, to be held there on the first of August. The Commons had sent up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the adjournment; but because 'twas limited to a Year, they thought it unfit to pass, for that most of the former Grants to the King's Predecessors were for term of Life. The Cause of this Restraint was, because the Customs had been rais'd by King James, by Advice of his Council in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, and the Commons had a Purpose to reduce them to the Rate that was settled in Queen Mary's time.

August



1625.

The King's  
Speech to the  
Parliament.

August the First the Parliament assembled at Oxford, and on the Fourth of the same Month both Houses, by the King's appointment, attended him in Christ-Church Hall, where he briefly acquainted them with his Wants for fitting out the Fleet, adding, That the Eyes of the Confederates were fix'd upon it.

The Commons, upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the substance of his Speech and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arraignment of the Government; Some urg'd, that our Necessities arose by Improvidence; That the King's Designs were guided by evil Counsel; and, That tho' a former Parliament engag'd the King in a War, yet if things were manag'd by contrary Designs, and the Treasure misemploy'd, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs not guided by sound Counsel; and, That it was unusual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies before Grievances were redress'd: And before they would agree to any Answer to what the King propos'd (upon some Jealousie that the *Popish Religion* was too much countenanc'd) they framed a Petition against *Popish Recusants*, which was presented to him by their Speaker, attended by all the House of Commons. The King seem'd not displeas'd at this delay, and the Parliament receiv'd from him a very gracious and satisfactory Answer to their Petition, nevertheless this kindness did not produce answerable Effects; for when the Matters of Supply came to be again debated by the Commons great Division arose, some would give, others would not, and the majority were prevail'd on by many passionate Instances of Misgovernment, to insist on Redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance of it drawn up and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of Buckingham, as the chief occasion of all Miscarriages in Government. Nothing more than this could shew the mutability of human Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the Affections of the People; for, in the last Parliament of King James, this Duke of Buckingham, against whom they now exclaim'd, was extol'd for the Great Ornament and Honour of the *English Nation*, and the chief Preserver of the Kingdom from the *Spanish Practices*; nay, no Honour's thought large enough to requite his Merit. The King, from those of his Council in the House of Commons, had Advice from time to time of the Matter of this Remonstrance in the Debates on it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection, but the Expressions were so sharp, and the Stile so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determin'd rather to dissolve the *Parliament* than admit of it, and thereupon he came to the Lords House to put an end to it. The House of Commons were resolv'd into a Grand Committee, when the Usher of the Black-Rod came to call them up to the Lords House, in order to a Dissolution, but before they would admit the Speaker to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one Glanvil stood up, and declar'd the Sence of the House in these words:

First, To give His Majesty Thanks for his Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, For his Care of our Health, in giving us Leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, A dutiful Declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and propose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done, the Usher was call'd in, and declar'd his Message, and the Dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this a Proclamation was set out to put the Laws in execution against *Popish Recusants*, commanding the return, by a prefix'd time, of Children of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in *Popish Schools* or *Seminaries* abroad; and all the King's Subjects under the Pay of the *Emperor*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Archduchies*, who then govern'd the *Spanish Netherlands*, were speedily enjoin'd to return to their native Countries, to be employ'd in the King's Service.

The Term, because of the Plague in London, Term kept at Reading, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against *Recusants*. Term kept at Reading in Berkshire.

And now the War with *Spain* for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolv'd on in the last Year of his Father's reign, was vigorously prosecuted, and the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were sent Ambassadors to the *United Provinces*, where they met at the *Hague* the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them and the States, for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*. The K. of *Denmark*, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the King's not performing what was promised on his part, and that was occasion'd by the Parliament's failure of Supplies of Money. And for the same reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the Coast of *Spain*, were not out till October following: In which expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land-Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral of the Navy.

The Fleet, with the addition of some Dutch Vessels, consisted of 80 good Ships. At their first setting forth they were encounter'd by so violent a Storm, that the greatest part were disperfed and scatter'd for 7 days together, and a gallant Ship, call'd *The long Robert of Ipswich*, with 170 Persons in it, was lost. After this Tempest the Fleet met at the *Southern Cape*, where they enter'd into consultation what they should attempt; the Earl of *Essex*, out of a great Desire to equal the Glory his Father got at *Cadiz*, propos'd the assailing of the *Spanish Fleet*, which then lay in that Harbour but there were so many Difficulties attending it, and so much Time spent in the Debate of it, that the whole Coast of *Spain* was thereby alarm'd, and the *Spaniards* had Opportunity to prepare for their defence; so that when it was concluded, that they should sail to *Cadiz*, they landed their Men there with great Danger and Opposition. The first place they attempted was *Puntal Castle*, under shelter whereof the *Spanish Ships* rode, for the taking of which, 20 *English* and 5 *Dutch Ships* were order'd; but they, after the spending 2000 great shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir John Bur-

R r r r r

roughs

Glanvil declares in the name of the House of Commons.



1625.

roughs with a select Regiment of Foot to attack the Fort on the Land-side; but these, at their first appearance, were encounter'd by some Spanish Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement they worsted the Spaniards in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it hung out a white Flag, and after a short parley surrender'd the place, with 15 Barrels of Powder and 8 pieces of Ordnance: But whilst this was doing, the Spaniards haul'd most of their best Ships under the Port-Royal, so that Sir Samuel Argale, who was set to fire the Ships, was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal therein, was the misgovernment of the Soldiers, who by the Avarice or Negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellars, and other places they plunder'd, that they became more like Beasts than Men; and if the Spaniards had had good Intelligence, they might have been all cut off; for by this means they were so ungovernable that the General, fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caused them to be embark'd, and left behind him the Hopes only of Renown and Victory. From thence they sail'd to the Southern Cape, where they staid 20 days in expectation of the Plate-Fleet, but by the inclemency of the Air and intemperance of the Soldiers and Mariners, so great a Contagion hapned in the Fleet, that they wanted Men to manage the Sails, and as some Ships had a greater number of infected persons than others, to remedy this a most pernicious course was taken, for every Ship was order'd by Lot to take in two sick, in exchange for so many sound Men, which propagated the Pestilence, and forced the General to an untimely return four days before the Plate-Fleet came.

The unprosperous Success of this Fleet displeased the King very much, and Wimbledon was some time prohibited his presence, but he excused himself, laying great part of the Miscarriage on the stubbornness of the Earl of Essex; yet tho' all were blamed, none were punish'd for the ill managery and conduct of the Expedition.

Money borrow'd by Letters of Privy-Seal.

To be repaid in 18 months.

The War became now very chargeable, and since the King could not be supplied in a Parliamentary way, he was advis'd by his Council to use other means; so it was resolv'd to borrow what Money could be got by Letters of Privy-Seals sent to several of the ablest persons in all parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters the King promised, in the Name of himself and his Successors, to repay the Money in 18 months after the payment thereof to the Collector, and the Collectors of this Loan were order'd to pay the Sums receiv'd into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the Money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unless it had been resolv'd not to call a Parliament so soon after; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a Peace with Spain, (which the Spaniard had as much reason to accept as he to offer) he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments, (till by the goodness of his Government he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon) and

likewise prevented a following unlucky Rupture betwixt him and France. The King however was resolv'd to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was summon'd to meet at Westminster on the 6th of February; but first the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be perform'd, which was celebrated on the 2d of February, (commonly called Candlemas-day) in the external pomp whereof the King omitted his triumphant riding thro' the City, from the Tower to Whitehall, partly to save the Charge thereof, and partly to prevent the danger of popular Concourse, for the Plague was not quite decreased, but some Dregs remained of it. In the sacred part there was a Clause added which had been pretermitted in the time of K. Henry the Sixth, which is this that followeth, viz. *Let him obtain Favour of the People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the Water, Zecharias in the Temple; Give him Peter's Key of Discipline, and Paul's Doctrine.* Which Clause had been omitted in time of Poverty, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings than the Popes allowed of.

The Coronation Oath, tho' the contrary was suggested, was the same which had been taken by his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The Solemnity being over, he began his second Parliament on the 6th of February, in which he had no better Success than in his first. Sir Heneage Finch was chosen Speaker by the Commons, and approv'd by the King, a Person of great Prudence and Moderation. The House of Commons began where they left at Oxford, with Matters of Religion and publick Grievances: They made strict Enquiry into what Abuses had been of the King's Grace since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof; for they had been inform'd of many Pardons and Reprieves to Jesuites and Priests: And their Grievances were stated under four Heads.

1. The state of the King in the constant Revenues of the Crown.
2. The Condition of the Subject in his Freedom.
3. The Cause of the Nation's good Success in former Times.
4. The present Condition of the Kingdom.

Under the First Head was consider'd the great Disposall of Lands and Pensions *mero motu*, and other exorbitant Expences: In the Second, the bringing in of new Impositions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parliament: Under the Third, they ascrib'd the great Renown and Reputation of our Nation in former times to the Wisdom and Gravity of the Counsellors, when nothing was order'd but by publick debate, whence rose a readines in the Subject to assist their Sovereign in *Purse and Person*: In the Fourth was represented the loss of the Nation's wonted Reputation in the Expedition of Cadiz, and others, which was imputed to the want of such Councils as were heretofore used; forasmuch as Men, thro' difference of Success, were backward to adventure either their *Persons* or their *Purses*.

Whilst these Debates were agitated by the Commons, the Earl of Arundel was by the King committed to the Tower, because of a Marriage con-

The Earl of Arundel committed by the King.

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consummate betwixt the Lord *Maltravers*, his eldest Son, and the eldest Sister of the Duke of *Lenox*, one near ally'd in Blood to the King; for the King had design'd to marry her to the Lord of *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Argyle*, a Man of great power in *Scotland*, meditating thereby to reconcile those two Families, who had been anciently in Feuds.

The Earl besought the King's Pardon, and protested his Innocency, as no way privy to the business, being contriv'd by the Dutchess-Dowager and his Countess, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This Commitment of the Earl was resented by the House of Peers, who petition'd the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be imprison'd without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give Security for the Peace. And they insisted the more on this Privilege at this time, because the Earl had six Proxies deputed to him, which would be of no validity during his restraint.

Upon this Petition many Debates pass'd in the House of Lords upon several Messages of the King about this Privilege, which lasted from the 14th of March to the 8th of June ere he was satisfied with Reasons of the Peers; and then the Earl was releas'd from his Imprisonment.

Whilst these Matters were agitated at home, to make the Difference greater between the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of France did conclude a little Treaty at the Hague by the Baron of *Couper*, concerning the equipping of a Fleet of 10 Ships, under the Admiral *Hautain*, upon a Design to straiten *Genoua* by Water, whilst the Constable des *Diguees* should be able to do the same by Land; and the French Ambassador then Resident at London had obtain'd of the King the Vanguard, one of the Navy-ships, and 16 Merchant-ships, to be employ'd in the same Expedition; but, shortly after, these English Ships were receiv'd into the Pay of France: Monsieur de *Soubise*, taking advantage of the French Army's advance towards *Italy*, incited those of *Rochel* to stir against the King, and he, with some Ships he had got together, seiz'd on the Isle of *Rhee* and some of the King of France's Ships in the Harbour: At this the King was so incens'd that he turn'd his Design for *Italy* upon *Rochel*, and that occasion'd another Treaty at the Hague with the *Hollanders*, betwixt d'Especes the French Ambassador and them, which was concluded the 12th of April N.S. whereby the 20 Ships under *Hautain* were agreed to be employ'd against *Soubise*, and against *Rochel*. In the mean time many of the French Protestants took great offence at this assistance from *Holland* against *Rochel*, but their Alliance with France, and Interest of State, prevail'd above all other Considerations. Mornancy the French Admiral being thus strengthened by the Dutch Fleet, and the seven English Ships, quickly chased *Soubise* into the Isle of *Oleron*, and repriz'd most of the Ships he had taken, freighting *Rochel* by Sea whilst the French Army was marching to block it up by Land. The King was much offended that the English Ships were employ'd in this Action, having not consented they should be used in any other Expedition

than against *Genoua*; and thereupon he sent an expostulatory Message to the King of France, to have a reason thereof; and to demand restitution of the Ships; and when satisfaction was not given herein, the King caused a rich French Ship of *Newhaven* to be seiz'd on. This occasion'd great Clamour in France, and the French, by way of retaliation, arrested the English Merchants Ships and Goods in their Harbours; but after a while a Reconciliation was made, the King had his Ships again, the French Ship was restored, and the Merchant-ships and Goods were deliver'd back; and thus all was calm for the present.

The Traverses in the House of Peers about the Earl of *Arundel* rather heightned than allay'd their Intention towards the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Encouragement is given to all that would to inform against him. One Dr. *Turner*, a Physician, propos'd six Queries in the House of Commons touching his ill Conduct in affairs, which reflected much upon the King's Government, and was so resented by him,

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became Admiral?
2. Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet was not the Cause of the ill Success?
3. Whether the King's Revenue hath not been impair'd thro' his immense Liberality?
4. Whether he hath not engross'd all Offices, and prefer'd his Kindred to unfit Places?
5. Whether he hath not made Sale of Places of Judicature?
6. Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?

Neither was this the only thing that displeas'd the King at this time in the Proceedings of the Commons: They had sent Committees to the Signer-Office, to search for Originals of his Letters for reprieving some Priests condemn'd at York, and when Sir *Richard Weston*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them from him for Supply, acquainting them, that the Fleet was return'd, Victuals spent, and the Men in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for want of Pay; and, that a Fleet of 40 Ships, which were ready to go out, could not move without Money; and, that the Army on the Sea-Coasts was in want both of Victuals and Clothes; they were not prevail'd on, but one Mr. *Clement Cook*, among other Invectives, said, 'Twas better to die by a foreign Enemy, than to be destroy'd at home.

This high Temper of the Commons House was a Subject of much Discourse at this time; 'twas said, The Parliament is a very necessary Constitution, but is not without its Inconveniencies, as all others are; and among these, the great license of Speech in the House of Commons is not the least; for tho' it be even necessary that they should not be debarr'd Liberty, yet that in the Intention seems not to be boundless, for at all times the Zeal for Reformation of Abuses in that House being very great, those amongst them that have a facility of eloquent Speaking may do great hurt, if they be not well inclin'd to the Government. But those who thought the Court, by long Plenty and Ease, somewhat too exorbitant, believ'd this freedom of Speech very necessary.

And

1625.

Dr. Turner's Queries.

Sir Richard Weston's Message for Money.



1625.

And at this time, whether it were out of a general Envy against the Duke because of his sudden exaltation to Greatness, or a particular Disgust of some that thought they merited (as well as he) a greater share than they had in the King's Favour, the Tide against him, in both Houses, (but especially in the House of Commons) ran so high, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower rate than his Ruin. In the mean time the King manifested a great displeasure at those Proceedings, and sent Sir Richard Weston to demand satisfaction; in which they not answering his expectation by so sudden an Inquisition as he requir'd, he call'd the Lords and them together, and by the Lord-Keeper Coventry (who lately had the Seal given him upon the disgrace of Williams Bishop of Lincoln, who was displaced) he spake sharply to them of their Proceedings: First, in suffering the Words spoken by Dr. Turner and Mr. Cook to pass without Punishment: Secondly, in sending a Committee to search his Signet-Office: Thirdly, in their violent prosecuting the Duke of Buckingham, who, he said, had done nothing, but by order from himself: Fourthly, in delaying the Supply, and not granting it in the necessary proportion: Fifthly, in having order'd, that the Bill should not be brought in till their Grievances were redress'd. In conclusion he told them, That if their Supplies were answerable to his expectation, he would continue their Session, otherwise he should be oblig'd to dismiss them.

1626.

This Speech caused great emotion in the House of Commons, and produced a Remonstrance to this effect; That concerning Mr. Cook, true it is, he let fall some few Words that might admit an ill construction, and the House was displeas'd therewith, as they declar'd by a general Check at the very time he spoke them; and tho' Mr. Cook's explanation of his Mind more clearly did somewhat abate the Offence of the House, yet were they resolv'd to take it into further consideration, and so have done, the Effect whereof had appear'd ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his Majesty's Message; and the like Interruption befel them also in the business of Dr. Turner.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his Majesty's own, and searching the Signet-Office and other Records, they had done nothing therein not warranted by the Presidents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his Majesty to be inform'd, that it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments to question and complain of any Person, of what Degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crown, and safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, as to the matter of Supply, That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service then in consultation among them, they were resolv'd so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their Intentions, might make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

The King's Answer.

To this the King answer'd briefly, That he would have them in the first place consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that they

should have time enough for other matters afterward. But this stay'd not their Progress against the Duke, to which the Earl of Bristol also contributed in the Lords House.

This Earl had been secluded from the presence of both King James and King Charles ever since his return from his Embassy in Spain, and taking advantage of the Time, he petition'd the Peers; That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not receiv'd a Writ of Summons to the Parliament, he pray'd he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after two years restraint, without being brought to Trial; and if any Charge were brought in against him, he might be try'd in Parliament. Upon reading this Petition, the Lords refer'd it to their Committee of Privileges; from whence, after due consideration thereof, a Report was made to the House by the Earl of Hertford, That it was the Opinion of the Committee, that his Majesty should be moved to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl; which was agreed to by the House: And upon request made to the King, a Writ was issued accordingly, but accompanied with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper to him, That tho' his Majesty had given way to the awarding of the Writ, yet notwithstanding his Pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint as he did before; and, that his personal attendance was to be forborn.

The Earl sends this Letter to the House of Lords, and a second Petition with it, offering to them how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this sort discharg'd by a Letter missive of any Subject without the King's Hand, beseeching them he might be heard, both as to his wrongful restraint, and what he hath to say against the Duke.

This alarm'd the Duke to begin first with him, and by his persuasion the King commands the Attorney-General to summon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

Bristol appearing May the first, the Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of High-Treason, and exhibited eleven Articles against him, but before they were read the Earl said, *My Lords, I am a Free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have somewhat to say of high consequence for his Majesty's Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak.*

The Lords upon this bid him go on. Then, said he, *I accuse that Man, the Duke of Buckingham, of High-Treason; and immediately he presented twelve Articles against him.*

The House, after having read these Articles, committed the Earl of Bristol to the Custody of the Usher of the Black-Rod, and order'd that the King's Charge against the Earl should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke; which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurr'd in one Design, which was to render each other suspected in matters of Loyalty and Religion, tho' by so doing they made good sport to their Enemies, and the World besides, but in neither of them was any Fact that amounted to Treason; and because no proceeding was made on them, it

1626.

The Earl of Hertford's Report to the Peers from the Committee of Privileges, concerning the E. of Bristol's Petition.

Earl of Bristol summon'd to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

Earl of Bristol accuses the Duke of Buckingham of High-Treason



1626.

The Lords  
Reasons  
why the Earl  
of Bristol's  
Cause should  
not be taken  
out of their  
House.

it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an endeavour to take the Earl's Cause out of the House of Lords, and to proceed by way of Indictment thereon in the King's Bench, the Lords resented this, and gave five Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of proceeding; which were these following, (*viz.*)

1. He could have no Council.
2. He could use no Witness against the King.
3. He could not know what the Evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his defence.
4. The Liberties of the House would thereby be infringed.
5. This Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from Arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke, and therefore it was judg'd the most proper, and most legal way of proceeding, First to have the Charge deliver'd into the House of Peers in Writing, and the Earl to set down his Answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses might be examined, and Evidence on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in matter of Fact, then to refer it to Regall fait.

The Commons to load heavier upon the Duke did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (*viz.*) Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, Mr. Glanvil, Mr. Pym, Mr. Wansford, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Sherland with thirteen Articles of high Offences and Misdemeanours against him, containing several Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and some Miscarriages, which at another time, and in another Man might have been conniv'd at: Nevertheless, he put in his Answer to them, which was inlay'd with so much Modesty and Humility, that many who expected a more disdainful defence, were converted to a good Opinion of him; and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happen'd in the time of King James, and not legally cognoscible at this time, he claim'd the Benefit of Pardon in the 21st of King James, and the present King's Coronation Pardon. But this being contrary to the Expectation of the Commons, upon the 14th of June they had drawn up a Declaration of the same Mould of their Impeachment, which was not without difficulty prefer'd before a Bill of Subsidy, then ready to be read; at which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next Day, by a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain Lords, he dissolv'd the Parliament. No sooner was he freed from this, but the necessity of his Affairs involv'd him in another Imbroylment. The French Priests and Domesticks of that Nation, which came into England with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many Affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the French King had done before him, in sending back all the Spanish Courtiers which the Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood, both

The Commons  
prepare a Declaration of the  
matter of their  
Impeachment  
against the  
Duke.

at home and abroad first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of Bourdeaux, and then the Peace lately patcht up was turn'd into an open War, so that the King was fain to make use of those Forces against the French, which were design'd to have been used against the Spaniard, and to comply with the Desires of the Rochellers, who humbly sued to him at this time, for their Protection and Defence. But the Fleet which he design'd for their Assistance, not going out till after Michaelmas, found greater Opposition at the Sea, than they fear'd from the Land, being encounter'd with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return, without doing any thing, but only shewing the King's Good-will, and Readiness to help them.

Whilst this Dispute betwixt the two Kings continu'd, very sad News came hither from Germany, That the King of Denmark, who had arm'd (as was before mentioned) on behalf of the Elector Palatine, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, notwithstanding the late Aid sent from England of six thousand Men, under the Conduct of Sir Charles Morgan, had on the 17th of August receiv'd a total Overthrow by Tilly, and was reduced to such distress, that if present succour came not, he was ruin'd for ever: That the Sound was like to be lost, the English Garrison at Stood straightly besieg'd, and our East-land Trade and Staple at Hamborough almost given up for gone.

The King was much perplext at this, and the more because of his Inability in the Condition he was to send further Succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting, was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of Supply. The King was therefore in this straight advis'd by his Council, That forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late Sitting, had pass'd a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolv'd before the Bill pass'd into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subjects, which the House of Commons in their Names had assented to, and yet not by the name of Subsidies, but in the way of Loan, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to confirm the levying thereof by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this Advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all parts for levying these Moneys, who had the Instructions following, to direct them in the Execution thereof.

1. That for a good Example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several Sums required.
2. To go according to the Rates at which People were assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.
3. To stir up every Man to a cheerful lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this Course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; as, the Honour of the Nation, the Defence of True Religion, the Safety of Prince and People.
4. That they appoint the Day of Payment to be within fourteen Days.
5. That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.

S s s s s

6. That

1628.

The Fleet  
design'd to re-  
lieve Rochel  
is distress'd by  
Tempest.

Sad News  
from Germany.

A Commission  
is pass'd for a  
Loan.

Instructions  
to the Com-  
missioners.



1626.

6. That they begin with such as are like to shew best Examples.

7. That they endeavour to discover, whether any by underhand Perswasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good Intentions of others; and if any such be found, to certifie their Names, Qualities, and Habitations to the Council.

8. That they signifie His Majesty's Pleasure to remit, upon the lending of these Sums, whatsoever hath been desir'd upon the late Benevolence, or Privy Seals.

9. That they admit of no Suit to be made, or Reasons to be given, for the abating of any Sum.

10. That upon their Faith and Allegiance to His Majesty they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not discover them to any others.

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the People the deplorable estate of Rochel, then closely besieged by the Duke of Guise, which if not speedily relieved, would fall into the Hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. But tho' these Commissioners brought in good Sums of Money, yet many, and some of good Quality refused, and were therefore committed to several Prisons.

This Year died two of the most eminent Men for Learning that ever the Nation had, Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Francis Bacon Viscount of St. Albans.

It was now the third Year of His Majesty's Reign, when the Action was agreed on; and tho' Money came not so plentifully as was hoped, yet the Duke of Buckingham, High Admiral of England, desirous to wipe away the Imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiralship, had, with much ado, compleated his Naval Forces, consisting of six thousand Horse and Foot in ten Ships-Royal, and ninety Merchant-men; with which he sets Sail from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and publish'd his Manifesto the twenty first of July following, declaring at large the King's Affection to the Reformed Churches in France, and his Displeasure at his misemployment of his Ships against the Rochellers. The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort Lewis, wherein being prevented by the Duke of Angoulesme, they resolv'd upon the Isle of Rhe; twelve Ships therefore were sent to guard the Entry of Port Breton, the rest sail'd on to a Fort of the Isle of Rhe, called *De la Price*, making their approaches with their Cannon so near, that *Toiras*, Governor of the Citadel of St. Martin, perceiving their Intention, sent out his Forces to the number of one thousand, in seven partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shore: These were encounter'd by twelve hundred English, whom Sir John Burroughs, Sir Alexander Brett, Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Charles Rich, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The Fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their Lives on both sides; the Victory uncertain. The English General remov'd his Camp, and intrenching, dispatcht *Soubise*, and Sir William Beecher to Rochel, who return'd with five hundred Foot, and found the Duke before St. Martin's Castle, (the chief strength of the Island) notwithstanding the dissuasion of his Council, who advis'd him first to attempt the other Castle, cal-

led *The Mede*, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have prov'd an handsome and safe place of retreat in their future necessity. Buckingham falls to circumvallation ordering the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from *Toiras*; by which means the besieged were for the space of two Months greatly distress'd, in which time there happen'd a hot Conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of *Toiras* to Monsieur *Bellamount*, their Extremity appear'd to be such, that (as he there said) the Mills could not long stand, all their Corn was spent, which enforced their Soldiers to feed on their store of Biskets, not lasting above ten Days: Hereupon the Duke of Buckingham did summon *Toiras*, who refusing to falsify his Trust, the English, now strengthened with fresh Auxiliaries from England and Ireland, under the Command of Sir Ralph Bingham, and Sir Pierce Crosby, set themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadel; all which were rendred fruitless by Wind and Waves. And one Abbot *Marsiliane* procured Monsieur *Vulme* to undertake the conveying of twelve Pinnaces laden with Provision to the Relief of *Toiras* and his Soldiers, which he prosperously achiev'd, and at his return carried back with him their sick and wounded.

In the mean time scarcity affects the English Camp, and Sir John Burroughs viewing the Works, was shot through, whereof he shortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten Days attempted to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three Days after another Brother of *Toiras* was slain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Soldiers of the Castle were reduc'd to greater Hardship than before, not being furnish'd with Bread for above four Days; wherefore having no other way left, *Toiras* resolv'd to win time by treating with the Duke of Buckingham about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better News from the Associates, which accordingly fell out; for Monsieur *Manpaile*, who with other Pilots, heretofore had founded the Shelves, and resign'd the Station for some Ships, for the relief of the Island, contriv'd a way to bring them, in despite of the English. It was now the Winter, and the Nights long and dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 35 Sail, and 150 Mariners, 300 Soldiers, 160 of the chief Nobility, and many noble Commanders, with great store of all sorts of Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegadoes, to tell the English that he passed a contrary way; so that when the Duke of Buckingham expected a surrender, they boldly shew'd him their Rundlets of Wine, and Turkeys and Capons upon the Points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismay'd, spends the Night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the Siege, and be gone, but the Rochellers Entreaties, and *Dolbire's* arrival from England, with assurance of Auxiliaries, unhappily prevail'd with him for a longer stay, during which, the fame of fresh Supplies to the Besiegers publish'd

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The Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Isle of Rhe.



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over all France to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, hastened the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and other smaller Boats, part to *St. Martins*, and the rest to the *Meadow-Castle*, besides seven others which got to the *Meadow-Fort*, under *Bellamont's* Command. And now the French King resolv'd to dislodge the English, dispatch'd over for the Service an Army of four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marshal of *Schomberg*, with *Marillac* his Lieutenant General, to whom came all the besieged, and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above eleven thousand Men: After which another Party under command of *Bassompierre* and *Halliere*, consisting of eight hundred of their King's Lifeguard, an hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, thirty of the King's Horse, and three great Brass Pieces, landed at the *Meadow-Castle*. Against these last the Duke of *Buckingham* march'd with five hundred Foot, and forty Horse, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches possessed by another Party of the French Army: *Stanley* is order'd to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, tho' not without loss; and the Lord *Montjoy* seized a small Troop of French: Him they endeavour'd to surprize with six Horse in shew; whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscade. One dark Night a Party of the English fell upon a Party of the French, and not well discovering one another, so mingled, that by mistake the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them.

Nor did War only afflict the English, but also Sickness and Want, whereby their Soldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final Resolution of taking his farewell of the Island, with one more Assault to *St. Martin's Castle*. *Toiras* had intelligence of it, and therefore he managed his Business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as, being oppress'd and fell'd to the Ground with Shot, they dropt in heaps: So that after a great Loss receiv'd, the Duke commanded a Retreat to be sounded, and soon after demolish'd his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. *Schomberg* and *Marillac* pursued, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords. The English thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Battalia; but they knowing what advantage the way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke march'd on in Military Order, until he came to the Village *Curda*, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscade of Musqueteers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly for three Miles, till they came to a Causeway, which was so narrow, that they could only march six abreast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Salt-pits: And now *Schomberg* espying his expected Opportunity, pour'd forth a great volley of Shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possible; for the Lord *Montjoy's* Troops

unable to endure the charge of the French Horse, turn'd tail, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such a Disorder, as enabled the French easily to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into Ditches and Salt-pits, and piercing others as they lay in the Dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them, for those who confusedly ran away, and casting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were also cut off. *Cunningham's* Horse fought it out nobly unto the last Man. The Lord *Montjoy* was taken Prisoner, and civilly used. Some Reformadoes, by uneven and turning Paths, made their way to the further Bridge, with much danger, where joining with *Conway*, *Crosby*, *Fryar*, and *Hackswil*, and their Forces, they made good that Pass by the Repulse of the Enemy, and leaving a Guard of Musqueteers there all Day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodg'd that Night straglingly up and down. The next Day the Duke demanded, and obtain'd the dead Bodies, and went on board. Great was this Day's loss, viz. about fifty Officers, among whom were Sir *William Cunningham*, Sir *Charles Rich*, and Sir *Alexander Brett*, and near two thousand common Soldiers were slain, thirty Prisoners of note, and forty four Colours were taken: Of the French not above three hundred were lost. The Duke hoisted Sail, and met the Earl of *Holland*, with his unseasonable Recruits, near the Western Coast of *England*; and at his return, finding a favourable Reception at the King's Hands, he laid the loss of the Design upon the Earl's not timely seconding the Expedition. But at Sea things went somewhat better; where Captain *Trettor*, in his return from *Hambrough*, seized by Command a great French Ship at the *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *St. Esprit*, with twenty Brass Culverins, two Brass Semi-culverins, two other Brass Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns, and two lesser, and in the Hold for Ballast twelve great Guns, and Arms for eleven hundred Soldiers, and eighteen Barrels of Powder. And Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral, took thirty four of their rich Merchant-men homewards bound; all which were safely brought into *England*, to sweeten, tho' not countervail, the Loss receiv'd at *Rochel*. The ill Success of this Enterprize did much incense the People against the Duke of *Buckingham*, but the King did not discover any Discontent towards him; only he told him, That Sir *Sackville Crow* had written to him of a far greater Loss than he acknowledg'd. During this Expedition, *Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by Letters Patents of the 9th of *October*, was suspended from all his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, and confin'd to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, and the Exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, or to any four, three, or two of them. The occasion of this Commission was not discover'd otherwise than by what was express'd in the Commission it self, (viz.) That the said Archbishop could not at that present, in his own Person attend those Services, which were otherwise proper for his Cognisance and Jurisdiction, and which as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he might and ought in his own Person have perform'd and executed.

He returns unsuccessful.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is suspended and confin'd to his House.

But



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But the true reason was, the King was persuaded that the Non-conformists to the Discipline of the Church too much encreas'd thro' the remifness of his Government.

This *Michaelmas* Term there was a great Debate in the *Kings-bench* concerning some of those imprison'd for refusing the Loan, who mov'd for an *Habeas Corpus*, and had it. The Attorney-General, Sir *Robert Heath*, upon their appearance alledg'd, they were not bailable, but their Counsel the contrary, and the Court agreed with the Attorney, so that they were continued in Prison till an Order pass'd in Council for a general Release, which was shortly after.

A Barricade to be made cross the Chanel leading to *Rochester*.

Monf. *Soubise* and others come from *Rochel* to *England* for Relief.

The *French* King, encourag'd by the Success he had against our Forces, resolv'd upon a more formidable Siege against *Rochel*; and having made a Line about it on the Land-side, with three Forts, by the Advice of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and the Loan of many Merchant-ships belonging to the Subjects of the *United Netherlands*, he attempted a Barricade 1400 yards in length cross the Chanel, to hinder all Relief by Sea, whereby the *Rochellers* expected nothing but ruin, unless they could prevent it; so that they with great haste sent Monf. *Soubise* and their Deputies to *England*, to sollicite the King for Supplies before the Work should be compleated, who was so affected with their Miseries, that he promis'd them all the Assistance he could; and to enable him thereunto, he borrow'd 120000 Pounds of the City of *London*, for which and other Debts they had Lands, to the value of 21000 Pounds a Year assured to them. He also borrowed of the *East-India* Company 30000 Pounds, and what Money else he could get by Privy-Seals. Moreover, it was resolv'd to levy Money by Excise, and a Commission under the Great Seal was pass'd on the 3d of *February* to authorize it, but the execution thereof was suspended by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular Action by the impulse of his own Nature, nor persuaded by others, but by extream Necessity, and at this time in compliance with his own good Inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 17th of *March*, than proceed in extraordinary ways, for he was much troubled at the general Discontent of the People, and he hoped by their Counsels to beget a good Understanding betwixt himself and them.

On the 17th of *March* the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and the King having sent for the Commons to the Lords House, moved for a Supply with a strong and patherick Brevity, but insinuating, that if they did not comply with his Request, he would take some other Course.

But the Parliament pass'd over that Insinuation, and the Commons freely voted to grant him Five Subsidies, whereof when Secretary *Cook* inform'd the King, he ask'd him by how many Voices 'twas carried, who reply'd, by One; at which perceiving the King's Countenance to change, Sir, said he, *Your Majesty hath the greater Cause to rejoice, for the House was so unanimous therein, as they made but One Voice.* At which the King was exceedingly pleas'd, and bid the Secretary tell them he would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted. But

whilst a Bill was in preparation for these Subsidies, they consider'd of the publick Grievances of the Kingdom.

The King's extraordinary Wants put him, as you have heard, upon some unusual courses for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Laws; and some that were unwilling to countenance such courses, or otherwise disaffected to the Government, upon refusal were imprison'd; and because no legal Cause could be assign'd for such restraint, the Warrants whereby they were imprison'd had no Cause specified in them; which was exclaim'd against as not legal, and a great Grievance.

Upon the return of the Fleet after the late Actions at Sea, the Soldiers, for want of Pay, were billeted in private Houses, which was alledg'd to be against the Law: And, to aggravate this, the rudeness of their Persons and their Country (being *Scotch* and *Irish*) did much contribute. Nevertheless, tho' their Actions were bad, and their Persons worse, the Commons liked not that they should be punish'd by Law martial: For there being a Commission issued to try Offences of the Soldiers by martial Law, they exclaim'd at it, and it was urg'd as a Grievance; yet, till that time, the King's Prerogative in making and establishing martial Laws was never question'd, tho' since the Petition of Right there is no doubt of it. *Magna Charta*, and six other Statutes explanatory of it, were expressly against illegal Levies of Money and Imprisonments; and tho' those Statutes were in force, (whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason, it is not said) to provide against the Grievances complain'd of, they drew up that memorable Law call'd *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the King, to which he gave the Royal Assent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the People: And 'twas now thought there was so sweet a Harmony betwixt the King and Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much Happiness as it could be capable of; but this concession inflamed the Zeal of many of the House of Commons to press a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonstrance of several late Miscarriages in Government, in the conclusion whereof they said, *The excessive Power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the Abuse of that Power, is principal Cause of all the Evils and Dangers therein mention'd; and therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesty's Wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that so great Power, both by Sea and Land, as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.*

On the 17th of *June* this Remonstrance was presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies, in the Banqueting-house at *Whitehall*, who when he had heard it read told them, he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so graciously pass'd the Petition of Right; and for the Grievances specified therein, he would consider of them as they should deserve.

The King had levied the Duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* ever since the first of his Reign, which the House of Commons alledg'd he ought not to have done, or at least that they could not now be taken, since the passing of the late *Petition of Right*, and

1628.

Warrants of Imprisonment without Specification of the Cause illegal.

Martial Law complain'd of by the Commons.

Conclusion of the Remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham.



1628.

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and they prepar'd a Remonstrance against it; but the King, unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of such a strain, resolv'd to frustrate it by proroguing the Parliament from the 26th of June to the 20th of October.

The Duke of Buckingham slain at Portsmouth.

During this Session the Duke was not discourag'd by the former Remonstrance, so as to hinder his Activity in preparing anew for the relief of *Rochel* both by Sea and Land; but being ready to set sail, he was suddenly cut off, being slain at *Portsmouth*, in the 36th Year of his age, by the hand of one *John Felton*, a discontented Officer of the last Year's Army.

The first news of this Fact came to the King (then about 4 miles distant) at his publick Devotion, whose Intentions were so steady upon that sacred Duty, that he receiv'd it without the least emotion of Spirit or discomposure of Countenance. He sent Dr. *Hutchinson* (one of his Chaplains in ordinary, and then in the course of his attendance) to try if he could learn out of him by what Inducement he committed that horrible Murder, who told him, His only Motive was, that the Duke had been declar'd an Enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remonstrance tendred to the King by the Parliament; and afterwards said the same again and again, both at the time of his examination before the Lords of the Council, and at his execution. Nevertheless, when he was made sensible of the foulness of the Act, he manifested great Sorrow and Contrition for it. But that which excited this miserable Man to so great a Mischief, had likewise influenc'd the People in general, who rejoic'd at his Death, as one of the greatest Enemies of their Country.

His Character

But those that knew him, and observ'd his Actions, deliver him to Posterity as one of the most generous and accomplish'd Persons of that time. His outward Form was a great Master-piece of Nature, exact in every Part: Nor was his Mind without its Ornaments, being of a very affable and courteous Disposition, and tho' advanc'd to as great Dignity as a Subject could be capable of, he did not leave those Qualities. He was said to be addicted more than was fit to the love of Women, but it is not said that his Passion that way reach'd to the Ruin or publick Defamation of any particular Person or Family. He had less studied Books than Men, and if he had lived a few more Years, to have seen thro' the Temptations of Greatness, he might have proved as great a Pillar of this State as any that went before him. He was very bountiful to his Kindred and Servants, most of which he advanc'd to Honour and Wealth; and to all to whom he profess'd Friendship: He was constant in it, insomuch that there rarely passed a day in Court (whilst he was there) wherein he did not some good Office to one or other; and every Morning, before he went to the King, he collected in Paper what publick Matters he had to acquaint him with, and the Suits he had to make in behalf of those that solicited him. But as he was kind to his Friends and Dependants, so he was formidable to his Enemies, especially to such as deceiv'd him under a guise of Friendship. His Courage was very great, and did too much transport him; for if he had a little yielded to the Times, and withdrawn from those Storms he

could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder Fate.

His Bowels were interr'd in *Portsmouth*, and his Body was brought to *York-house*, from whence after some time 'twas entomb'd at *Westminster* in *St. Edward's Chapel*, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors: But *Felton* being arraign'd and found guilty at the *Kings-bench Bar* at *Westminster*, was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and afterwards his Body was sent to *Portsmouth*, where, without the Town, it was hang'd in Chains till it was consumed.

The sad Accident of the Duke's Death made little or no stop in the Proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of *Lindsey*; but, before he could get to *Rochel*, the Haven was so barr'd that 'twas impossible for his Ships to force their way (tho' it was often gallantly attempted) so that the *Rochellers* seeing this Hope to fail, sent out some of the principal of the Town to make their Submission to the King, and set open the Gates to receive him.

The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King, for many weighty Reasons, put off their assembling to the 20th of *January*, and in the mean time Archbishop *Abbot* was admitted to kiss his Hand, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Council-Table; which was done at this conjuncture to moderate the Heats of certain Ecclesiasticks, who made great disturbance in the Church by some Scholastical Controversies on the Points of Predestination, Grace, and Perseverance. Both Parties were abetted by several Bishops, and each of them would pretend the Opinions they held to be the Doctrine of the Church, when in truth they were but the Opinions of private Men; (for nothing can be called the Doctrine of the Church, that is not so declar'd by the whole Clergy lawfully assembled in Convocation :) These were distinguish'd by the Names of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*; the first countenanc'd by the Commons in Parliament, and some few of the Bishops; the latter justified by most of the Bishops, and not discountenanc'd by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid Conformity to the Ceremonies; the latter perhaps more earnest than was needful therein at this time, but withal they were great Asserters of the Prerogative-Royal. The King was very intent for the Peace of the whole, and caus'd the 39 Articles of the Church to be publish'd, with a Declaration to restrain all Disputes in the Points controverted. And now also a Book, writ by one *Mountague* in King *James's* time, of these Controversies, call'd *Appello Casarem*, was called in, and Dr. *Potter*, a *Calvinist*, is made Bishop of *Carlisle*: But these Acts did not mollifie the Minds of those for whom they were intended; for a while after (*viz.* the 20th of *January*) the Parliament assembled, and the grand Committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busie and active: That of Religion made great Complaints of the Invasions upon Religion, which they pretended was much endanger'd by the encrease of Popery and *Arminianism*, and many Instances were made to heighten the Apprehensions of the People there-

1628.

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The Duke's Body entomb'd at Westminster in St. Edward's Chapel

Archbp Abbot restor'd to Favour.

The Parliament is assembled, Grand Committees settled, and very active.

T t t t t

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1628. In; whilst the House was not less active in their Inquisitions into the Miscarriages in Civil Affairs, concerning which divers Petitions were presented, importing, that many Merchants had their Goods seiz'd, and Informations prefer'd against them in the *Star-chamber* for refusing to pay the Custom of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* against the tenour of the *Petition of Right*: And one of these Merchants, named *Rolls*, being a Member of the House of Commons, what was done towards him was judg'd a Breach of Privilege, for which the Customers were summon'd to the House, to answer their Misdemeanour therein. The King interpos'd in this matter, and informed the House, That what they did was done as by Men addicted to his Command; adding, He did not commissionate them to take it as of Right belonging to him, but out of a firm Presumption that the House of Commons, suitable to their large Professions, would grant it him by Bill, which he desir'd they would dispatch, to put an end to the Dispute. This gave no satisfaction, but Debates in the House ran very high, and they resolv'd to proceed to a Remonstrance against levying the Subsidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, not being granted by Act of Parliament: In which Point they were so earnest on the second of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolv'd before they had vented their Passion in it, they lock'd the Doors of the House, and gave the Key to Sir *Miles Hubbard*, one of their Members, to keep; and refus'd to admit the Usher of the *Black-Rod*, whom the King had sent with a Message to them: Whereat he was so offended, that he sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guards, to force an entrance: In the mean time the Heads of a Remonstrance were offer'd to Sir *John Finch* the Speaker to be put to the Question; which he refusing, because the King had given Order to adjourn to the Tenth of *March*, and to put no Question, nor admit of any Debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Peter Heyman*, held him in the Chair till by one of them the Protestation was read; and then they arose before the Pensioners and Guards came, and the House was adjourn'd to the 10th of *March*.

The Commons lock the Door of their House, and refuse to admit the Usher of the *Black-Rod*.

#### The Protestation of the Commons.

1. Whosoever shall bring in an Innovation of Religion, or by Favour seek to introduce *Popery*, or *Arminianism*, or other Opinions disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.
2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be likewise an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to this Commonwealth.
3. If any Man shall voluntarily yield or pay the said Subsidies of *Tonnage* or *Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy to this Commonwealth.

Two Days after, a Proclamation was issued to declare the Parliament dissolv'd, tho' the Dissolution was not formally executed till the 10th of *March*, at which time the King came to the

Lords House, and being sat on his Throne, with his Crown on his Head, and in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes also, he spoke very severely to that House of the Misbehaviour of the Commons, to which, he said, the Dissolution of the Parliament was entirely owing; adding, That as he attributed those Disorders to the Malice of some Vipers among them, they should have their due Reward of Punishment.

The King was highly provoked, as appear'd by this Speech, at the Disorder and tumultuous Carriage of many of the Members of the Commons House of Parliament, who strained all things beyond their natural length; a little moderation and obsequiousness might have obtain'd of him whatsoever was desir'd; and if he had not had better Intentions towards his Subjects, than some of those discontented Spirits would have made the World believe he had, the dissolution of this might have been the end of all Parliaments, and we might have been depriv'd of that Spring from whence the Blessings of Peace and Happiness have formerly been deriv'd on this Church and State. And this there wanted not some to infuse into him, by the Example of the King of *France* then reigning: For whereas in an Assembly of the Three Estates (which is in the nature of our Parliament) some Years before this time, the Commons being their third Estate, entrench'd too busily upon the Liberties of the Clergy, and some Privileges which the Nobility enjoy'd, by the favour of the former Kings, it gave the King so great Offence, that he dissolv'd them and their Constitution together, and ordain'd another kind of Assembly instead thereof, which he call'd *l'Assemblée des Notables*; that is to say, *The Assembly of Principal Persons*, which are compos'd of select Persons out of all Orders of Estates of the King's nomination, to which is added a Counsellor out of every Court of Parliament in *France*, and the Acts of this Assembly are no less obliging to the People than the others were. The King would receive no Impressions of this nature, but yet he was very earnest to vindicate his Authority and Commandment, which in his Proclamation before mention'd he alledg'd to have been so contemned, as his Kingly Office could not bear, nor any former Age parallel. He had on the 4th of *March*, six days before his coming to the Lords (by the Advice of the Privy-Council, and their Warrant) sent for several Members of the Commons House, to appear next day at the Council Table, viz. *Denzil Hollis* Esq; Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Miles Hubbard*, *John Selden*, *William Coryton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Stroud*, and *Walter Long*, Esquires, who were the principal Authors of the late Disorders, at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coryton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament what was said and done in Parliament, they were committed to the *Tower*: The rest not then appearing, were afterward apprehended, and committed to several other Prisons.

But lest those distemper'd Spirits that had by Imprudence caused so much Disquiet at *Westminster*, should to excuse themselves disperse abroad in their Countries some of their Malignities, to asperse the Government, and alienate the Hearts of his good Subjects from the King, he

Several Members of the House of Commons imprison'd.



1629.

he published a Declaration, setting forth his Reason and Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with Breviates of all Transactions, in this and the former Session. The Purport of it was to shew, that the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, concerning which the Dispute was, had been enjoy'd and receiv'd by many other Kings, at their entrance into Government, before they were granted by Parliament. But that notwithstanding this, the House of Commons had refused to grant him those Duties, unless he would disclaim his Right to them; which he could not do; tho' he declar'd that he did only enjoy the same *de bene esse*, and did not challenge them as a matter of due. He observ'd, that formerly the Duke of Buckingham used to be the Mark; but that since he was dead, the same Disorders continuing, it appear'd that the Aim was against the King's Ministers as such, in order to abate the Power of the Crown, and to bring all things into confusion. He then concluded with appealing to all, Whether the publick Peace and Happiness of this Kingdom was equalled, or to be paralleled by that of any other of the neighbouring Nations; and therefore how unjust those Rumours and Fears must be that had been so maliciously spread abroad.

On the 7th of May the Attorney General prefer'd an Information in the Star-Chamber against the Imprison'd Members. They demur'd to the Process issu'd out against them, and moved for Writs of *Habeas Corpus*. Nevertheless, they were kept in Prison till Michaelmas Term, when an Information was exhibited against them in the King's Bench, for Words spoken by them in the foregoing Parliament, and for assaulting the Speaker. They demur'd to the Jurisdiction of the Court, alledging, that they were not to be question'd out of Parliament. But this Plea was over-ruled, and they were by the Court ruled to plead farther. But they still insisted upon their Privileges, and refused to put in any other Plea; upon which Judgment was granted against them, and they were sentenced to be imprison'd during the King's pleasure, and none to be releas'd till he found securities for his good Behaviour, and made Submission and Acknowledgement of his Offence, and paid the Fine impos'd. Sir John Elliot died afterwards in Custody, refusing to pay those Fines, or to be bound in such Obligations; and some who were equally inflexible continu'd in Prison till the sitting of the next Parliament: But the Hardships of Imprisonment induced the others to enlarge themselves by Compliance.

In the Spring of this Year the Queen being affrighted, aborted of a Son, which added something to the King's Trouble at home; tho' abroad Matters succeeded well: For the King of France being in a transalpine Expedition at *Susa*, for the Relief of *Casal*, was so intent on that War, that he was very inclinable to Peace with us; and, by the Intervention of the States of *Venice*, a Peace was concluded. And for a Confirmation of this Peace, in September following, the Marquis of *Chasteau Neuf* was sent in Embassy from France, and Sir Thomas Edmonds was sent thither from hence.

About the Month of July there happen'd a great Fray in *Fleetstreet*, upon the rescue of one Captain *Bellingham* (an Officer in the late Expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*) which was attempted by some Students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt and carried to Prison. But this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the Prisoner, who made a Barricade against *St. Dunstan's Church*, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and released their Friends; of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a Band of train'd Soldiers came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them; who were now encreas'd to the number of 500, and arm'd with Swords and Pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation, That on pain of Rebellion they should dissolve themselves; but prevail'd not, he then try'd other means, and the Soldiers fired their Muskets on them, charg'd with Powder only; but the Gentlemen provok'd at this, shot Bullets, and very fiercely attack'd the Train'd-bands, kill'd five outright, and wounded near a hundred; yet the City Soldiers were so re-inforced, that in the end, the Gentlemen were subdu'd, and one *Asburs* and *Stamford* two Captains, with some others, were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the Uproar, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose Advice a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued out, and about a Fortnight after, the Malefactors were arraign'd in *Guild-Hall*, London, and *Asburs* and *Stamford* being found guilty of Murder, were condemn'd and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a Relation and Servant to the late Duke of Buckingham, and much Intercession was made for him; but the King would not pardon him, but said, he had murder'd a Watchman before, and was pardon'd, and he hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a third.

In the Month of January Don Carlos de Coloma, sent Ambassador from Spain, arriv'd at London, and had Audience six Days after: His Business was to treat of a Peace betwixt the two Crowns, which was a while after concluded; all things being left on both sides in the same Condition in which they were before the War, and the Spaniards did engage that he would make use of all his Interest with the Emperor for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost Estate.

This Peace, and that with France, brought a great encrease of Trade to us, the Spaniards sent hither yearly on English Bottoms, no less than 600000 Crowns in Bullion, for the use of the Army in the Netherlands, redounding very much to the King's benefit in the Coinage, and no less to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the Money being return'd into Flanders in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The Dutch and Easterlings, being great Traders, look'd upon London as the safest Bank, not only to lodge, but encrease their Treasure; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the Thames.

This Summer the King had a Son born on the 29th of May, who on the 27th of June following, was with great Solemnity baptized, and named CHARLES; the Godfathers were the

1629.

A great Fray in Fleetstreet.

1630.

The Birth of Prince Charles

The Queen miscarried of a Son. The King of France desirous of Peace. The State of Venice mediate the Peace with France.



1630.

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Sir Robert An-  
struther sent  
Ambassador to  
the Emperor.

The Emperor's  
Answer.

The King of  
Sweden's Ex-  
pedition into  
Germany.

the King of France, and the Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of Lenox, and the Marquis of Hamilton; the Godmother was the Queen of France, whose Substitute was the Dutches of Richmond. After this joyful Ceremony was perform'd, the King was intent on the Business of the Prince Elector, and having intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this Summer at Ratisbon, he sent Sir Robert Anstruther his Ambassador to the Emperor, taking that opportunity, when the Estates of the Empire were assembled, to treat of his Brother's Restitution to the Palatinate.

The Emperor and Estates did not answer the King's Expectation; for besides the Complements which the Ambassador receiv'd, all the Answer to this business was, *That the present Affairs of Germany, which call'd them thither, were of that important Concernment, as would not admit of any foreign Debate: But when leisure serv'd, His Master should have such Satisfaction, as they hoped would give content.* The Emperor was the colder in this Matter, because he had some intimation of the King's Correspondence with the King of Sweden, who was at this time ready to enter into Germany with an Army. And he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for ever since the King of Denmark was by Count Tilly driven out of Germany, the Eyes of all this part of the World were upon Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, as the fittest Person to check the Greatness of the House of Austria: Him therefore, two Years ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of the Garter, wherewith he was solemnly invested in the midst of his Army, at the Siege of Darfaw, a Town of Pomerella, belonging to the Crown of Poland, and then the grounds were laid, which, (being seconded by the French, the States of the United Provinces, and the distressed Princes of the Empire) brought that King into Germany; for which Expedition, on the 13th of June, he imbarqued himself and all his Army in seventeen Men of War, and two hundred lesser Barques. He had made great preparations the Year before for this Design, and had entertain'd many Scottish and English Commanders and Soldiers, lately in the Service of the King of Denmark, (after the Peace at Angole in Holstein, made the Year before with that Crown) and had dispatch'd some of them to raise Recruits, to compleat their Reigments in Scotland and England; and likewise he entertain'd Germans, who had return'd from the Cæsarean Army, and from that Army which was sent to assist the King of Poland, under the Conduct of Harven, and from those who had been oblig'd by Wallestein, the Emperor's General; he receiv'd good intelligence of the State of the Empire, and gave them Commissions to raise Forces with all speed: So that with some of these, and the remainder of the Army which was brought from the Wars of Livonia, he had got together above 12000 Horse and Foot of old Soldiers: But Time was very favourable to the Enterprize, for the Princes of Germany had been much oppress'd by the late Military Government, which Wallestein had introduced amongst them; who had under his Command 100000 Foot, 30000 Horse of divers Nations, dispers'd over all Germany, whereby the Princes

of Germany were not treated as free Princes, but Subjects. Whereupon, for that the excessive Authority of private Men, and over-greatness of neighbouring Potentates is never lik'd by great Ones, the Electors, which pretend to keep the Imperial Condition within its limits, could not suffer either the burthen they lay under upon this former occasion, nor that so many Soldiers should be maintain'd in Germany in the time of Peace, to the Peoples so great Grievances; nor that the Throne of Caesar should be raised so high. They therefore privately sought all opportune means how they might unarm him, and take from his Empire such a Support: To which the Spanish Ministers at Vienna willingly concur'd to moderate the Greatness of Wallestein, and prevail'd with the Emperor to the disbanding of the supernumerary Forces, to please the Electors, and to oblige them thereby to adhere to favour the King of Hungary at the Election of King of the Romans. Wallestein was hereupon immediately laid aside, which made him exclaim, that the Emperor was betray'd; and certainly there was some grounds for it. But if he had been more complacent in his Behaviour, his Authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the Forces disbanded, which whilst they were kept together, made the Emperor so powerful, that the King of Sweden could never have made that Impression he did into his Dominions. Wallestein thus remov'd, retir'd into Bohemia, and liv'd there till he was called again to Employment.

Thus Germany became weakned, being not only divided by the dissonancy of Religion, but exasperated by the late pressures upon them, whereby the King of Sweden had a very easie entrance into Pomerania; for in a very little time he had taken the Islands of Rugen and Usedom, and all the Forts therein, and Wolghast, and the strong Town of Stetin in Pomerania, and restored Bogislaus Duke of Pomerania to his Authority.

The News of the Success of the King of Sweden made our King very willing to send Aid to him; and the Marquis of Hamilton had Commissions to levy 6000 Men for the Service against the next Spring, which were most of them to be of the Scottish Nation: For the Encouragement of the Marquis in the Expedition, the King gave him the Impost of Wines in Scotland, which amounted to 20000 Pounds Sterling a year; but for the raising of those Men, and an intended Supply of Moneys to the King of Sweden, greater Sums were requir'd: And therefore the King, by the Advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Council learned in the Law, was forced to use ways, which he was told were allowable, to furnish himself.

By the Common Law, every Man of full Age that could dispel a Knight's Pay, was compellable, by the King's Writ, to take the Order of Knighthood, or else to make Fine for the discharge or respite of the same: But because of the uncertainty of the quantity of Lands that made a Knight's Fee, King Edward the Second, in the first Year of his Reign, granted a Writ in the time of Parliament, and caused it to be there enter'd on Record (which is therefore

1630.

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Marquis of  
Hamilton's  
Commission  
to raise 6000  
Men to assist  
the King of  
Sweden.

All Persons  
seised of 40l  
or more per  
Annum, sum-  
mon'd to tal-  
the Order of  
Knighthood.

filed



1631.

stiled by some a Statute) wherein no Man was thereafter to be dittrain'd for Knighthood, that had not 20 Pounds a year in Fee-Simple or Fee-Tail, or for term of Life, which Sir Edward Coke explains to be Tenant by courtesie: And almost in every King's Reign, till the Time of Edward the Fourth, Men were summon'd by Proclamation to take the Order of Knighthood, but the value of Land was seldom limited so low as 20 Pounds a year; for in the 18th of King Henry the Sixth, which perhaps is the last time before this, wherein Proclamations of this kind were issued, the same was express'd to be 40 Pounds a year. The King having this way to supply his Necessities, did cause several Writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all Persons of full Age, and not Knights, being seised of Lands or Rents of the yearly value of 40 Pounds, or more, to appear in the King's presence at a certain Day therein limited, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which Writs, and transmitting the same with their returns in the Exchequer, and upon other Writs, for enquiring of the Names of such as did not appear, Process by *Distingas* was made against them, and they were fined for the same, which brought 100000 Pounds, or more, into the Exchequer.

But this Money would not answer the King's Occasions; wherefore Mr. Walter Montague was sent over to negotiate the Payment of the Moiety of the Queen's Portion (being 400000 Crowns) behind, and to require Satisfaction for some rich Ships taken from us by the French, since the last Peace concluded; and with him Philip Burlamach, a Merchant, was sent to receive the Money, and make it over by Exchange, or otherwise. The French King receiv'd the Message with kindness enough, but complain'd, that one Captain Kirk had, two Years before, taken the Fort of Quebec in Canada, which was in possession of the French, and put an English Garrison into it. This, after a little consideration, was found so equitable, that the King gave order to have the Fort deliver'd, and thereupon his full and just Demands were satisfied. During the sitting of

Leighton, a Scotch-man, writ a Book called *Zion's Plea*, which he presented unto them: It was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and People to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib; bitterly inveighing against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, an Idolatress; for which he was this Year sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and stigmatiz'd, to have his Ears cropt, and Nose slit: But betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting of this Censure, he made his escape into Bedfordshire; but by the diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenc'd inflicted upon him. The Romish Recusants were about this time very active in England, and their Religion began to encrease by the industry of their Priests, who needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent hither Dr. Smith, the Titular Bishop of Calce-

don, to ordain Priests, who took upon him to approve of such Regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors, which the General of the Jesuits thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction; and that Order, by their Insinuation, being most powerful in England, prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion to remonstrate against his Authority, asserting all sufficient Power in the Regulars to whatever was pretended by the Bishop, and the no-necessity of having a Bishop in England: The Spanish Ambassador favour'd the Jesuits in this Contest, to which the King's Proclamation for the Bishop's Banishment concurring, he was frighted into France. Nor were these sort of Men insolent in England only, but in Ireland also; for at Dublin, whilst the Lords Justices were hearing Divine Service in Christ Church, they had as publick resort to Mass, as is sometimes in London, to the Houses of Ambassadors of that Religion; which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Archbishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them; which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, Chalices, and Copes, and delivering the Fryers and Papists into the Hands of the Pursuivants, whom the People threw Stones at, and had rescu'd them, but that a Guard was sent to defend them: Nevertheless, the Justices were so careful to prevent the like Disorders, that most of their Houses of Religion were immediately seiz'd into the King's hands, and such Inquisition after the rest, that two Priests hanged themselves at the apprehension of this (as they then call'd it) Persecution.

The Marquis of Hamilton was at this time under some Umbrage at Court, tho' his power with the King soon broke thro' it; the Occasion whereof was this: He had sent a Creature of his own, David Ramsay, into Germany, on pretence to notifie his coming thither to the King of Sweden, and to inform himself of the condition of the Scots then in that Service; but, by what appear'd after, 'twas suspected he had another Intention than the K. of Sweden's assistance. There were at this time 28 Colonels of the Scotch Nation in the Swedish Service, amongst which were 4 of the Name of Hamilton, with whom Ramsay had made a near acquaintance, for he lived at a great expence: He had also endear'd himself to Colonel Alexander Ramsay, Governor of Creutznach, a Person of good Esteem and Interest, both with the Swedes and those of his own Nation: Among these Officers there was the Lord of Rhées, Mackay, who commanded a Brigade of Scots, a Person of great Honour and Reputation, who having discover'd by some Expression of Ramsay, that the Marquis had a deeper Design than the present Expedition to Germany, he insinuated into him, to find out the bottom of it, and was told by him, in much secrecy, that the Marquis would convert these Forces, which he was by the King's Authority to raise in Scotland for foreign Service, against England; that their Friends had provided Arms and Ammunition, and more were expected from Sweden and other parts, and he and Colonel Alexander Hamilton solicited him to be of their Party. To this the Lord of Rhées made a cold Answer, but thought himself bound in Duty to

1631.

Tumults in Dublin, about restraining the Liberty of the Catholics.

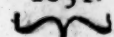
The Marquis of Hamilton suspected of a Design to convert his Forces rais'd for foreign service against England.

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come



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come into *England*, and make it known to the King, which he did the rather because *Ramsay* was then return'd also; but he, upon this Accusation, denied the whole matter, and the Lord having no Proof thereof (as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more than a confident Asperſion, and the engagement of his Honour, the King thought good to refer the Controverſie to the Tryal of the Conſtable and Maſhal, with the aſſiſtance of other Lords in Commiſſion with them, according to the ancient Law of the Land, the Earl of *Lindſey* being made Conſtable to that end and purpoſe. Many Days were ſpent accordingly in purſuance of it, but when moſt Men expected the Matter would be try'd by Combat, as had been accuſtom'd in ſuch Caſes, the Buſineſs was huſh'd up at Court, the Lord *Rhee* is diſmiſs'd to his Employment in the War, and the Marquiſ did not only continue in the King's great favour, but *Ramsay* was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, which had formerly been procur'd for him.

The Tryal of  
the Lord Aud-  
ley,

On the 25th of *April* this Year, *Mervin Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, was indicted and arraign'd of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in *Weſtminſter-hall*; *Thomas Lord Coventry*, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, was for that Day conſtituted Lord High-Steward of *England*; and the Peers with him were, the Earl of *Portland* Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Maſhal, and the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Kent*, *Worceſter*, *Bedford*, *Effex*, *Dorſet*, *Salisbury*, *Leiceſter*, *Warwick*, *Carlisle*, *Holland*, *Berkſhire*, and *Denbigh*; the Viſcounts *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorcheſter*, *Wentworth*; the Barons *Piercy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Petre*, *North*, *Goring*; where divers unnatural and beſtial Actions being prov'd againſt him, he had Sentence to be hang'd; but by the Clemency of the King to him, that Sentence was chang'd to a beheading, which was executed on him at *Tower-hill*, on the 14th of

And of Sir  
Giles Alling-  
ton.

*May*. And in the ſame Month Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeſhire* married his own Neice, the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, for which he was queſtion'd in the High-Commiſſion Court, but he declin'd the Jurisdiction, and mov'd the Court of Common-Pleas therein, from whence he obtain'd two Rules, one requiring the Commiſſioners to ſhew Cauſe why a Prohibition ſhould not be granted; the other, that if they proceeded further before Cauſe ſhewn, a Prohibition ſhould be awarded. This gave great Offence to the Biſhop of *London*, who complain'd to the King thereof; and he, by the Lord-Keeper, ſignified his Diſpleaſure to the Judges for their proceeding herein; whereat they deſiſted, and the Court, conſiſting of eight Biſhops, and four other Commiſſioners, gave the Sentence following againſt him; to be fined to the King 12000 pounds, to ſtand oblig'd in the Penalty of 20000 pounds never to cohabit or come near his Neice any more, and to be committed to Priſon, or put in ſufficient Bail, till both he and his Neice ſhall have done Penance at *Paul's Croſs*, and at *Great St. Mary's* in *Cambridge*, at a Day appointed by the Court.

The Marq. of  
Hamilton's ar-  
rival with his  
Forces in the  
Oder.

About the miſt of *July* the Marquiſ of *Hamilton* arriv'd in the *Oder* with 6000 Foot well array'd, and furniſh'd of Artillery, for the ſervice of the King of *Sweden*, and with 300000

Dollars in Money: He himſelf came to the King at his Leaguer at *Werben* on the *Elbe*, who receiv'd him very reſpectfully, and ſhew'd him all the Fortifications, and the Preparations he had made againſt Count *Tilly*, who was march'd as far as *Wolmeſtadt* towards him; ſo that he had no leiſure to entertain him as he would: But after he had form'd his Inſtructions, he was diſmiſs'd, and his Forces were appointed to join General *Banier*. The King told him, He was ſorry his Army arriv'd in ſuch parts of the Country as were ruin'd, for both Armies had lain there above a Year before, but in a while, he ſaid, they ſhould have better Quarters; but the Men were almoſt all loſt whilſt they were there, finding not only Famine to conſume 'em, but the Plague alſo, which did ſo rage that 200 a Week died, and ſo much weaken'd; but thoſe who ſurviv'd did good ſervice, and their coming at this time was great furtherance of the King of *Sweden's* Cauſe, for thereby a good part of the Enemy's Forces were for fear of them diverted towards *Sileſia*, and this Diverſion aided much to the conjunction of the King's Army with that of the Duke of *Saxony*, and conſequently of his further advance into *Germany*, and his Victory obtain'd at *Leipſick* on the 17th of *September* following: Likewise the Reputation of this Supply, and the King of *England's* Friendſhip and Concordance, brought in the Landgrave of *Heſſe* and Duke *Bernard Weymer* to offer their Service to the King; and moſt part of the Towns of the upper Circle of the Empire were deſirous to joyn in Confederacy with him.

Our King, immediately after the diſpatching the Marquiſ of *Hamilton*, ſent Sir *Henry Vane* his Ambaſſador to the K. of *Sweden*, who arriv'd at *Wertzburg* on the *Main* a fortnight after the Battle of *Leipſick*, about which time *Magdeburgh* was block'd up by the Forces under the Command of Marquiſ *Hamilton* and General *Banier*, who had a little before took the Town of *Vauſleber* in *Pomerania*. The Ambaſſador, after ſome reſreſhment, went to the King of *Sweden* at *Frankfort* on the *Main*, which had open'd its Gates to him: On the 17th of *November* hither alſo came the Marquiſ of *Hamilton*, with a very magnificent Train, and the French Ambaſſador; and a little before them the *Palsgrave* arriv'd, and the Queen of *Sweden* alſo came thither attended by the Rix-Chancellor *Oxenſtern*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthen* eldeſt Colonel of the *Scottiſh* Nation. Here the King gave Audience to our Ambaſſador, and many Treaties were in agitation both for the proſecution of the War the next Year, and the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, but the ſhortneſs of the King's ſtay hinder'd the bringing of any Counſels to maturity; for he was not here a Week when (upon advice that divers Troops of *Spaniards* and *Flemings* rais'd in *Luxemburg* were marching towards the *Palatinate* to recruit the Garriſons of *Mentz*, *Wormes*, *Frankendal*, *Heydelburg*, and other Towns in thoſe parts) he broke off the Negotiations for that time, and haſten'd to his Army, with a Purpoſe to paſs over the *Rhine*; in order whereunto he firſt lay down before a Sconce lying on the *Rhine* over againſt *Oppenheim*: It was a place very well fortified with deep and broad Foffes full of Water, with a Drawbridge over, and well provided of Viſuals and Ammu-  
nition

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dition, and was so situated that the Men had free passage to the Town, and back again, without any danger. After the Batteries were made, the King left the old *Scottish* Brigade commanded by Colonel *Hepburn*, and the blue Regiment commanded by Colonel *Winkles*, before it, and gave order to have some Boats that the *Spaniards* had sunk taken up and emptied of Water, by which means he passed over 2000 *Scots* of the Lord *Rhee's* Regiment, Sir *James Ramsey's* Regiment, and old *Spence's* Regiment, and with these he secur'd the landing place till he passed over a good part of his Army, and unexpectedly came before *Oppenheim*: The next day those in the Sconce (hearing the King had pass'd the *Rhine*) capitulated, and surrender'd the place to Colonel *Hepburn*: *Oppenheim* was also after a while surrender'd to the King of *Sweden*, and from thence he made a farther Incursion in the *Palatinate* with so great Success that he quickly took in all the Cities and Towns thereof, except *Heydelburg* and *Frankendal*, where we shall leave him victorious, and return to domestick Affairs.

About five Years since, certain Feoffees were entrusted to purchase in Improvements with their own, and the Money of other well-dispos'd Persons, and with the Profit thereof to set up and maintain preaching Ministers in places of greatest need, where preaching was much wanted; whereupon in a short time many great sums were advanc'd. There are in *England* 9284 Parish-Churches, endow'd with Glebe and Tythe, but of these, when these Trustees enter'd on their Work, 3845 were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colleges, or impropriated as Lay-fees to private Persons, as formerly belonging to Abbeys; to purchase which last sort, they had made such progress, that it was believ'd in 50 Years rather Purchases than Money would have been wanting to them. The King was persuaded that this Project would prove dangerous to the Church, and and *Noye*, the Attorney-General, at the latter end of the Year, exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer-Chamber against the Feoffees.

It was charg'd against them, that they diverted the Charity wherewith they were entrusted; for, being by their Feoffment directed to settle preaching Ministers in distant obscure places, where Preaching was most wanting, they first settled a Morning-Lecture at *St. Antholins* in *London*. To this they answer'd, That *London* being the chiefest place from whence their Charity deriv'd, it was fit they should have some benefit of their own Bounty; and, that they were not so confined to the Uses of their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminency as necessity of the Place; That they expended much of their own, as well as other Mens Charity, and hoped they might do with their own as they pleas'd. It was urg'd against them, That they generally prefer'd *Non-Conformists* to the Lectures of their erection; to which they said, None were placed therein but such whose Sufficiency and Conformity was approv'd by the Ordinary; and moreover, That one of the Feoffees acquainted the Bishop of *London* at his House at *Fulham*, That if he either disliked the Persons who manag'd, or the order they took in the Work, they would submit the alteration

to his Discretion. In conclusion the Court condemn'd their Proceedings, as dangerous to the Church and State, pronouncing the Gifts and Feoffments to be illegal, and so dissolv'd the same, confiscating the Money to the King's use: Their criminal part was refer'd to the *Star-Chamber*, but never prosecuted, because many discreet and devout Men were rather desirous of the Regulation, than Ruin of so pious a Design.

Duke *Hamilton*, in September this Year, came from *Germany*, his Men being by *Famine*, *Plague*, and the Accidents of War, drawn to so small a number that they were not fit for his care. The King of *Sweden* had many communications with the *Palsgrave* and our Ambassador, about the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, in which the *French* Ambassador, and *de Pauch* the Ambassador of the *United Provinces*, did mediate so, as matters were near drawn to a good conclusion, when all was again made desperate by the Death of the K. of *Sweden*, which hapned at that memorable Battle of *Lutzen*, on the 6th of *November* O. S. The *Palsgrave* was in hopes of recovery when News came to him of the Death of the K. of *Sweden*, which resent'd him with so intense a passion that he died the 29th of the same Month; nor could the condition of *Frankendal*, then ready to be surrender'd to the *English* Officers then before it, any whit moderate his Grief. The Earl of *Leicester* was now sent Ambassador to the King of *Denmark*, to condole the Death of our King's Grandmother *Sophia* Queen-Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the Dividend of a 6th part of what she left, as due to him and the Queen of *Bohemia*, in right of Queen *Ann* their Mother, which 6th part amounted to 15000 *l.* Sterling. The K. of *Denmark* told the Ambassador, when the Account was stated what was due to him in arrear of 30000 *l.* a Month from the Crown of *England*, upon the Contract made in the Year 1625, towards the support of his Army, he would make up the rest; so that the Earl was fain to return *re infecta*. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulness of the Lord *Wentworth* (whom he had lately raised to that Honour, and made him Lord-President of the *North*) made him Deputy and chief Governor of the Realm of *Ireland*, where affairs were in much disorder thro' the Insolence of the *Roman-Catholicks*, who did not use moderately the King's Clemency to them in relaxation of the Rigour of some Penal Statutes: They are indeed a People that cannot bear any Indulgence towards 'em with temperance, but are too apt to be alienated in the apprehension of Favour to their own detriment and scandal of the King's Protestant Subjects. On the 2d of *December* this Year the King fell sick of the *Small-Pox*, but there was so little malignity in the Distemper, that he soon recover'd. The same Month the Earl of *Arundel* was sent to the *Hague* in *Holland* to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to condole the Death of her Husband, and sollicite hers and her Childrens Journey into *England*, which at this time she refus'd, because of the Grief she lay under, and an indisposition of health that made her unfit in the Winter season to take such a Journey.

The King had this Year a great check to the prosperity of his Government, which first appeared in *Scotland*, where some factious and seditious

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Duke *Hamilton* returns in-  
glorious from  
*Germany*.

The King of  
*Sweden's*  
Death.

The Earl of  
*Leicester* sent  
Ambassador to  
the King of  
*Denmark*.

Vise. *Went-*  
*worth* made  
Lord-Deputy  
of *Ireland*.

The first Oc-  
casion of the  
Discontents in  
*Scotland*.

Proceedings  
of the Feoffees  
for Improvements  
condemned, as dan-  
gerous to Church  
and State.



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tious Malecontents began to sow some Seeds of Discontent, which afterwards encreas'd to that degree, as well near destroy'd the Prosperity and Happiness of three flourishing Kingdoms on this occasion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses that had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shar'd among the Lords and Great Men of that Kingdom (by the connivance of the Earl of *Murray*, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto their side. And they being thus possess'd of the said Lands, with the Regalties and Tythes belonging to these Ecclesiastical Corporations, lorded it with Pride and Insolence enough in their several Territories, holding the Clergy to small Stipends, and the poor Peasants under miserable Vassalage and Subjection to them.

King *Charles* engag'd in a War at his first coming to the Crown, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the Advice of his Council of that Kingdom, was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tythes, and Regalties into his own hands, to which the present possessors could pretend no other title than the unjust Usurpation of their Ancestors. This he endeavour'd first by an Act of Renovation, but that course being not like to speed, he follow'd in the way of a legal Process, which drew on a Commission for surrendring of Superiorities and Tythes, to be retaken from the King on such Conditions as might bring some profit to the Crown, some augmentation to the Clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the Common people: But these Occupants chose rather to expose their Country to the danger of a publick Ruin, than to part with any of that power which they had exercis'd on their Vassals, (as they commonly call'd their Tenants) and thereupon conspir'd together to oppose the King in any thing that should be offer'd in the following Parliament which had relation to the Church or to Church-affairs.

But because Religion, and the care thereof, is commonly the best Bait to catch the Vulgar, they must find out some other Means to divert the King from the prosecuting of that Commission, than the consideration of their own personal and private Interest; and they found Means to do it on another occasion, which was briefly this:

K. *James*, from his first coming to the Crown, had a Design to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, both Government and Form of Worship; and he proceeded so far as to settle Episcopacy among 'em, naming 13 new Bishops for so many Episcopal Sees, as had been anciently in that Church, three of which receiv'd Consecration from the Bishops of *England*, and conferr'd it on the rest of their Brethren at their coming home; which Bishops he also arm'd with a power of High-Commission, the better to keep down the insolent and domineering Spirit of the *Presbyterians*. In order to the other, he procur'd an Act to be pass'd in the Assembly at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616, for composing a Liturgy, and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the scatter'd Acts of their old Assemblies: And in an Assembly held at *Perth*, Anno 1618, he obtain'd an Order for receiving

the Communion kneeling, for administering Baptism and the Lord's Supper in private Houses in cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopal Confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniversary of our Saviour's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost: All which he got confirm'd in Parliament.

So far that *Wise King* had advanc'd the Work of Uniformity before his engaging in the Cause of the Palatinate; his Breach with *Spain*, and the War which did issue upon it, had took off his Thoughts from prosecuting that Design, which his Son, being more entangled in Wars abroad and Distempers at home, had no Time to finish till he had settled his Affairs, and attain'd to some measure both of Power and Glory: But being it was a Business which was to be acted leisurely, and by degrees, he deferred the execution of his Purpose till he came into *Scotland*, towards which he went this Year about the middle of *May*, and arriv'd at *Edinburgh* the Tenth of *June*, and on the Eighteenth following his Coronation was celebrated with great Solemnity. He had before summon'd a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he caused an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father to be propos'd to them, determining, as soon as that was pass'd, to go in hand with introducing a publick Liturgy, in effecting whereof he found a stronger Opposition in the Parliament than he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that Assembly.

This gave him the first Taste of their Disaffection to his Person and Government, but he went forward notwithstanding in pursuit of those Purposes which he brought thither with him: For, not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the Dean of his Chapel Royal in *Edinburgh*, for Prayers to be read therein according to the *English* Liturgy, a Communion to be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament upon their Knees: That he who administred it, if he were a Bishop, should perform it in his Rocket, and other Episcopal Robes, and in his Surplice if a common Presbyter; and, That not only the Lords of his Council, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principal Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not fail of their attending Divine Service there on *Sundays* and *Holy-days*; for, by this means, he gave himself no improbable hopes that the *English* Liturgy passing a probationship in the Chapel Royal, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edinburgh*, and be retain'd by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

But the *Presbyterian Scots*, not ignorant of the King's Intentions, insinuated into the Minds of the common People, that this was a Design only to subject that Kirk to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which they said was superstitious; and therefore, That it did behove them to stand together, as one Man, to oppose their entrance.

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The King takes a Journey into *Scotland*, to be crown'd there.

The King commands the *English* Liturgy, with its usual Ceremonies, to be used in his Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*.

*Presbyterians* beget a dislike of it in the Minds of the Vulgar.

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The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who fear'd nothing so much as the Commission of Surrenders, before mention'd, laid hold of this Occasion also; and they being seconded by Malecontented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his Favour to them as his Father had been before, endeavour'd to possess them with Fears and Jealousies that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and govern'd by a Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like was done also by some Lords of Secret-Council, who before had govern'd as they list'd, and thought their Power now dwindling, and their Persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord-President over them, to direct in chief.

The Dislike is further promoted by the Insinuations of the Lords and Gentry,

So that the People generally being fool'd into this Opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberties were in no small danger, became capable of any Impression which the Presbyterian Faction could imprint upon them, which visibly appear'd by a virulent and seditious Libel, publish'd in the Year 1634, wherein the King was not only charg'd with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong Inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; the chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally committed, and condemn'd of Treason, but pardon'd by the King's great Goodness, tho' by his following Actions he deserv'd not that Favour.

The Fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no marvel if it laid hold on *England* also, the Discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their Counsels and Designs unto one another; as will hereafter appear.

And occasions the like Stirs in *England*.

This Year ended with some Stirs in *Somersetshire*, where some of the Justices were much offended at the keeping of Wakes, Church-ales and Bride-ales on the Lord's Day, which occasion'd many Disorders and Misdemeanours to be committed; and therefore they moved the Lord Chief-Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham*, then in their Circuit in the *Lent* Vacation, to make some Order therein: These, in compliance with their Desire, make an Order on the 19th of *May*, founded on former Presidents sign'd by the Chief-Justice *Popham* in the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, therein suppressing such Revels, in regard of the infinite number of Inconveniences daily rising by means thereof; injoining the Constables to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who on the first *Sunday* in *February*, and likewise the two *Sundays* before *Easter*, was to publish the same every Year. This was look'd on by the Bishops as an Usurpation of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and they thereupon procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of *Bath* and other Divines, to enquire into the manner of publishing this Order, and the Carriage of the Judges in the Business: Notwithstanding which, the Chief-Justice, at the next Assizes, gave strict charge against these Revels, and requir'd an account of the publication and execution of the former Order, punishing some

Persons for the Breach thereof: After whose return, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent for him, and told him, it was the King's Pleasure he should revoke his Order as he would answer it at his peril; which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this limitation, as much as in him lay.)

But this ended not here; for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chief-Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Father's Declaration about lawful Sports on the Lord's Day, publish'd in the 16th Year of his Reign, hoping thereby, thro' the restriction therein directed, to hinder the Abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Consciences of his Subjects from those servile Yokes which some Divines about that time endeavour'd to introduce, maintaining the indispensable Morality of the Fourth Commandment, and consequently the necessary Observation of the *Jewish Sabbath*; for it was in the Declaration prescribed,

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1. That these Pastimes should be no Impediment or Lett to any publick Duty of the Day.

2. That no Recusants should be capable of the benefit of them.

3. That none should use them that were not diligently present at all divine Offices which the Day required. And,

4. That the Benefits should redound to none but such as keep themselves in their own Parishes.

The publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence; and the rather, because, tho' there was nothing express'd in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be press'd to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested in the High-Commission: The truth is, the ill reception it had among the People, in the former publication of it in the time of the King's Father, might have deterred the like at this time, for that the strict observation of the Lord's Day was much encreased since that time, tho' it was not known in *England* till the Year 1595, when Dr. *Bond* first publish'd it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrines*; nor in *Ireland* till just Twenty Years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion there establish'd; nor in *Scotland*, till above Twenty Years after that: And at this day, in *Geneva*, shooting in long Bows, Tennis, Bowling, and other Sports of that kind, are used; and the like in all foreign places where the Protestant Religion is profess'd; but it was generally disliked here, many complaining that Man's Badness took occasion to be worse under the protection of those Sports permitted to them: For tho' liberty on the Lord's Day may be so limited in the Notions of learned Men, as to make it lawful, it is very difficult so to confine it to the Actions of the People, but that they will degenerate into licentiousness: So that the Declaration after a while died of it self, and it was wish'd by many prudent Men of that time it had never lived.

The King publish'd a Declaration for lawful Sports on the Lord's Day.

Ministers suspended and deprived for refusing to publish the Declaration.



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The Merchants of London, and other Parts, made great Complaints at the end of the last Year, of the Obstructions of Trade for want of good Convoys to secure them against the *Turks* and other Pyrates that infested our Coast, which made the King very earnest in making Preparations to make himself strong by Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his just Authority of the Sovereignty of the *British Seas*, which was not only actually usurp'd by the *Hollanders*, but the Right it self disputed by a Tract written by *Hugo Grotius*, a learned Man of that time, call'd *Mare Liberum*: But whilst the King, to his Power, omitted not to maintain his Right, our Learned *Selden* by his Pen encounter'd *Grotius*, in a learned Book call'd *Mare Clausum*; wherein he did not only assert the Sovereignty (or Dominion) of the *British Seas* to the Crown of *England*, but clearly prov'd by constant and continual Practice, that the King of *England* used to levy Money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships and other Necessaries to maintain that Sovereignty which did of Right belong to them: But before the writing of this Tract, the King had well advis'd how to enable himself with Treasure to support his Authority, and defend the Kingdoms, by the Industry of *Noy* his Attorney-General, a most indefatigable Inquisitor into our ancient Records, who had found many Presidents for levying a Naval Aid upon the Subjects by the sole Authority of the King, whensoever the Safety and Preservation of the Kingdom did require it of him; and, that such Aid had been heretofore levy'd in the same Year in which the Kings that took it had receiv'd Subsidies in the way of Parliament; for which he gave this Reason: When a King of *England* wants Money to support his Expence, or for the enlarging his Dominions in foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his Honour in the Eye of the World, he ought to be beholden to his Subjects for it by Aid in Parliament; but when the Kingdom is in danger, and the Safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our Lands raise such Sums of Money as he thinks expedient for preventing of the Danger, and providing for the publick Safety of himself and his. And hereupon, by this Advice, Writs were issued and directed to all the Port-Towns and Maritime Counties of the Kingdom, to fit out a certain number of Ships, furnish'd with Mariners, Ammunition, Victuals, and all other Necessaries for defence of the Realm, whereby the King quickly had equipp'd a very good Fleet, tho' not great enough for the End intended; which occasion'd the like Writs to be issued out to all the Counties in the Kingdom, in the Year 1636. Of which more hereafter.

The Swedish Success declining in Germany.

This Year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*, where General *Arnheim* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*: The City of *Ratisbon* was regain'd by the Imperialists, General *Albringer* slain near *Lansbut*, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infante*, at the Battel of *Northingen*; after which ensued the surrender of that Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedom of *Wirtemberg*, whose Duke fled to *Stras-*

burg: But tho' this gave a great stop to the *Swedish* Greatness, yet it brought a little Repose to *Germany*; for shortly after this Success a Peace was concluded, tho' it lasted not long.

In *Ireland* the Lord-Deputy *Wentworth* was very busie in settling the Quiet of that Nation; and because Popery was chiefly encreas'd for want of able Ministers, and that occasion'd by the poor Maintenance they had in most places, he procur'd of the King, by the mediation of Archbishop *Laud*, that all the Impropropriations then in the Crown should be restor'd to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, tho' the King was never sensible of any Loss to himself, if thereby Gain might redound to God thro' his Ministers.

On *Candlemas* Night the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court presented a Masque to the King and Queen at *Whitehall*, riding in stately Chariots from the *Temple* thither; 'twas indeed a pompous and magnificent Shew, but made more glorious by a long train of Christian Captives, who having been many Years enslav'd in the Chains of Bondage, were sent for a Present to the King, by the Xeriffe or Emperor of *Morocco*, in testimony of the Assistance receiv'd from our King, whose Fleet assisted in the taking of *Sallee*, then in Rebellion against him, and in Enmity to all the World, it being a Nest of Pyrates, by whose Destruction Commerce was very free in those parts.

This Year dy'd Sir *Richard Weston* Earl of *Portland*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, a great Statesman, but suspected to be too much a Favourer of the Religion of *Rome*, in which he was reputed to have dy'd, some of his Children being educated therein. His Place, for the present, was entrusted to Commissioners, till a fit Person could be found on whom to bestow it.

It was now the Year 1635, when a gallant Fleet was sent out, by Aid of the Ship-money, under the Earl of *Lindsey* Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral; whereby our Trade was not only made secure by scouring the Seas of Pyrates, but the King became very formidable to all his Neighbours: And by his Interposition this Summer *Flanders* was preserv'd, which had else probably been swallow'd up by the *French* and *Hollanders*; for the King of *Spain* could not bring 8000 Men into the Field, and leave his Garrisons provided; and the *French* King and they were in confederacy for that purpose, by which 'twas agreed, that he should invest *Dunkirk* with an Army whilst the *Hollanders* did block it up with their Navy, that so all Passages into the Country being secured, they might the more easily subdue the inward Parts; which Design had taken effect if the *English* Fleet had not dislodg'd the *Hollanders* from before the Town, and reliev'd it: And the *French*, by their Insolencies at *Diest* and *Tellemont*, inflam'd and encourag'd the Peoples Heats against them; for before they had been so practis'd on by the *Holland* Faction, that few or none would arm to repulse their Enemies.

September the 29th the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London*, out of *Shropshire*, one *Thomas Parr*, as the Wonder of the Time for the proxeivity of

1632.

A Peace concluded betwixt the *Swedes* and the Emperor.

Lord-Deputy *Wentworth's* Care for suppressing Popery, and settling able Ministers in *Ireland*.

A Masque presented to the King & Queen by the Inns of Court.

The Death of the Earl of *Portland* Lord High-Treasurer of *England*.

His Place given to Commissioners.

1635.

A Fleet sent out under the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scour the Seas.



1635.

Thomas Parr  
brought up to  
the Court by  
the Earl of  
Arundel.

of his Age; he had almost reach'd to the Hundred and sixtieth Year, and in all likelihood had outliv'd that time some Years, had not so tedious a Journey, and the over-violent agitation of his Body, together with the change of his wonted course of Diet, accelerated his End.

Charles Prince  
Electoral, with  
his Brother  
Prince Rupert  
come into En-  
gland.

Charles Prince Electoral-Palatine came into England at this time, to visit his Uncle, and to consult with him for his restitution to the Palatinate; and, a while after his arrival, his Brother Prince Rupert came also.

The King's Reputation was now very high, and the *Hollanders*, a crafty and industrious People, took all Occasions to endear themselves to him: At this time they sent an Ambassador over, to congratulate with the King and Queen for the Birth of their second Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*; and, to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich Present, a massy piece of Ambergrise, two huge Basons of *China*, a noble Clock the Workmanship of *Rodolphus* the Emperor, and some exquisite Pieces of Painting of *Titian* and *Tintoret*, which were well accepted.

The Princess  
*Elizabeth* born

The King finding some Inconvenience in the managing of his Treasure by Commissioners, gave the Office to the Bishop of *London*, which was a very good Choice; for whereas most of the Treasurers of these latter Times had rather serv'd themselves in that Office than the King, raising themselves to great Estates and Dignities thereby, he thought fit to chuse this Churchman, who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Incomes of the Treasury to his advantage, than they had been formerly: And so it prov'd, for by his Care of the Revenue, the King began to be rich; and he was of so well-temper'd a Disposition, that he gave exceeding great Content to all the People.

The Bishop of  
*London* made  
Lord High-  
Treasurer.

1636.

Another Fleet  
sent out under  
the command  
of the Earl of  
*Northumber-*  
*land*.

The King's Naval Preparations were very great this Year, the Fleet consisting of 60 good Ships, under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, now made Lord High-Admiral of England, who sailing Northward, and finding a great number of Dutch Busses fishing on our Coast, he seiz'd on many of them, and dispers'd the rest. This made a great Consternation amongst the People of the *United Provinces*, many of whose Subsistence depended on this fishing; wherefore, upon a Supplication from the States to the King, they had Permission granted by him; for he was more displeas'd at their Presumption in doing it as in their own Right, and in contempt of his Authority in the Dominion of these Seas, than at the thing done. As the Navy was greater this Year than before, so the Charge of it was much augmented; wherefore, whereas the last Year the Ship-writs had been sent only to the Maritime Counties, they were now issued to all the Counties in England; and the People generally paid what Rates and Assessments were set upon them in pursuance thereof; but some refus'd, and many of the Clergy complain'd that they were unreasonably rated by their Neighbours, some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the Tax of the Parish. For Satisfaction of the Refusers, the King writ to the Judges for their

Opinion, who are by their Oaths his proper Counsellors in all Difficulties concerning the Law; and, to ease the Clergy, he writ to all the Sheriffs of England, requiring that the Clergy possess'd of Parsonages should not be assess'd above a tenth part of the Land-Rate of their several Parishes; and, that Consideration should be had for Vicars accordingly.

The Judges gave their Opinions, That the King might, by Writ under the Great Seal of England, command all his Subjects to provide a number of Ships for the defence of the Kingdom, and in case of refusal, compel the same; and, That the King was the sole Judge of the Time and Proportion in which such Levies were to be made.

These Opinions being subscrib'd by all the Judges, were enroll'd in all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, and the King thought he had now Warrant sufficient to proceed against the Defaulters, the chiefest whereof was one Mr. *Hambden*, a Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, who being summon'd by Process, appear'd, and requir'd Oyer of the Ship-Writs; which being read, he demurr'd in Law thereunto, and demanded the Opinions of all the Judges upon the legal Sufficiency thereof. This great Case came to be argued in the Exchequer-Chamber, and the major part of the Judges deliver'd their Opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgment against Mr. *Hambden*: Yet did not the Question altogether so repose, but Mr. *Hambden* observing that Two of the Judges (*viz. Crook* and *Hutton*) were of a contrary Sense, held up the Contest still, tho' all in vain, all his Inquietude not gaining him the least Acquittal, until an Higher Power interposed.

There was an Imperial Dyet held this Year for the electing of a King of the *Romans*; and King *Charles* sent thither the Earl of *Arundel*, his Ambassador, to treat with the Emperor and the Princes for the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to the *Palsgrave*; but that Embassy could effect nothing: For the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had in his possession the *Upper Palatinate*, and the Electoral Dignity, would by no means hear of any Propositions to part with either: But the *Lower Palatinate* he might have had upon some Terms which the Emperor propos'd, but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution of the Elector's Right; so that the *Palsgrave* had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his Hopes a little rais'd by an Overture of Marriage made at this time betwixt the King of *Poland* and one of his Sisters, which was almost effected by the Legation of Prince *Radzevil*, here in England; but the Emperor privately obstructed it, and by the Insinuation of the Jesuites so instigated the Clergy of *Poland* against it, because of her Religion, that the Treaty was broke off, and the King afterwards married the Lady *Cecilia*, second Sister to the Emperor.

On the 14th of January, Mr. *William Prynne*, an Utter Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*, Dr. *John Bastwick* Doctor of Physick, and *Henry Burton* a Minister, were censur'd in the *Star-Chamber*. The Offence of *Prynne* was, for writing and dispersing Libels against the establish'd Discipline of the Church

1636.

The Earl of  
*Arundel* sent  
Ambassador to  
*Ferdinand III*,  
about the Re-  
stitution of the  
Prince *Palat-*  
*tine*.

*Bastwick*,  
Prynne, and  
*Burton* cen-  
sured.



1637.

Church of England; that of *Bastwick*, for inveighing against the Proceedings of the High-Commission against him, before which he had been accus'd for writing a Book, call'd *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, in which time, besides his arraigning the High-Commission Court, he publish'd a *Latin* Apology (call'd by the Court a *Libel*) *ad Prasules Anglicanos*, and a *Litany* very virulent against them: That of *Mr. Burton* was, for publishing a Sermon which he preach'd on the Fifth of *November* before, wherein the Prelates were charg'd for introducing several Innovations into *Divine Worship*, which was deem'd a *Libel*. For these Offences the Judgment of the Court was, *That they should lose their Ears in the Palace-Yard at Westminster, be each of them fined Five thousand Pounds to the King, and imprison'd during Life in three remote places.* Finch the Chief-Justice mov'd the Court, that it might be added to *Mr. Pryn's* Censure, to be branded in each Cheek with *S. L.* for *Slandorous Libeller*, which was consented to; for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Offender before in the like kind, having been three Years before censur'd to lose his Ears on the Pillory, for writing a Book, call'd *Histrion-Mastix*, or *The Whip of Stage-players*, wherein some indecent Reflections were taken to be on the Queen her self, as too much delighted in *Masques*.

The Prince-Elector, and his Brother Prince *Rupert*, went to *Holland* about this time, in order to a Design which was put in practice the next Year, to attempt something with an Army in the *Palatinate*. The Assistance and Credit of the King's Purse did so prevail underhand with the Prince of *Orange* and the States of the *United Provinces*, that a small beginning of an Army was rais'd, with which they advanc'd into *Westphalia*, and besieg'd *Lemmingen*: But *Hausfield*, one of the Emperor's Generals, came so soon upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to a great disadvantage, having had 2000 Men slain, and most of the rest dispers'd, and many Prisoners taken, among whom were Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven*; the Prince-Elector himself escap'd by flight, and retir'd to the *Hague*.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* fin'd and imprison'd for certain Misde-meanors.

*Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln* was on the 11th of *July* censur'd in the *Star-chamber* for tampering to suborn Witnesses, to be fined 10000 *l.* to the King, and imprison'd during the King's pleasure, being referr'd to the High-Commission for a further Censure; the Occasion whereof we shall briefly relate.

This Bishop, after the Great Seal (some ten Years since) had been taken from him, retir'd to *Bugden* in *Huntingtonshire*, wherein he liv'd very hospitably, and had great concourse, amongst others *Sir John Lamb*, *Dr. Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden* two Proctors, came to visit him, and being at Dinner with him, there was much Discourse about Nonconformists; and the Bishop knowing these to be busie Men in the prosecution of such, advis'd them to take off their heavy Hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable Party, having great Influence on the Parliament,

without whose Concurrence he could not supply his Necessities; adding, that he had communicated this unto him by his own Mouth. A few Years after, *Lamb*, upon some Difference with the Bishop, inform'd against him for revealing the King's Secrets; whereupon an Information was put in against him in the *Star-Chamber*; to which he put in an especial Answer, declaring how all was contriv'd by a Conspiracy and Combination of *Lamb*, *Sibthorp*, *Allen*, and *Burden*, out of an Intent to advance themselves, and Hatred to him, for not permitting them to poll and peal the King's Subjects in *Leicestershire*, in their Ecclesiastical Courts, by hauling them into Nets *Ex Officio mere*, without any previous Complaint under an imaginary colour of *Puritanism*. To this Answer the King's Attorney rejoyn'd in Issue, admitting the Bishop to prove his special matters, who proceeded to the examination of his Witnesses therein; but after a while, the Attorney being somewhat remiss in the Prosecution, one *Richard Kilvert* was entertain'd to be the Bishop's Prosecutor, who had found out, that one *John Prigion*, a Register of *Lincoln* and *Leicester*, was a most material Witness in the Bishop's defence; and the Credit of his Testimony he design'd to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Bastard on one *Elizabeth Hodson*: The Bishop thought it behov'd him to support the Reputation of *Prigion*, so he engaged himself more zealously therein than was conceiv'd consistent with the Gravity of so great a Prelate, to such as knew not that he and one *Dr. Morrison* were the only Persons of note present at his Table, where the Discourse above mention'd passed between him and *Sir John Lamb*. This Bastard was by the Sessions at *Lincoln* order'd to be kept by *Prigion*, as the reputed Father thereof, but at a Sessions following that Order was revers'd, and the Child father'd upon one *Bourne*, and *Prigion* acquitted; in the doing whereof 'tis said *Powel* and *Owen*, two Agents of the Bishop, did menace and tamper with the Witnesses: But at a third Sessions *Prigion* was again charg'd, and *Bourne* was freed: Yet this last Order being upon a *Certiorari* brought to the *Kings-bench*, was there quash'd as insufficient, and *Prigion* was after clear'd from the Child: *Kilvert* nevertheless, in the traverse of this Affair, let fall the first Information in the *Star-Chamber*, and proceeded upon that whereon the Sentence before-named was grounded, viz. for Subornation, and therein he succeeded. This dealing with the Bishop was very rigorous, and the Rigor of it imputed to *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who thought him one that too much oppos'd his Intentions, in reducing the Clergy to an exact and strict conformity to the Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, and therefore unfit to have any Government in it; for, after that part of his Sentence came to be executed which was referr'd to the High-Commission, he was by that suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and all his Preferments in the Church sequestred to the use of the King; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Archbishop of the Province, exercis'd all kind of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction throughout the Diocese of *Lincoln*, not only as Ordinary of that Diocese, but as Visitor of

1637.



1637.

New Broils  
and Commotions  
in Scotland,  
about reading the  
Common-  
Prayer.

of all those Colleges which had any dependances on that See.

On the 23d Day of July, being the Day before this last part of the Sentence against the Bishop of *Lincoln* was executed, there was a very great Commotion in *Edinburgh*, about reading a Book of Common-Prayer some time before sent thither, which drew after it great Misery and Confusion to the King and all his Kingdom.

In the Year 1616 King *James* obtain'd an Act of the General Assembly at *Aberdeen* for the compiling a Liturgy or Common-Prayer, which was to be first presented to the King, and after his Approbation, universally receiv'd throughout the Kingdom. This Book, in pursuance thereof, was framed and sent up to the King, who having himself perused and considerably revised it, return'd it to *Scotland*, to be commended to that Church; but before a period and consummation was put to that Business the King dy'd. This pious Intention of K. *James* for a Unity and Uniformity in the publick Prayer, Liturgy, and Service of the Church of *Scotland*, was so far intended by the King, that shortly after his return from that Kingdom, he did not only enjoin a stricter Celebration of the *English* Liturgy in his own Chapel at *Edinburgh* than had been formerly, but frequently consulted how to have it universally used thro' the whole Kingdom, but the *Scotts* Bishops, being jealous that this might be an Argument of their Dependence on the Church of *England*, rather desir'd that the Liturgy framed in *Scotland* in King *James's* time might be receiv'd. To this Proposition the King agreed, and the Book sent by K. *James* formerly into *Scotland* was remitted to *England*, and after many serious Consultations, and some Alterations made by Advice of divers of the Bishops and Clergy of *Scotland* then here, 'twas perfected, printed, and publish'd, and sent into *Scotland*.

The Bishops and Noblemen of the King's Council, then present at *Edinburgh*, resolv'd, That the Book should be first read in the great Church, on the before-mention'd 23d of July; and on the Sunday before, Notice thereof was publicly given in the Church. There were present both the Archbishops, many of the Privy-Council, and others of the best Quality in *Edinburgh*, besides a great concourse of ordinary People. Amongst this Multitude there appear'd no sign of Trouble, but no sooner was the Book open'd by the Dean of *Edinburgh*, but a number of the meaner sort, with clapping their Hands and Outcries, made a great Up-roar, and one of 'em, call'd *Jane* (or *Janet*) *Gaddis*, flung a little folding Stool, whereon she sat, at the Dean's Head, saying, *Out thou false Thief, dost thou say Mass at my Lug?* which was follow'd with so great a Noise and Confusion, that not any one could hear, or be heard; whereupon the Bishop of *Edinburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by putting them in mind, that the place in which they were was holy Ground, and by entreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him Cudgels, Stools, and what else was in the way, even to

the endangering of his Life. Upon this, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Lord-Chancellor, call'd down the Provost and Bailiffs of the City from their Seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly People out of the Church, and made fast the Doors: This done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the Multitude in the mean while rapping and pelting the Windows with Stones, to disturb the Exercise; yet notwithstanding all their clamour the Service was ended, but not the Peoples Rage, who waiting the Bishop's retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perish'd by their Violence.

The Flame being once kindled, went on with resifless Fury: Tho' in the Hubbub of this Day no considerable Persons appear'd on their Side, yet soon after they shew'd themselves by degrees, till the Bishops came to be in danger of their Lives; and any Persons, tho' of the highest Quality, who seem'd to favour or protect them, were affronted and assaulted. All the Kingdom flock'd to *Edinburgh*, as in a general Cause, and erected there four Tables or Councils; one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burgesses, and a fourth of the Ministers; out of which was a general Table of several Commissioners, chosen from the other four, who consulted of what was proposed to them by the other Tables; and what they order'd was put in practice with strict Obedience all over the Kingdom; the Regal Authority being as it were transferred to those Illegal Assemblies.

The first Act of this General Table was, the renewing of a Confession of Faith subscrib'd by King *James* and his Household, in the Year 1580, taken after by all Persons 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of the Privy-Council and Act of the General Assembly, and subscrib'd again 1590, by a new Ordinance of Council, at the desire of the General Assembly. This Confession was call'd *The Negative Confession*, wherein the Authority of the Pope, *Transubstantiation*, *Images*, *Relicks*, *Opus operatum*, *Merits*, *Auricular Confession*, *Prayer for the Dead*, and all the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine as outward Rites, are enumerated at large, and particularly abjur'd. To this was added a Covenant, by which they swore mutually to defend the same against all Persons whatsoever. Besides this, this Confession was so interpreted as to extend to the renouncing as well the late Innovations, as those expressly contain'd therein; and in this Sense every one was to declare they took it.

This Confession and Covenant was first taken by the Tables, and afterwards imposed on all sorts of People, wherein great Violence and Menaces were used in many places, with beating, tearing of Clothes, drawing Blood, and exposing to thousands of Injuries and Reproaches, at *Edinburgh*, *St. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glasgow*, *Lanerick*, and many places more; all those Professors in Colleges, and Ministers, who out of Conscience towards God, and Loyalty to the King, did either dissuade others, or could not by their Entreaties or Threatnings be persuaded

1638.

The Negative  
Confession re-  
new'd without  
the Authority  
of the King.

Violences us'd  
to those that  
refus'd this  
Confession.

Y y y y y



1638.

ded to it themselves: The Laws were positive against this manner of leaguings, it being expressly declar'd in two Acts of Parliament, That all Leagues of Subjects amongst themselves, without the Privy and Approbation of the King, was Sedition; and the Authors and Abettors of them to be punish'd, as Movers of the same: But so great was the Transport of Zeal in the People, inflamed by the Insinuations of the Chiefs of the Confederates, that the Law could take no place: All Professors in Colleges, and Ministers, that refus'd to subscribe their Covenant, were remov'd; for many good Men, that disliked the tumultuary way of offering it, were also scandaliz'd at the Interpretation by the Tables upon it.

Professors of Colleges and Ministers remov'd on the same account.

The Marquis comes into Scotland, to compose the Differences.

The King being much displeas'd with these Indignities upon his Royal Authority, intended to do that by Power which Persuasion could not effect; but the Marquis of Hamilton, then very prevalent with him, diverted that Course, offering his Service to compose the Differences: The King, being in his nature always prone to Lenity, was quickly induced to condescend to this Motion, and sent him down in the quality of High-Commissioner, authorising him with large Power to settle the Peace of that Kingdom. The Marquis at his first arrival finding the City of *Edinburgh* fill'd with extraordinary numbers of Persons from several parts of the Kingdom, because of the sitting of the Tables, went to a place call'd *Dalkeith*, where the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* coming to him, the Marquis demanded of them, first, what they expected from him for Satisfaction to their Complaints; and next, what might be expected from them for returning to their former Obedience, especially in renouncing and delivering up their late Covenant: To which, after some time, they made answer, That they requested a General Assembly of the Church; and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would discuss their Grievances: To the second they said, they could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their Obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their Baptism than abate one Word or Syllable thereof. And presently after they had given their Answers, they possess'd the People with many Misreports, and the Sermons of the Preachers at *Edinburgh* were fill'd with Admonitions, that they should take heed of crafty Compositions, or yielding in the least Point of their intended Reformation.

The Marquis obtains of the King the restoring of the sitting of the Sessions, and all Courts of Judicature.

The Marquis seem'd much troubled at these Actions, and thought the best Expedient he could use to reclaim the People, was to publish a Proclamation, which he had brought with him from the King of his Grace and Favour toward them, for relieving their Grievances, and satisfying them with his Forwardness for the maintenance of the *True Religion*, and his Averseness to *Papery*: But before he did this, by advice of the Privy-Council, he wrote a Letter to the King, to desire him to sweeten it by a Favour of restoring to the City of *Edinburgh* the Sitting of the Session, and all Courts of Justice, as a thing very acceptable to the Judges-Advocates,

and all Dependants upon the Law, and to all others that had Business depending in the Courts, but chiefly to the City of *Edinburgh*, which complain'd much of being impoverish'd by their absence. To this the King return'd a very gracious Answer, consenting the Courts of Justice should presently begin again to sit at *Edinburgh*; and in pursuance thereof, Proclamation was made for the first sitting down of the Session on the Third Day of *July*, which was receiv'd with great Joy by the Judges-Advocates and the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

1638.

Proclamation made for the first Sitting.

The Session being settled, the Marquis caus'd the King's Proclamation to be pronounc'd at the *Cross* at *Edinburgh*, wherein the King took notice, that many Disorders had lately hapned upon the Introduction of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High-Commission, many thereby fearing an Innovation of *Religion* and *Laws*, wherefore he assur'd his good Subjects, That he was resolv'd to maintain the true *Protestant Religion*, and not thereafter press the practise of the Canons and Service-book, nor any thing of that nature, but in such a fair and legal way as shall manifest he never intends Innovations in Religion nor Laws: That he will reform the High-Commission, so as it shall not be grievous to the People; and what is further fitting to be done, shall be agitated in a General Assembly and Parliament, which should be indicted in convenient time; concluding, That he would not have them misled by any disaffected Persons, who, under pretext of *Religion*, would draw them to Disobedience, to his grief and their ruine. This Proclamation was no sooner read, but the Confederates arraign'd it in a Protestation; which they caus'd to be publickly read, importing, That they never doubted the Sincerity of the King in defence of the *Protestant Religion*; That what he granted them was not a sufficient Remedy for their Grievances, in that he did not wholly abolish the Service-book, nor the High-Commission, which was impos'd upon them contrary to the Laws of the Land; That no Proclamation can secure them from the re-entry of the Innovations which this seem'd to discharge; and, That an Assembly and Parliament are the only Remedies of their Evils, and Means to prevent the like; and, That their Proceeding ought not to be interpreted a drawing to Disobedience under pretext of Religion, and running headlong into Ruine.

The King's Proclamation pronounc'd at the Cross at *Edinburgh*.

The Marquis having in vain expostulated with them about this seditious Behaviour, return'd to the King, to whom he related the Particulars of all past Transactions. The King was offended at the Insolences of the Confederates, but was persuaded to try a little further if he could reduce them by gentle means, wherefore he dispatch'd the Marquis with new Instructions, and gave him order to call a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament, but so as he should be first satisfied, by all Informations he could conveniently receive, of the Constitution of a General Assembly, none having been kept for divers Years.

The Marquis sent back with new Instructions.

As



1638.

As soon as he came into *Scotland* he deputed some of the Lords of the Council to confer with some of the chief of the Confederates of all Orders, but he found their Behaviour still so unsuitable to these Condescensions from the Throne, that he was oblig'd to go back to the King again for new Instructions; upon which they told him, that if he did not return from the King by the 21st of *September*, to indict a General Assembly by the King's Authority, they would themselves call one; for they had about this time publish'd a Book, wherein amongst other things 'twas asserted, That the Power of convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an Enemy of the Truth, or negligent in advancing the Good of the Church, was in the Church it self.

The Marquis hasten'd with all Diligence to the King, and inform'd him of all Occurrences that pass'd, which occasion'd many Debates of the Way to be used to bring that Kingdom to Peace and Quietness.

The Scots about the King advis'd, that he should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an unavoidable Extremity; the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Scotland* were many of them in private League with the Confederates, so that nothing could be rely'd on from them: And therefore that which was thought the best Expedient, was, to take an exact view of all the Petitions, Remonstrances, and Protestations of the Confederates, which they had since the beginning of the Troubles exhibited either to the King, or the Marquis, or Privy-Council, and to grant them all. And besides all these, because the heads of the Confederates had made it a principal Motive to alienate the Minds of the People from the King, that he was inclin'd to *Papery*, and had an aversion to the *Reform'd Religion*, 'twas adjudg'd and consented to by the King, to command and urge the renewing of that Confession and Covenant by his Authority, which they had taken without it, which Legitimation was to save the People who were to swear it from incurring the Danger of those Laws, which made it very criminal to enter into any Covenant without his Authority: And instead of that unjust Band of Confederacy, which they added to the Confession, to bind themselves to mutual maintenance and defence against all Persons whatsoever, the King caused a general Band for maintenance of the true Religion and the King's Person, to be added in the same Words as 'twas express'd and taken in the Year 1590 by an Ordinance of the Privy-Council, at the desire of the General Assembly.

With these Concessions all drawn up in a Proclamation, the Marquis return'd to *Scotland* within 8 days after his first coming to *Oatlands* to the King, and arriv'd there before the time limited for his return: And shortly after the Proclamation was publish'd at the *Market Cross*, which was to this effect; That the King did annul and rescind all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-

Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, and the practise of them: He also dispens'd with the practise of the five Articles of *Perth*; and 'twas declar'd, That all Persons, Ecclesiastical or Civil, of what Quality, Title, or Degree soever, should be liable to the Tryal and Censure of Parliament, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories competent; and, that no other Oath should be administred to any Minister, at his Entry into the Ministry, but that which is contain'd in the Act of Parliament: Likewise, in manifestation of the King's Integrity to Religion, all Persons should be enjoin'd by his Authority to subscribe the Confession of Faith, with the Band annex'd: And, that no Doubt may be left in the Minds of the People of the King's Intentions, 'tis declar'd, That the Marquis, the King's Commissioner, has a Warrant to summon a Free General Assembly, to be holden at *Glasgow* the 21st of *November*, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the Fifteenth of *May*.

All moderate Persons receiv'd full Satisfaction from this Proclamation, and readily subscrib'd the Confession and Band or Covenant, which was call'd *The King's Covenant*: But the Confederates at the *Tables*, seeing their Reign was at an end unless they could keep alive the Flame they had kindled, publish'd a seditious Protestation against it, tending to continue the present Fears and Jealousies, and dehorting all Persons from subscribing any new Covenants, till the Assembly should be convened, and determine the Differences now on foot.

The Marquis and the Lords of the Council perceiv'd by this Protestation that the Confederates endeavour'd all they could to blast the King's Intentions: They saw also, by what the Confederates did, that little Good was to be expected from the approaching Assembly (which was summon'd to appear at the time express'd by the King's Proclamation) for they had used great Industry, that all that should be chosen thereunto should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant; and, to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they publish'd, That any Persons cited as Criminals before the Assembly, could have no Voice there: And, in pursuance thereof, they drew up a Libel against the Archbishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the Four and twentieth of *October*, to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, who (after some short consideration of the Libel, which was full of Scandal and Reproaches of the Bishops) order'd, that it should be referred to the next Assembly, and that the Libel and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches, with a publick Warning and Citation to the Bishops, to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the Complaints against them.

The Fears that had been entertain'd of the little Profit that would arise from this Assembly, soon appear'd to be too well ground-

1638.

A Libel drawn up against the Archbishops and Bishops, who by this Means being made Criminals, are excluded from having Place in their Assembly.

On



1638.

On the very first Day of their meeting, they not only excluded the Bishops, but refus'd to admit Six Lords of the Privy-Council, who were appointed by the King to be Assessors to the Commissioners; and affirm'd at the same time, that were the King himself present, he should have but one Voice, and that no Negative Voice neither.

This Temper shewing it self so soon, was look on by the Commissioner and the Council as prognosticating so much Mischief, and so little Good, from the Continuance of the Assembly, that it was agreed in Council to dissolve the same, and a Proclamation to that purpose was sign'd by all the Council, except the Earl of Argyle; whereupon the Commissioner went immediately to the Assembly, and said to them,

The Marquis's Speech to the Assembly.

"You are now about to settle the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow: I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, a thing which 'twas supposed His Majesty never intended: And for the further clearing the Integrity of his Intentions, let this Paper, which I deliver to the Clerk to be read, bear witness.

The Paper being read by the Clerk, was a Declaration, the same in every substantial point with the Declaration discharging the Service-Book, Book of Canons, &c.

The Confederates Protestation.

And now the Proclamation was no sooner publish'd than it was encounter'd with a Protestation of the Confederates, *That it is Lawful for them to Sit still, and continue the Assembly; and, That they would still adhere to all their former Protestations.* And accordingly pursuing the Tenour of their Protestations, presently declared Six former General Assemblies (which they thought would discern them) to be null, and depriv'd all the Bishops; some they excommunicated, and soon after abolish'd Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

Episcopacy abolish'd by the Assembly.

Annual Assemblies ordain'd.

The Marquis seeing all things tending to a present Rupture, sent to desire Leave of the King to return into England, which he obtained; but, before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly which made many Acts, not necessary here to be related, and by their own Authority ordain'd Annual Assemblies, the first whereof was assign'd to meet at *Edinburgh* the First of July 1639.

Their Declaration to justify their Actions suppress'd by the King's Authority.

As soon as the Marquis was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, address'd to all good Christians of England, to justify their Intentions and Actions, which had so many Undutiful Reflections in it upon the Government, that it was suppress'd by the King's Authority; and he publish'd a Declaration, to satisfy all his faithful Subjects of the vile and seditious Practices of those in Scotland who had, under pretext of Religion, design'd the

Subversion of his Royal Authority, which was commanded to be read in all Churches.

1638.

On the last of October this Year, *Mary de Medecis*, the Widow of *Henry the Fourth*, King of France, and Mother to the Queen, came into England, and was very honourably entertain'd. Whilst she staid here, she was lodg'd at the King's Palace of *St. James*, but she finding the King likely to be involv'd in Troubles, to reduce his Subjects of Scotland to Obedience, after some Months stay, return'd into Holland.

*Mary de Medecis*, the Queen's Mother, comes to England.

The Scots having made all things desperate to Accommodation, made vigorous Preparations for War, and sent for Succours to such of the neighbouring Princes and States from whom they could expect any Assistance: They also invited home many eminent Commanders of their Nation, from *Sweden* and *Holland*, to take Employment in their Armies, many of which were at the beginning of the Year come to them.

The Scots prepare for War, invite home their Commanders abroad, seize on divers Castles, and the King's Arms and Ammunition.

They seiz'd on the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbarton*, and all other places of Strength in the Kingdom; and took out of *Dalkeith* all the King's Arms and Ammunition, laid there the Year before by the Marquis of *Hamilton*: Next they chose *Alexander Lesley*, an old experienc'd Officer, to be Captain-General of their Armies, to whom all the Chiefs of the Confederates (who took Arms) solemnly swore Obedience in all Orders of War; and he swore in like manner faithfully to exercise his Charge.

*Alex. Lesley* their Captain-General.

The Marquis of *Argyle* was sent to take care of those places Frontier of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Montrose* had the charge of *Aberdeen* and the more Northern Parts; and Colonel *Monroe* was sent towards the Borders of *England*, to keep all things quiet till the Levies were perfected.

The King in that mean time was not idle, but made very great Levies in all places; and having got his Army together, he gave the command thereof in chief to the Earl of *Arundel* as General, under whom the Earl of *Essex* was Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse; the rest of the Officers were many of 'em Persons of the best Quality: And the Army in general consisted of the flower of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Nation.

The Earl of *Arundel* General of the King's Army.

With this Army the King sets out upon the Twenty-seventh of *March*, and comes by easie Marches within two Miles of *Berwick* on the Twenty-eighth of *May*, where he encamp'd: And likewise, about the same time, General *Lesley* march'd with the *Scotch* Army to the Borders towards *England*, and encamp'd at *Dunee*, within Four Miles of *Berwick*.

1639.

The



1639.

The Marquis  
of Hamilton  
sent with a  
Fleet to Leith.

The King, when he began his March, had sent the Marquis of *Hamilton* with a Fleet of Ships well furnish'd with Soldiers to *Leith*, to attempt that place, and make what Impression he could in those Parts, to hinder any new Levies, and reduce *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, and whatever other Forts and Strengths he could, to Obedience.

He arriv'd in the Month of *May* with his Fleet in the Road before the Town call'd *The Fryth*; where, after some stay, he landed some of his Men in a little Island, to give them Breath and some Refreshments; and there he receiv'd a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid Covenanter, which made many of the King's Friends suspect his Integrity; and the Scots which were upon the Shore that saw this, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not do them Hurt.*

The Army under *Lesley* was but ill arm'd, for they had not Three thousand Musquets amongst them; so that though they put a good Face on the Business, they were better prepar'd for a Treaty than a Battel; nevertheless, those of that Nation about the King were not wanting on their part to make the Preparations of their Country-men very terrible: And the Earls of *Traquair* and *Roxborough*, and other Noblemen of *Scotland*, who had Permission to repair to *York* to the King, as he was on his March, for mediating an Atonement, did so practise upon the *English* Lords, by their Insinuations, that they mitigated much the Displeasure of some, and quite took off the Edge of others; so that after the King had been a while in his Leaguer, near *Berwick*, he was very easily dispos'd to receive Overtures from them, to be receiv'd into his Grace and Favour, which they made with great Protestations of their Resolution, upon his gracious Assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give Example to others of all Civil and Temporal Obedience which could be requir'd or expected from his loving Subjects.

This produced a Treaty, for which on the King's part were appointed, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Berkshire*, *Sir Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Cook*: And for the Scots, the Earls of *Roths* and *Dumferling*, the Lord *Loudun*, the Lord *Dowglas*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*: These having had several Debates, at length (*June* the Seventeenth) concluded upon a Pacification, which on the King's part was express'd by a Declaration of that date; so much whereof as is pertinent for the better understanding of these Transactions, is here inserted.

A Pacification  
made by the  
King and the  
Scots.

" We are pleas'd to confirm and make  
" good whatsoever the Marquis of *Hamilton*,  
" our Commissioner, hath granted:  
" And, that all Matters Ecclesiastical shall  
" be determin'd by the Assemblies of the  
" Kirk, and Matters Civil by the Parlia-  
" ment, and other inferiour Judicatories  
" establish'd by Law; which Assembly  
" shall be kept once a Year, or as shall be  
" agreed upon by the General Assembly  
" and our Commissioner for the Time  
" being.

" That a Free and General Assembly  
" be kept at *Edinburgh* the Sixth of *August*  
" next, where we intend (*God* wil-  
" ling) to be personally present; and also  
" thereafter a Parliament the Twentieth  
" of *August*, and there an Act of Oblivion  
" to be pass'd: And that, upon their  
" Disarming and Disbanding of their For-  
" ces, dissolving and discharging all their  
" pretended Tables and Conventicles, and  
" restoring to the King all his Castles,  
" Forts, and Ammunition, as also his  
" Royal Honours, and to every of his  
" good Subjects their Liberties, Lands,  
" Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever,  
" taken and detained since the late preten-  
" ded General Assembly; the King will  
" presently thereafter recall his Fleet, and  
" retire his Forces, and make restitution  
" of their Ships and Goods taken since the  
" aforesaid time.

### The ARTICLES of Pacification were these, the Seventeenth of *June*, 1639.

- I. **T**HE Forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolv'd within Twenty-four Hours after the Agreement of the King's Declaration. Articles of  
Pacification.
- II. The King's Castles, Forts, and Ammunition to be deliver'd after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive the same.
- III. His Ships to depart presently after the delivery of the Castles; and in the mean time no Interruption of Trade.
- IV. All Persons, Goods, and Ships detained by the King since the First of November, to be restored.
- V. No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations, or Convocations of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.
- VI. All Fortifications to desist, and to be remitted to the King's pleasure.

Z z z z z

VII.



1639. VII. To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the First of November last.

The King sign'd the Declaration on the Eighteenth of June, and the same Day the Commissioners on each part sign'd the Articles, and the Scots Commissioners subscrib'd a short Declarative Submission in these words :

A declarative Submission subscrib'd by the Scots Commissioners.

" In obedience to His Majesty's Royal Commands, We shall upon Thursday next, the Twentieth of June, dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver His Majesty's Castles, &c. and shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and loyal Subjects.

Roths,  
Dumferlin,  
Loudun,  
Dowglas,  
Henderson,  
Johnston.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the Scotch Lords, and inform'd them, That he had given Orders to the Marquis of Hamilton to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to be at Edinburgh at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had receiv'd Letters from the Queen, which intimated a Necessity of his Presence at London, about some pressing Affairs, but he would depute the Earl of Traquayr, with full Power and Authority, as his High-Commissioner, to hold the Assembly and the Parliament.

The Earl of Traquayr deputed the King's Commissioner.

Most Men thought these Graces of the King towards his Scotch Subjects would have obliged them to an entire Submission to his Authority, but the Confederates had some further Designs of Trouble : For no sooner was the King's Declaration publish'd, but at that instant they encounter'd it with a Protestation of several Heads.

The Scots Protestation against the King's Declaration.

" First, Of adhering to the late General Assembly at Glasgow, as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all Proceedings there, especially to the Sentence of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops.

" Secondly, Of adhering to their Solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured.

1639. " Thirdly, In regard many of the Gentry, and the Ministers, who had long attended at Edinburgh during the discussion of the Pacification, and the Preparatives to it, were to repair to their own Homes, whereby such of them as had Suits depending at Law could not stay at Edinburgh to attend them, they declared, That if any Members of the College of Justice should attend the Session or Term, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgments should be void and ineffectual.

The King could not but resent this Ingratitude, but was forced to temporize, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament some moderate Counsels might temper the Minds of the People : He had been so just to those Conditions of Peace which he had granted them, that he immediately discharg'd his Army ; which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, until he had seen their Soldiers disbanded, their Officers cashier'd, their Forts and Castles deliver'd up to him, and some good Issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at Edinburgh, he had preserv'd his Honour among Foreign Princes, and crush'd those Practices at home which afterward undermined his Peace, and destroy'd his Glories.

The Scots did not punctually perform any one Article ; the Castle of Edinburgh was indeed put under the Command of Sir Patrick Ruthen, by the King's Orders, but they did not slight or demolish their Fortifications at Leith ; they still kept their Officers in Pay, and still continued their Meetings and Consultations, disquieting, molesting, and frightening all of different Inclinations : And, the more to stir up the People, they dispers'd a scandalous Libel, entituled, *Some Conditions of His Majesty's Treaty with the Subjects of Scotland before the English Nobility, are set down here for a Remembrance.*

The Scots Breach of Articles.

This Paper consisted of eight Heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration : This was put into the hands of the Earl of Pembroke, at his coming from Berwick, who pretended not to have read it, but seal'd it up till he had presented it to the King : The Matter of it was very scandalous, and derogatory to the King's Honour ; for all the Substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole Sense and Intention of it was perverted. The King therefore summoned all the English Lords that were privy to these Transactions, to meet in Council, who dif-



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disavow'd any such Consent of His Majesty, as in this Paper was expressed, and therefore both they, and all the rest of the Council became Petitioners to the King, that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous Paper; which was done accordingly.

The General Assembly conven'd at Edinburgh.

Upon the Sixth of August (old Stile) The General Assembly conven'd at Edinburgh according to the King's Indiction, and sate till the twenty-fourth: The chief matters that passed, were the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at Glasgow, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, and ended with rendering thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the assent of his Commissioner to their Acts, and assigned another to meet at Aberdeen the next Year, in the Month of July.

The Parliament met again.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the last of August, did again come together: The first four Days produced a high debate about settling their constitution to determine what Estate should supply that of the Bishops now abolish'd, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Rescissory Acts of former Parliaments, and several Consultations tending rather totally to eclipse the King's Regal Power, and to new model his Government, than to reform Abuses; so that he sent an Express to the Earl of Traquair to Prorogue the Parliament again, till the second of June following.

The Lords Dumferlin and Loudon, presenting a Remonstrance to the King without Warrant from his Commissioners, are sent back without Audience.

To this Prorogation they very unwillingly submitted, declaring, that the King had no Power to Prorogue them without their consent; and they appointed some of every of the three Estates to continue in Edinburgh till they had made a Remonstrance thereof to the King, which before the separation they perfected, and the Earl of Dumferlin and the Lord Loudon were sent to present it to him: These coming to the Court without warrant from the King's Commissioner, were sent back again without Audience, and after a while the Commissioner himself comes up to inform the King of the present Condition of Scotland, which being reported to the Council, it was resolved, That the Disobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force.

And thus matters stood between the King and them about the beginning of December; which, for the better connection of the Relations of that Affair, we have drawn thus far in time; but we must now look a little back to Affairs of England.

The Prince Elector, in July this Year, arrived at the Court of England in prosecution of a design he had got to get the Command of the Army of Duke Bernard Saxe-Weymar lately Dead, which consisted of a gallant number of Swedes, Germans, and other Nations.

1639.

The Prince Elector comes to England.

The King did like very well of the business, and propos'd it to the French Ambassador, offering, that the Prince should joyn in perpetual League with France, and that he would contribute what he could to his Assistance.

The Ambassador seemed to be very well pleased with the Offer, and told the King, that he doubted not but his Master would approve of it, and that Cardinal Richelieu, the Chief Minister of that State, would be willing to serve the King and the Prince therein; and thereupon he dispatched a Messenger to Paris, to acquaint the French King with the matters: But in the mean while, it was suggested to the King, that Richelieu underhand fomented the Troubles of Scotland, whereby the Conederate Covenanters had been encouraged to Write a Letter to that King for Assistance; so that the reality of Richelieu was so much suspected, that the Prince was advised to go privately thro' France to Duke Bernard's Army, of which it was believed he might by his Appearance easily get the Command. The Prince therefore in November pass'd over to Bullen, and from thence endeavour'd to pass by Disguise through France, but at Lyons he was discovered, and taken Prisoner: And the King of France interpreted this Action of the Prince of no fair Intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of Treaty, so that he was kept under a strict Guard.

The great Business of this Summer was a Sea Fight betwixt the two Navies of Spain and Holland in the Downs, which we shall here insert in the Words of Sir John Pennington, the King's Vice-Admiral, who made this following Narration thereof.

A Sea Fight between the Spaniards and Hollanders.

The Spanish Fleet consisting of near seventy Sail, bound and designed for Dunkirk in Flanders, with a recruit both of Men and Money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the Holland Fleet, having in his Company seventeen small Ships, September the seventh, and entred into a fierce Dispute with them, until the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to Windward, sailing along towards Dunkirk, and continually firing their Ordnance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the residue of the Fleet.

In



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In the first Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships sunk, and the next Morning by two of the Clock the Admiral came up, and joyning with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the *Spaniards*, and continued a very sharp Fight till past Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Galleons, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but twenty-five Sail to the *Spaniards* sixty and upwards, and at length forced them upon the *English* Coast near *Dover*, where they left them, and bare off for the Coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of *England's* Liberties.

The *Spaniard's* being now got, as they thought, under the Lee of *England's* Protection, began to Plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the *Spanish* Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the *Hollanders* in Subjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of shipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in Amity with them both, was resolved to stand Neuter; and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the *Dutch* Ambassador, strictly commanded that none should take in any *Spaniards*, nor pass beyond *Gravesend* without License, but the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* Plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the *Spaniard* at length somewhat outwitted his Enemy, and by a Stratagem in the Night conveyed away Fourteen of the *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them Four thousand Men.

In the beginning of *October*, the King sent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, *Don Antonio d'Oquendo*, desiring him to retreat upon the first fair Wind, because he would not they should Engage within his Seas; but the Wind continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual in that Season) that the *Hollanders* got daily fresh supply from *Zealand*, so that at length their Fleet was compleated to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within Pistol-shot for four Days: But that which was so long an interview of these two Fleets, at last turned to an Engagement.

On the Eleventh of the same Month, *Van Trump*, the *Dutch* Admiral, charged the *Spaniards* with Cannon and Fireships so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being fifty-three in number, twenty-three ran on shore, and stranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore.

One of these was a great Galleon, the Vice-Admiral of *Gallicia*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, which had fifty-two brass Pieces of Ordnance: The remainder of the twenty-three stranded, and deserted by the *Spaniards*, were man'd by the *English*, to save them from the *Dutch*: The other thirty *Spanish* Ships under the Command of the Admirals *Don Antonio d'Oquendo*, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal*, went to Sea and kept in close Order until a great Fog fell upon them, when the *Dutch* taking the Advantage thereof, interposed betwixt the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the Fog cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired with two *Holland* Fire-ships, which *d'Oquendo* perceiving, he presently took his Course towards *Dunkirk* with the Admiral of that Place, and some few Ships more, for most of the rest were taken. Of these thirty, eleven were sent into *Holland*, three perished upon the Coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, five sunk in the Fight, and only ten escaped.

We are now coming to give the Relation of a new War, which the Restlessness of the *Scotch* Nation kindled immediately after the late Pacification, the Consequence of which were at last, the utter Subversion of the Church and Monarchy and Laws and Constitution of both the Kingdoms; in which it was observed that none suffered more by the spreading of the Flame, than those by whose breath it was first blown up: For it was this War that after some Time and the Intervention of some Accidents, caused the Summoning of that Parliament, which soon after set itself so violently against the King, as brought on the fatal Civil War, which engaged both Kingdoms in Blood from one End to the other. And when those unreasonable Men, who would not be satisfied with the King's equitable Concessions had by Force brought Him to consent to those which were not so, they found that by pushing on the King's Ruin, they had only brought on their own; and that by subverting Monarchy they had only Paved the Way to the Subversion of Parliaments with it. But upon none did their Retribution more signally fall than upon the *Scotch* Nation, which blew the first Trumpet of Rebellion; by which they raised a Spirit that in a few Years absolutely conquered, suppressed, and enflamed themselves; till the Time came that Heaven looked with Pity upon both Nations, and Restored at once their former Happiness and Constitutions of Government.

About



1639. About the 19th of November, being the Anniversary Night of the King's Birth-day, a great Part of the Walls of the Castle of *Edinburgh* fell down, and the King having given Order for the Repair thereof, the Confederate Covenanters would not permit any Materials to be carried in for that Use, which added much to those Resentments which the King had conceived against them, so that Preparations of War went on against them; but the King's Treasure being exhausted by the last Summer's Expedition, he consulted with the Lords of the Council of his Means of Supply, who considering the present Exigence of Affairs, advised the calling of a Parliament, as the best Expedient to assist and strengthen him, both with Money and Counsel: To this the King readily agreed, being ever ('till diverted by the Practice of intemperate Men) a great Lover of Parliaments; and in Compliance with this Advice, a Parliament was intimated to be assembled on the 13th of April. This Resolution was taken the fifth of December, and the Notice given so long before, for two Reasons; first, that the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland* (being lately sent for hither on the Occasion of these Troubles) might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did, and managed so much to the King's Advantage, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot were speedily raised, and Money granted to the Parliament there, to keep them in Pay, and furnish them with Ammunition and Arms, and all other Necessaries: Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might borrow Money, for the carrying on of the War, which could not admit of so much Delay, as is commonly used in those great Councils, in the granting of Subsidies; which last being represented to the Lords of the Council, many of them subscribed to

A Loan for a Loan of great Sums of Money for the King's Assistance. The Deputy of *Ireland*, being about to return to *Ireland*, on the Errand before expressed, to give good Example here, first subscribed 20000 l. the Duke of *Richmond* as much, and most of the Lords (except the Marquess of *Hamilton*) and likewise the Bishops, and the Judges and Officers, and Dependants of Courts of Judicature, both of the Common and Civil Law, and generally the greatest Part of the Gentry, even the Recufants, contributed according to their Abilities.

The King thus busy in providing against the Scots, they endeavoured to remove the Storm hanging over them, by an humble Address to him, craving Leave to represent to him the State of all their Transactions: The King said, He was accountable by any Subject he had, and would not therefore deny that, which was pretended to be from a whole Kingdom, which he never refused from a private Man.

This Answer being sent, the Earl of *Dumfermlin*, Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglass*, and Mr. *Robert Barkley*, attended the King as Commissioners from *Scotland*; who being admitted, and their Commission examined, it was found, that the two last were not named in nor impowered by it, but the King hoping to gain upon them by Lenity, insisted not thereon.

The King appointed a select Committee of the Council, to hear the Allegations of the Commissioners, as also what could be said by the

Earl of *Traquayr*, touching those Matters, where Things were handled with so much Acrimony, that no good Understanding could be arrived at. And at this very time of their Addresses to the King by Supplication, the Confederates in *Scotland* acted very different from peaceable Men; for they secured many of the Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, who stood firm to the King, and now again as they had done the last Year, invited and procured to their Service many Commanders from *Holland*, and other Places: But that which manifested most their bad Intentions to the King, was a Letter written to the Lord *Lowdon*, subscribed by himself, and several others of the chief Confederates, to the French King, to favour their Proceedings, and grant them his Assistance; of the which the Original came to the King's hands, and being known to be *Lowdon's* Character, he was therefore committed to the Tower.

Cardinal *Richlieu* was no small Incendiary in this Difference betwixt the King and Scots; for the King making it always a great Master-piece, to keep the Ballance even betwixt *France* and *Spain*, that neither of them being too strong for the other, the Affairs of Christendom might be the evenner poised; he knew the French Design of driving the Spaniard out of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Netherlands* could not be effected, unless the King were imbroiled at Home: So that he sent his Chaplain and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlayne*, a Scotchman, to assist the Confederates in advancing the Business, and to attempt all ways of Exasperation, and not to depart from them, 'till he might return with good News, in this Project. Con also, the Pope's Agent to the Queen, a Scot by Nation, and one *Reed* of the same Country, were very active, and many Scotch Jesuits, at this time in *England*, were not idle, and *Hamilton's* Chaplain had often secret Communication with Con; all which Practices were discovered in a great Part by one *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become Physician to the King's Sister, the *Palgrave's* Relict, who made it also apparent, that many of the Nobility of *England*, and the chief Favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Countess of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebanke*, and *Endymion Porter*) were named to be acquainted, and consenting with their Transactions. To this the King, out of the Bounty of his Nature, gave not much Credit.

On the thirteenth of April the Parliament sat, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, being not long before created Earl of *Strafford*, and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realm, was led into the Upper-House by two Noblemen, where he gave an Account of his Service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the Grant of four Subsidies for the Maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted. Mr. *John Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons; and generally the Choice of Members to that House was so good, that great Probabilities were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and this Parliament: But in the midst of this Expectation, some ill Instruments at Court, by their factious Contrivances, undermin'd all; and amongst these, the chiefest Imputation was laid on Sir *Henry Vane*, the principal Secretary of State, who bore



1640. a Grudge to the Earl of *Strafford*, for that he had caused himself to be made Baron of *Raby*, to which he aspired, it being a Mannor granted to him, together with *Barny-Castle*, from the Crown: And because he saw the Earl very earnest to incline the King to endeavour by all fair Means to gain the Affections of the Commons, out of a Desire to see a good Issue of this Parliament, to the Calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; he resolved to endeavour that the Parliament should rather be abruptly dissolved, than any good Success be produced by the Earl's Counsels; to effect which, on the one Side Insinuations were made to some, of the Dangers to be feared by the Army raised in *Ireland* in order to Religion; and to others, of the Justness of the Pretences of the *Scots*, and the Good that might be obtained by favouring them in this Conjunction; and on the other Side, every thing was represented to the King in the worst Sense, and that so slyly, as no indirect Intentions could be perceived; the Matter of Supply gave a fit Occasion to heighten Discontents: For the King being intent to vindicate his Honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the Insolencies of the *Scots*, was very earnest in preparing for the War against them; and to enable him therein, he pressed hard for Supplies, and offered to the Commons in Recompence of their Assistance to him, to quit for ever his Claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgment of all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, had as good an Establishment as our Laws could give it. The Commons were somewhat deliberate in this Affair of Money, and first they desired Security from the King for Redress of Grievances, in three Particulars:

The Commons desire Redress of Grievances.

- First, for clearing the Subjects Property.
- Secondly, for Establishment of Religion.
- Thirdly, for the Privileges of Parliament.

The Lords seemed somewhat more sensible of the King's Proposition for Supply, and after many Conferences with the Commons, did at last dispose them to a Compliance; but the Question being in that House asked, how much would serve to answer the present Expectation? Secretary *Vane* demanded twelve Subsidies, which drew them into such high Debates, that things became desperate, so that on the fourth of *May*, by an unanimous Consent of the King's Council, he was advised to their Dissolution, and the Parliament was the next Day dissolved.

The Parliament dissolved.

It is said this fatal Action was precipitated upon some Intelligence, that the House of Commons meant to Vote against the War with *Scotland*, which was suggested, for that the Day before, in the Debates for Money, some Glances had been made at an Inquisition into the Causes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal Counsel; and it was likewise reported, that the Marquess of *Hamilton* was a great Stickler in this Matter, and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Council, thereby to embroil his Majesty's Affairs the more, that he might confirm the *Scots*, and distract the *English*, to work his own Advantages on both.

The Convocation of the Clergy was continued to the 29th of *May*, and they granted the King a Benevolence of Four Shillings in the Pound, for all their Ecclesiastical Promotions, to be paid for six Years together then next ensuing; but this their Continuance, and the Acts then made by them, were censured and condemned in the following Parliament.

1640. The Convocation of the Clergy grant the King a Benevolence of 4 s. per Pound, for six Years together.

The Dissolution of this Parliament was, by some ill disposed People, wrongfully ascribed to the Advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so that on the 9th of *May*, a Paper was posted upon the *Old Exchange*, by one *John Lilburne*, exciting the Apprentices to rise, and rifle his House at *Lambeth* on Monday following, of which he having Notice, made Provision of some Quantity of Arms and Ammunition for his Defence; and in the dead of the Night of the Day appointed, five hundred of the Rabble beset his House, and strove to force an Entrance, but were repulsed, and made to depart, without doing much more Mischief, than asserting their Anger in seditious Language against him, and breaking the Windows of the House. The next Day, many of them upon Enquiry were apprehended and imprisoned in the *White-Lyon Prison* in *Southwark*; but within three Days after, some of their Accomplices got together, and came to the Prison and broke it open, and set them free: Nevertheless, one of the chief imprisoned Ring-leaders was taken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered on the 21st of *May*.

Archbishop Laud beset by the Rabble in his House at Lambeth.

The King being disappointed of Supply, by the breaking up of the Parliament, was very industrious to get Money other ways, to go on in the War; to which end, the City of *London* were sent to for a Loan, and all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Lands in *Capite* of the King, were summoned to send Men, Horses, and Arms, according to their Abilities: The Citizens pleaded Poverty by want of Trade, and refused to lend, though the City was scarce at any time richer, and the Trade greater: They were luxuriant in Wealth and Ease, by a forty Years Peace, and that made them wanton, and apt to take any Impressions. But that which was supposed at this time to be the Reason of their backwardness, was a Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* against the City of *Londonderry* in *Ireland*, which belonged to the City of *London*, whereby for some Misdemeanours, their Charter for that Plantation was declared forfeited to the King, and many Fines were imposed upon the Inhabitants planted there. But though the City refused, the Gentry generally afforded their Help to supply the King, and by that Assistance, and other before-mentioned Aids, the King had quickly raised a very good Army, whereof the E. of *Northumberland* was appointed General, the E. of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. *Northumberland* was sick and could not go, but the King went himself in Person, so soon as the Queen, then great with Child, was delivered of her Son *Henry*, who was born at *Oatlands* on the 20th of *July*: But in the mean time the Army was in their March Northward, and the Lord *Conway* marched with the Van some Days before the rest could come up; and as he was marching, News was brought that the *Scotch* Army was marched to *Dunee*, which was their old Quarter the last Year, not far from *Berwick*.

The City refuse to lend the King Money.

The Earl of Northumberland appointed General of the King's Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in Person.

Upon



1640.

Upon this Advice, he was ordered to haste forwards towards *Newcastle*, but e'er he got thither, fresh Intelligence came, that the *Scotch* Army was march'd into *England* on the 20th of *August*: The King met this Advice in his way to *York*, and dispatched Orders to *Conway*, to do what he could to impede their Advance, 'till the Army could come up: Upon this Advice *Conway* calling his Officers together, the Result was, that they should keep the Pass at *Newborne* upon *Tine*, to hinder their possessing of *Newcastle*, where *Sir Jacob Ashley* had newly entred with his Regiment, but had not time to make any Fortifications: The King made all the Haste he could, but by that time he reached *North-Allerton*, about two Day's March on this side of *Newcastle*, the Lord *Conway* sent to him an Account of a Defeat of the Forces under his Command, which they had received at *Newborne*: The substance of which Action was as followeth.

The Lord  
Conway's  
Forces de-  
feated at  
*Newborne*.

*August* the 27th, the Lord *Conway* upon Information of the March of the *Scotch* Army, and their Design upon *Newcastle*, drew up three Thousand Foot, and above twelve Hundred Horse to secure the Pass at *Newborne*: The Foot he lodged behind a Breast-work newly cast up for that Purpose, and placed the Horse in convenient Posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on. General *Lesly* marched the greatest Part of his Army that Night to the River-side, and before Morning, planted there nine Pieces of Ordnance, which he covered with Bushes, that they might not be seen by the *English*; the next Morning he sent a Trumpeter with a Letter to the Lord *Conway*, desiring Leave therein to pass towards the King with their Petition; to which he returned Answer, he would let a few pass, but not an Army: *Lesly* then commanded three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Works so galled, as they were enforced to retire: *Lesly* then discharged his Cannon upon the *English* Foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their Station, and threw down their Arms, and fled: The *Scots* Horse encouraged with this Success, plunged into the River, and passed over, and were gallantly received by some of the *English* Troops commanded by Commissary-General *Wilmot*, *Sir John Digby*, Captain *Nevil*, and Captain *Daniel O Neale*; but they were so over-powered with Numbers, that they were forced to retreat in Disorder, three hundred of the *English* being killed and taken in the Encounter. *Conway* then deserted the Pass, and lets the *Scotch* Army without any farther Interruption, possess *Newcastle*, which was a little before quitted by *Sir Jacob Ashley*, as not at that time Tenable; but he first sunk his Cannon in the River: *Conway* retreated with his Troops towards *York*, to which Place the King and the Earl of *Strafford*, with the rest of the Army were marched before, and there by the Lieutenant-General he was accused of not doing his Duty at *Newborne*, which he as well as he could excused, but acquitted not himself thereby (in the Opinions of many Men) though Matters proceeded not so far as to a publick Censure judicially upon him.

Whilst the *Scotch* Army was on their March towards *Newcastle*, a Party from *Berwick* marched to *Dunee*, and drew off some Ordnance

which General *Lesly* had left there, but the Earl of *Haddington*, who had some Troops near to Guard the Borders, came in so soon upon them, that they were forced to leave them and retreat hastily to *Berwick*: The Earl a while after with two of his Brothers was smothered in the Ruins of the Castle of *Dunglass*, which was blown up by an Accident of Fire, that blew up the Magazine, which was done, as the *Scotch* Writers say, either by Accident, or the Malice of one of the Earl's Pages.

The Earl of  
*Haddington*  
killed by  
the acci-  
dental fi-  
ring of the  
Castle of  
*Dunglass*.

The *Scots* at their being in *England* had so formed a way of Intelligence with some of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, that nothing succeeded well in the Councils or Actions of the King against them, and by this Means they took Courage to invade the Kingdom, which otherwise they durst not have done; and this Treachery was afterwards in the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, boasted to the Writer of these Papers by *Archibald Johnston*, then Laird of *Warriston*, who valued himself to have been the chief Contriver in it, as that which thereby gave the Occasion of Ruin to the Royal Family of the *STUARTS*. Mr. *Frost* of *Cambridge*, afterwards Clerk of the Council of State in the Year 1648, after the Murder of the King, was often employed in *Scotland* in that Correspondence, and he carried his Letters in a hollow Staff to prevent Discovery, and many others that were in those Intrigues, who are yet alive, and we have Charity to believe never intended to see such sad Effects of their Councils, as afterwards ensued to the subversion of our Government, and the desolation of one of the most flourishing Kingdoms of *Europe*.

The *Scots*  
find their  
Friends and  
Favourers  
in *England*.

The *Scots* Confederates, in pursuance of what their Friends in *England* had agreed, declared in a Pamphlet, published at the Head of their Army, (which was dispersed in *London*, and many other Places) not to lay down Arms till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Nations upon sure Grounds, and the Causes and Abettors of their present Troubles brought to publick Justice in Parliament; and those Abettors they declared to be the Prelates and their Adherents, but more particularly the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Stafford*: They pretended upon their March into *England* to take nothing from any of the *English* but for ready Money or Bonds, but they were no sooner seated in *Newcastle*, but they seized on four Ships laden with Corn, and imposed a Tax of 350 *l.* per diem on the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and 300 *l.* per diem upon *Northumberland*, which was more than their whole Kingdom could provide for some Years after, when an *English* Army had the Power of *Scotland*, though their Trade was free and greater than it had been many Years before, and when much Money was monthly brought in by the *English* in Specie, yet could not more than 6000 *l.* a Month be raised in the whole Kingdom, and that not without the extreamest Rigour.

The *Scots*  
publish a  
Pamphlet  
not to lay  
down their  
Arms till  
the Reformed  
Religion were  
settled in  
both Na-  
tions, and  
the Oppo-  
sers of it  
brought to  
Punish-  
ment.

The King having lost the Occasion of getting a Reputation in Arms, by being perswaded to the last twenty Years Treaty at *Berwick*, and being now in great Perplexity by the Unfaithfulness of many of those about him, could think of no Expedient so good as to call together the great



1640. great Council of his Peers to advise with them, and therefore Writs were issued to them to assemble at York on the 24th of September, but this was not very well liked by those who favoured the Scots, whose chief Design aim'd at the calling of a Parliament, which they feared the meeting of the Peers might prevent. Wherefore the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Warwick, Mouldgrave, Bullingbrook and Bristol, and the Lords Say, Brook, Paget, Mandevile, and the Lord Edward Howard, presented a Petition to the King, representing many great Distempers, and Dangers, threatening the Church and State, and his Royal Person, for the Remedy of which, they advised him to summon a Parliament; and to compose the present War without shedding of Blood.

Many of the Citizens of London who were in Combination with some of these Lords and the Scots, did so influence the Common-Council, that a Petition was framed in the Name of all the Citizens of London, also to the same Purpose as this of the Lords.

The King saw by these Applications, what Endeavours were used to weaken him in the Opinions of his People, and was forced to comply to the necessity of the Time; wherefore he acquainted the Lords, that before the Receipt of their Petition, foreseeing the Danger that threatned himself and the Crown, he had summoned the Peers to consult with them what was fit to be done for his own Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, where they with the rest might offer any thing conduceable to those Ends.

The Scots proceeded Hand in Hand with their Friends in England, in the Substance of a Petition to the King about this Time presented, requesting that a Parliament might be called in England for settling a Peace between the two Nations: They sent the Petition to the Lord Lenerick, Secretary of State for Scotland, who delivered it to the King, but an Answer thereunto was respited to the Meeting of the Peers.

On the 24th of September, the Peers assembled at York, and the King at the Opening of the Assembly spake to them to this Effect: *That an Army of Rebels being within the Kingdom, he thought it adviseable according to the Practice of his Predecessors in like Cases to call them together, that with their Advice and Assistance, he and they might proceed jointly to the Chastisement of their Insolencies, and secure him and his good Subjects from their Malice: He said, He had of himself resolved to call a Parliament to meet on the 3d of November next, and in the mean time he desired their Advice on two Points. First what Answer to give to the Petition of the Rebels (for so he now on all Occasions termed the Scots) and in what manner to treat with them: Secondly, how the English Army should be maintained till Supplies from the Parliament might be had.*

The Lords entered into Consultations of these Matters, and for their better Information, the King caused a true Relation to be given to them of the state of the whole Business, and upon what Reason and Advices, the unanimous consent of the Privy-Council for this War was guided. After many Debates, to the first Point, they advised the King to a Treaty with the Scots; and to the second, they used their Mediation with the City of London, for a Loan to the King for the present

Support of his Army: A Message was hereupon sent to the Scots, to intimate his Majesty's Consent, that a Treaty should be had at York betwixt him and them. The Scots replied, They held that no Place of Security for their Commissioners, considering that the Lieutenant of Ireland, who had his Residence there, commanded his Majesty's Army, and who proclaimed them Traytors in Ireland before the King had done it in England, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain. Hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be at Rippon, and the King appointed six Earls, and as many Barons to be Commissioners on his Part, and the Scots nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better understanding of the state of the Affair, the Earl of Traquayr, the King's late Commissioner in Scotland, was ordered to be present, to give Account as Occasion offered of what had passed in Scotland from the Beginning of the Troubles; the Earl of Bristol managed the Treaty for the English, and the Lord Lowdon for the Scots; the greatest part of the Demands of each side were accorded without great Difficulty: That which seemed hardest to the English, was to consent to the raising of Monies in England for the Scots, having an Army of their own at the same time in being: For the Scots notwithstanding their pretences of coming into England without a Charge to the Nation, had by this time increased their Levies to the Sum of eight hundred and fifty Pounds a Day: Nevertheless, the English Lords willing on any Condition to make Peace, agreed with the Scots; but there were many other Demands of the Scots referred to a further Treaty, which the King consented to be afterwards holden at London. The Articles agreed upon at Rippon, were in Substance, only that a Cessation of Arms should be observed, and all other things left to stand upon the same Foot as before.

The Earl of Montrose having been a while misled by the Confederates, after some time discovered, that notwithstanding their fair Pretences, they had no good Intentions to the King, and was therefore willing to leave their Party; he had in the Army two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse, and there were five or six Regiments amongst his Friends: The first Distaste he took, was a little time after the Pacification, when he perceived the Confederates to make no further Use of it, than to gain time of greater Strength to set up thereby a kind of Arbitrary Despotical Government; but finding the People so infatuated by the speciousness of their Pretences, he was forced to continue his former Vigour in acting with them, that they might have no Jealousy of him, and upon the Advance of the Scottish Army to invade England, he was the first that marched out of the Kingdom at the head of his own Regiment; but during the Treaty at Rippon, he found means to write a Letter to the King, wherein he assured him of his Fidelity, and a most ready Obedience to him: This Letter was by some of the Scotch of the King's Bed-Chamber secretly taken out of his Pocket, and a Copy thereof sent to General Lesly: He presently sends for the Earl to him, and told him he had managed a Correspondence with their Enemies, and that he had known the Heads of Princes tost off for lesser Matters: The Earl required an Instance, and there-

The Favourers of the Scottish Faction put up a Petition to the King to hinder the meeting of the Peers, and to cause the calling of a Parliament.

A Petition fram'd in the Name of the Citizens of London, tending to the same End.

The Scots joyn also in a Petition for calling a Parliament.

The Peers assemble at York. The Substance of the King's Speech.

A Treaty with the Scots at Rippon.

The Articles of Agreement signed by the Commissioners at Rippon.

The Earl of Montrose being dissatisfied at the Proceedings of the Confederates, sends a Letter to the King, to assure him of his Fidelity.



1640. thereupon *Lesly* produced a Copy of his Letter to the King; to which he boldly answered, *That he understood not that writing to the King was to hold Intelligence with an Enemy, but rather what became the Duty of a loyal Subject to his Sovereign*: This Answer did so amuse the General, that he thought it not at that time convenient to pursue the Business farther, for fear of a Revolt in the Army, wherein *Montross* had a great Party.

The time now approach'd for the meeting of the Parliament, and great Endeavours were used in many parts of the Kingdom, to have such Persons chosen as shewed their dislike of the Government of the Church, or had been earnest Pretenders for Reformation in former Parliaments.

The Parliament assembled.  
The King's Speech.

On the third of November, being the Day pre-fix'd, the Parliament assembled, and the King expressed himself to this Purpose: *He declared his earnest desire for the happiness and prosperity of the Kingdom, desiring them, as he promised he would, to lay aside all Prejudice, and he would now clearly and freely put himself upon the Love and Affection of his English Subjects; willing them to consider the best way for the Safety and Security of the Kingdom of England, and in order to it, first to think of the chasing out of the Rebels, (for so he termed the Scots) and next for Satisfaction of their just Grievances, wherein he would heartily concur, that the World might see his Intentions were to make this a glorious and a flourishing Kingdom; freely leaving it to them where to begin; and adding, that it should not be his Fault if this were not a good and happy Parliament; and in the Conclusion he told them, for their better understanding the State of all Affairs, he had commanded my Lord-Keeper to give them a short and free Account of all Matters.*

The King having ended, the Lord-Keeper gave them a summary Relation of all things relating to the Scotch Invasion, we will not say Rebellion, for it was ill resented by some considerable Persons, that the King in his Speech had represented them under that Character, whereof he having Notice, told them two Days after, he must needs call them Rebels who had invaded England with an Army.

Great was the Expectation of all People concerning the Success of this Parliament, which was much raised, upon the King's declared Resolution at the opening of it, to concur with them in satisfying all their just Grievances.

The long intermission of Parliaments had produced many Mischiefs and Inconveniencies in the Government, by the Remissness of some, and the Rigour of others in Church and State, which inflamed the Zeal of many good Men of both Houses, at this their meeting, to be very earnest in their Endeavours for the Redress of Grievances, wherein they were very much heightened by some others of the Lords and Commons House, who were in Confederacy with the Scots, and in a kind of Combination to alter the Government of the Church, and therewith to have so much influence on that of the State also, as to gain to themselves Honours and Advancement into Places of Power and Trust: The pursuit of these things, made them exceed the Method and Paths of their Predecessors, and by fomenting Jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous Petitions and Assemblies by Menaces and Force, they often obtained the accomplishment

of their Purposes, contriving without Doors in private Meetings, what they designed to prosecute in their Assemblies. Raising of Money by extraordinary Means, when Necessity was the best Argument for so doing, Billeting of Soldiers, Innovations in Matters of Religion, and illegal Imprisonments, were the great Grievances of the Subject now to be redress'd: But the Means used to remove these, engaged the Reformers in process of time in a bloody War, to act over all the same things with greater Excess, demonstrating thereby the extream hazard of intemperate Council.

Success in this War enlarged their Desires, and extended their Ambition, it bred thoughts in them they never thought before, and this was that which drew on the Ruin of the King, and with him for some time the subversion of our Monarchy; for many of those that were in the Beginning most active for Reformation, had not in their prospect the Calamity that ensued, and too late repented the Errors of their former actings, when they could not stem the violence of that Tide, their impetuosity had swell'd to too great a height. These matters will appear more plainly by what follows in the Course of the History, whereof the greatest part as to this King's Reign will be taken up in the Proceedings of this Parliament.

The first weeks Business was in settling the five standing Committees, for Grievances, Religion, Courts of Justice, Trade, and Priviledges in Elections, and in several declamatory Speeches against the exorbitances of Government both in Church and State. A great part whereof were ascribed to the Counsels of the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Five standing Committees settled.

The Scottish Commissioners were now come to London, in order to the Conclusion of some things undetermined at Rippon: These had many private Conferences with their Friends of the House of Commons; and it was agreed by them, that the Earl should be immediately impeached at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he was not yet come from York, and this they resolved on to prevent, and be before-hand with him in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. Pym, and some of the leading Members of both Houses, for holding Intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his Place amongst them: Wherefore those in the Commons House that were concerned, were very industrious in their Designs, and the House had not sat many Days before he was therein declared to be guilty of High Treason, and a secret Committee of five more nominated to collect Matter for Impeachment against him: This was like to take up more time than the Prosecutors could with convenience to themselves allow of, so that the House were prevailed with, upon Assertions of particular Persons, to vote, that a general Impeachment of High-Treason should be made against him to the Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him sequestred from that House. And on the 11th of November Mr. Pym was sent from the Commons to the Lords with that Impeachment; upon which the Earl was taken into Custody immediately.

The Scottish Commissioners agree with their Friends of the House of Commons to impeach the Earl of Strafford of High-Treason.

The next Day, the Commons considering the great Pressures of the Northern Counties by the



1640. two Armies that lay upon them, resolved that a hundred thousand Pounds should be forthwith raised for their Maintenance, and till it could be regularly levied, a hundred thousand Pounds was borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of the Members of the House of Commons: Many Petitions from all Parts were brought to them for redress of Grievances, and to be relieved against Orders and Decrees of the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court, which were referred to several Committees, and divers were ordered to be enlarged out of Prison upon these Petitions, especially *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, who seemed more eminent than the rest of the Sufferers; and a while after by the Intercession of the Lords with the King, the Bishop of *Lincoln* also was freed from his Imprisonment in the Tower.

A hundred thousand Pounds borrowed of the City to maintain the Army in the North.

*Pryn*, *Burton*, *Bastwick*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* enlarged.

Lords appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners in order to a full Pacification.

The Scots present eight Demands.

Secretary *Windebank* foreseeing a Storm, makes his Escape into France.

Ship Money voted unlawful.

The King willing to be rid of the *Scottish* Army, hastened the Commission to the Lords who were employed in the Treaty at *Rippon*, or any ten of them, to treat with the *Scottish* Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of *Rothefs* and *Dumfermlin*, *John* Lord *Lowdon*, *Sir* *Patrick* *Hepburn*, *Sir* *William* *Douglas*, *William* *Drummond*, *John* *Smith* Bayliff of *Edinburgh*, *Alexander* *Henderson*, and *Archibald* *Johnston*, to take into Consideration their Demands, and compose all Differences arising thereupon, which Commission was passed under the Great Seal of *England* on the 23d of *November*, and in a while after, the *Scots* presented their Demands, which were eight in number, and afterwards they put in seventeen Heads, wherein One, (and that not the least considerable) was, That some *Scottish* Men of Respect might be in Places of Trust about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was that which all their Pretences aimed at, notwithstanding their Zeal to Reformation of Religion; and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained their Ends in this, for the Troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a Misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and the Ring-leaders of them wanted not their Part thereof.

*Sir* *Francis* *Windebanke*, Secretary of State, was aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the Opinion of the Parliament, being one suspected in his Religion, a great favourer of Priests of the *Romish* Church; for whom he had obtained many Reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of Misdemeanours of a higher Nature: But he thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching Storm, made his Escape into *France*, where he died a *Roman* *Catholic*.

In the Consideration of Grievances, the Charge imposed upon the Subject for providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raising Money for that Purpose, commonly called Ship-money, are voted by both Houses to be against the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in the Case both at the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and Courts of Justice, declared null and void. This was thought a strange way of proceeding: First, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of Danger, in which Danger the King was declared to be Judge: Secondly, because being brought to

a publick Test, after it had been argued by Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, they passed a definitive Sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirdly, because the Votes of the Houses of Parliament were passed without hearing the King's Council, or calling the Judges to shew the Reasons of their Opinions: And fourthly, because the Arguments of Justice *Crook* and Justice *Hutton*, for the Illegality thereof, were ordered to be put in Print, and those of the other Judges for the Legality of it, suppressed: But those Votes were not by the Makers of them deemed a sufficient Security against imposing the like Charge for the Future, but they took in the King's Aid to an Act of Parliament for the Confirmation of them. And they now began to consider of a Charge of High Treason against the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Judges: In the first whereof they made some Expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges, being willing to keep a Rod over them, that nothing should be declared for Law against their Intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money led them to consider of the first Occasion of the raising of it, which was because the Parliament immediately preceeding the last, was dissolved without those Supplies the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of several Violations of the Privileges of Parliament, by the Commitment of divers Members, and a Judgment against them in the King's Bench: And then all the Inconveniencies were summ'd up that happened by the long Intermision of Parliaments; to provide against which, they resolved of a Bill for a Triennial Parliament. These Debates took up many Days: But in the meantime, whilst these Consultations were had for a Reformation of the Civil State, the *Scottish* Commissioners and their Friends were not idle in their Endeavours, to reform or alter the Ecclesiastical State: In order whereunto, many Petitions from all Places were delivered to the House of Commons against Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, amongst which, one was presented by Alderman *Pennington*, subscribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of *London*.

This Petition was very surprizing to many sober Men in the House of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the Abuses in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the Alteration of the Government it self, so that after some Debate, the Petition was transmitted to another time; but those who favoured the Business, though they were not successful in it, fell a while after upon another Argument more plausible, which was, an Inspection into the Legality of the late Convocation, which produced this Resolution of the Commons.

That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation hath no Power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws Ecclesiastical, to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament: And that the Canons are against the fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergy of this Convocation thought themselves hardly used in these Votes, who thought

1640.

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

The Illegality of the late Convocation resolved upon, and their Canons and Constitutions voted down.



1640. thought to have been called by themselves or their Council to have justified their Proceedings, alledging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependance upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the Confirmation and Authorising of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himself, as appears by the Statute made in the 26th of Henry the Eighth, and the constant Practice ever since; and it is certain, that before the Canons were subscribed they were imparted to the King, and by him communicated to the Lords of the Privy-Council, the Judges, and the King's Council learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending: In the Hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been strange, if any thing tending to Faction and Sedition, or to the Diminution of the Subjects Property, and the King's Prerogative; or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land, had been found in them: But the Reputation of the Commons was at this time so great, it was not safe for any to dispute their Actions. The very same Day that the Canons were thus voted down, the Scots Commissioners had presented a Paper to the Parliament, wherein they named the Archbishop of Canterbury an Incendiary, and promised to bring in a Complaint against him the Morrow after. This produced an Order in the House of Commons for a Committee to draw up a Charge against him; but the Scots failing to bring in their Complaint the next Day, Mr. Hollis the Day after, was sent up to the Lords from the Commons, with a general Impeachment of High Treason against him, praying that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and in a few Days they would resort to them, with the particular Ground of their

The Archbishop of Canterbury being impeached of High Treason, is committed to the Black Rod.

Accusation. Immediately upon this, the Scots Commissioners sent in their Charge, upon reading whereof, he was committed to the Custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, where he continued ten Weeks before any particular Charge was brought against him. The Lord Keeper Finch was the next great Delinquent against whom the Commons designed to proceed, whereof he having gained Intelligence, he moved by his Friends in that House, that he might be permitted to clear himself before them of several Imputations that lay upon him; which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21st of December, he made an elegant and quaint Oration, tending to the Vindication of himself in every Particular; but notwithstanding all that he could say, they voted him that very Day a Traytor, upon these Considerations.

Lord Keeper Finch voted a Traytor.

1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston, 4 Caroli, when the Parliament desired it.
2. For soliciting, perswading, and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the Levying of Ship-Money.
3. For several illegal Actions in Forest-Matters.
4. For ill Offices done in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing His Majesty's Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

He flies over into Holland.

The next Day he was accused before the Lords; but he wisely withdrew himself into Holland, and thereby escaped the Danger that

threatned him, and a while after, Sir Edward Littleton was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England in his Place.

Sir Edward Littleton succeeds in his Place.

The King having been some time in Treaty with the Dutch Embassador, for a Match betwixt the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary his Daughter, before he would make any Conclusion therein, thought fit to communicate the same to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the 10th of February; and the Lords communicated this favourable Proposition of the King's to the Commons, who received it very well.

A Match proposed between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, approved by the Parliament.

About this time, or a few Days before, the particular Charge against the Earl of Strafford was brought up to the Lords by Mr. Pym, under 28 Articles. They had a little while before exhibited some general Articles, to which he could not be forced to answer; but upon this Impeachment, the Lords required him to answer to the whole; and though the Charge was very long, yet were the Commons so pressing for his Answer, that by the 24th of February he delivered it to the Lords, and it was read in the House, the King being present.

A particular Charge brought by Mr. Pym against the Earl of Strafford, whereupon he is committed to the Tower.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having passed both Houses, was on the 16th of February offered to the King; it was entituled, *An Act for the preventing Inconveniencies happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments*: And at the same time the Commons presented an Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Army, and the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of four entire Subsidies: To both which the King gave his Royal Assent. And the King's Grace in assenting to the first Act, was so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a Conference with both Houses, it was unanimously agreed to wait upon the King at Whitehall, and return him their humble Thanks; and that Night Bonfires and other Tokens of Joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

The King gives his Assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

On the same Day the Charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury was carried from the Commons to the Lords, by Sir Henry Vane the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower; but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his Commitment was respited till the first of March.

The Archbishop of Canterbury ordered to the Tower.

The Scots Commissioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian Discipline into the Church of England; and by their Confederates had made an active Party in the House of Commons, who took frequent Occasion of aspersing the Bishops, and in these Debates they spared not Episcopacy. Also the Debate of the forementioned City Petition was now resumed, and many Members spake for the Eradication of the Episcopal Hierarchy, amongst which, Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger Son of the Lord Say, was most vehement; but the Lord Faulkland, the Lord Digby, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did, by the weight of Reason, so far prevail, that the Order of Episcopacy was yet preserved, tho' their Power was much lessened by a Vote passed in the House of Commons preparatory to a Bill, viz. That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, nor bear any Sway in Temporal Affairs, and that no Clergyman shall be in Communion of the Peace.

The Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down.

On



1640. On the 22d of *March*, the Tryal of the Earl *Strafford* began with much Solemnity; Scaffolds being built round *Westminster-Hall* to receive the House of Commons, and a vast Concourse of Spectators; in the midst of which the Peers sat in their Robes, the Earl of *Arundel* being Lord High Steward. His Charge consisted of eight and twenty Articles, in which some hasty and proud Expressions which had come from him since he was made a Privy-Counsellor; Acts of Passion or Power exercised in *Yorkshire*, where he was President in a Court erected at *York*, the Authority of which had been severely felt by the four *Northern* Counties; Some Projects by way of Monopoly, in which he had been concerned while he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: Together with some exorbitant Acts of Authority exercised there, and high and imperious Expressions uttered in *Ireland*, and in the Privy-Council here, were alledged against him, in order to make out the General Charge of an Endeavour to overthrow the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary Power.

The Earl of *Strafford* brought to his Tryal.

To rehearse the Particulars of this important Tryal, were over-long for a Work of this kind. It will be sufficient to say that he made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity; answering this Charge, and evading that with all possible Skill and Eloquence: And though he knew not 'till he came to the Bar, upon what Parts of his Charge they would proceed against him, or what Evidence they would produce against him; he took very little Time to recollect himself, and left nothing unsaid that might make for his own Justification.

The Tryal lasted eighteen Days; during which the Charge was with all possible Zeal and Skill urged against him, by the greatest Men in the House of Commons; but to so little Purpose, that they dared not adventure their Arguments to be laid in the Ballance with those of himself and his Council: So that a more sure way was proposed among them to take away his Life, by bringing in a Bill to attain him of High Treason; which passed in the House of Commons with incredible Facility, there being two hundred Voices for it, and only Fifty Nine against it.

Nevertheless, the Earl's Behaviour and Arguments wrought so, that the Lord *Digby*, and Mr. *Selden*, two of his Accusers, voted against the Bill: And the Lord *Digby* made a notable Speech against it; which much offended those who designed the Death of the Earl. They were so factious in the Pursuit of it, that they took the Names of the Dissenters upon a Division of the House when the Bill passed, and caused them to be dispersed among their Party in the City, who came in great Tumults to *Westminster* to clamour for Justice; and in the *Old Palace-Yard* in *Westminster*, those Dissenters were posted up, to be exposed to the Fury of the ungoverned Multitude, made at this time so mad and violent, that some of them were heard to say, if they could not have the Earl of *Strafford's* Life, they would have the King's; and in their Paper, they called the moderate Part of the House of Commons, *Straffordians*.

Obs. of the History of K. Charles pag. 238.

The same Afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords House, where it rested many Days, and had probably never passed, had not many of the Peers been terrified from coming to the House by the tumultuous Multitude, in whom such Fears and Jealousies were infused by the Artifices of some of the Members of both Houses, that when any Debate was like to be carried against them in either House, they would send for great Numbers of them with Swords and Clubs, who would menace, reproach, and assault such Members as disliked them. But notwithstanding all this Violence of Prosecution, the Lords were much unsatisfied; and so many Scruples were started by them, that a Conference was desired with the Commons to resolve them, and it was agreed, that *Oliver St. John*, the King's Solicitor, should on the 29th of this Month, give their Lordships an Account in publick in *Westminster Hall* of the Reasons impelling the House of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering also that the Earl of *Strafford* should then be present. Whilst these things were in Agitation, many Consultations were had about raising Money for the paying and disbanding the *English* and *Scotch* Armies in the *North*, and other Matters relating thereunto.

Artifices used to make the Bill pass in the Lords House.

The Commons had voted to give three hundred thousand Pounds to the *Scots*, as a fit Proportion for Recompence of their Losses and Necessities occasioned by this War, notwithstanding the great Levies made by them for their Subsistence in the *Northern* Counties: But those that invited them hither, so their own Purposes were effected, cared not into what Extremity the Kingdom was brought, and therefore they gave many Delays to the *Scotch* Treaty, and to the Disbanding the Armies, and the raising Money for these Ends: And one of them said, *They could not yet spare them, that the Sons of Zerviah were too strong for them.* But upon a Debate of these Matters in the House of Commons, when many Discourses were made of the Necessities of the *Northern* Parts, occasioned by the *Scotch* Army; and one Mr. *Gervase Holles*, a Burgess for *Newborne* upon *Trent*, said, *That the best way of paying them was by Arms, to expel them forth of the Kingdom:* They took such Offence at his Speech, that they speedily called him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he had said there, they expelled him from the House.

The Commons Vote 300000*l.* to the *Scots*.

Mr. Strodes Exact Collection, page 511.

Mr. Gervase Holles expelled the House for a Speech concerning the *Scotch* Army.

These Transactions were carried on with great Heat by a clamorous pretended Necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the People were perswaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the *Scots* had not interposed at this time: Wherefore that the time of the Armies stay might be prolonged 'till such Alterations in Church and State were made as they designed, all things were urged that might heighten the Jealousies of the People, and at this time many Apprehensions were raised of Danger by the Exercise of Popery, and their Access to the Court, as also of the Continuance of the Army in *Ireland*: So that a Petition was presented to the King, for three Things touching those Matters:

A Petition presented to the King.

1. For removing all Papists from Court.

2. For



1641. 2. For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.

3. For disbanding the Irish Army.

To all which the King the 28th delivered Answer contractly thus:

The King's Answer to the Petition. For the First, *They all knew what legal Trust the Crown hath in that Particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them Assurance that he shall use it so as there shall be no just Cause of Scandal.*

For the Second, *He is content it shall be done according to Law.*

For the Last, *He had entred into Consultation about it, and found many Difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he doth conjure them speedily, and heartily to join with him in disbanding those Two in England.*

The Day after the King had given his Answer, the Earl of Strafford, in Pursuance of what was before resolved, was brought into Westminster Hall, before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. St. John did endeavour to satisfy the Lords in the reasonableness of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Tryal were insufficient, and nothing but legal Evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the Light of their own Consciences, without any further Proof whatsoever. And so it was expressly affirmed by Mr. St. John in the Speech he then made, wherein he said;

Mr. St. John's Reasons to the Lords for the Bill of Attainder. *That although single Testimony might be sufficient to satisfy private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way where Forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conscience is sufficient, although no Evidence had been given at all.*

And towards the Conclusion of what he said, after many Aggravations of the Earl's Offences, tending (as he said) to subvert our Laws; he told them, *He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true (said he) we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head, as they can be found, because these be Beasts of Prey: The Warrener sets Traps for Powlcats and other Vermin, for Preservation of the Warren.*

The Earl's Petition for a Second Hearing denied. Upon the Close of this Speech, the Lords and Commons rose, nor was there a Word spoken but by Mr. St. John, only the Earl by a kind of dumb Eloquence, often holding up his Hands towards Heaven, all along the Speech made his Reply with a deep Silence; and the next Day, he petitioned the Lords to be heard again, alledging, That his Lawyers had not fully spoken at their last Meeting: But this was denied him, and many of the Lords shewed greater Propensity towards the Earl's Condemnation than before; whereof the King being informed, he came the next Day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the House of Commons, he took Notice to them of the Bill then depending; and having cleared the Earl of some things laid to his Charge, he observed to them, that for that Reason he could not in Conscience condemn him of High Treason; and desired them to find some

Expedient to help him out of the Strait he was in upon that Account.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made, relished so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next Day, May 2, being Sunday, on which the King's eldest Daughter married to the Prince of Orange; and the next Day, five or six thousand of Apprentices, and other tumultuous Citizens, came down to Westminster, most of them armed with Swords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the House, Justice and Execution against the Earl of Strafford, and many of them they likewise affronted in their Passage.

The Solemnization of the Marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, eldest Daughter to the King. Tumults at Westminster.

The same Day intimation was given to the House of Commons of Practices upon the English Army, to bring them up to London to awe the Parliament; which was an Artifice used by some leading Men, to add to those Distractions already raised to fill the Minds of the People with Fears and Jealousies, when in truth all that appeared in Reference thereunto, amounted only to this:

Observation being made of the great Tumults about Westminster, which seemed to threaten the Safety of such of the Members of both Houses, as were known not to agree with the Designs of some passionate Men, who countenanced the delivering of Petitions, attended and subscribed by the Hands of many Thousands, against the Laws and established Government of the Kingdom, (which yet seemed to receive some Countenance, and to carry some Authority, as Instances of the Affections of so many Persons) it fell into the Thoughts of some Officers of the Army, of known and publick Affections to their Country, that a Petition of a modest and dutiful Nature from the whole Army, For the composing and settling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law, might for the Reason of it prevail with the whole House, and coming from such a Body, might confirm those, who might be shaken with any Fears of Power, or Force by the Tumults: But even this in the Debate of it had so many intervening Difficulties, that it was laid aside two Months before any Discovery; yet, nevertheless, this Alarm gave Occasion to the Commons immediately to frame a Protestation, which the same Day it was made, was imposed upon all the Members, before they were permitted to go out of the House, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord Digby, and an Uncle of his; and shortly after it was sent to the Lords, and by them taken also: And afterwards, by an Order of the House of Commons, all the Subjects of England were enjoined to take it, under Pain of being thought unfit of bearing any Office either in Church or Commonwealth; to which the Lords would not consent. The Protestation was in these Words:

I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesty's

The Protestation taken by both Houses, and the Subjects of England.



1641. *jeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; as alſo the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every Perſon that maketh this Proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful Purſuance of the ſame. And to my Power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good Ways and Means, endeavour to bring to condign Punishment, all ſuch as ſhall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counſels and Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe do any thing, to the contrary of any thing in this preſent Proteſtation contained. And further, That I ſhall in all juſt and honourable ways, endeavour to preſerve the Union and Peace between the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland: And neither for Fear, nor other Reſpect, ſhall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Proteſtation.*

How this Proteſtation was obſerved by moſt of them that took it, will be diſcovered hereafter.

On the fifth Day of May, Ground was taken from the great Apprehenſions of the Houſe of Commons, that the Parliament might be diſſolved before Juſtice ſhould be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redreſs'd, a firm Peace betwixt England and Scotland concluded; and before Proviſion ſhould be made for the Re-payment of ſuch Monies as ſhould be taken up upon Credit, to answer the immediate Emergencies that were at that time in the State, to debate of the Neceſſity of a Bill for the Continuance of this Parliament, not to be prorogu'd or adjourn'd but by Act of Parliament, in which there was ſuch haſte made, that within two Days after the firſt mention of it, it was paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it ſtaid not long, for the Temptation was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aſide; and in a few Days after it came before them, viz. on Saturday the eighth of May, both that and the Bill of Attainder were paſſed. The Bill of Attainder had a hard Paſſage, of Forty Five preſent, there were Nineteen againſt it; there were many of the Earl's Friends that abſented themſelves for fear of the Tumults, otherwiſe the Suffrages for him had more than counterpois'd the Votes for his Death. The ſame Day they ſent to the King, to deſire Acceſs to him, which was granted; and about four a Clock they attended in the Banqueting-Houſe in White-hall, where after ſome ſtay, theſe two Bills were preſented to him, with a Signification, that the preſent Danger of the Kingdom could not admit of Delay, and therefore they humbly beſought him to give his Royal Aſſent thereunto. The King told them they ſhould expect his Answer on Monday, and ſo they parted from each other.

On the next Day, which was Sunday, the King ſends for the Archbiſhop of Armagh, the Biſhops of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, whom he deſired as Caſuiſts to adviſe him, whether in Juſtice he ought to paſs the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl? All but the Biſhop of Lincoln were very tender in this Affair; the Matters of Fact they ſay he could himſelf beſt judge of, having been preſent at the Tryal; and for the Matter of Law, what was Treason, and what was not, he was to reſt in the Opinion of the Judges, whoſe Office it was to declare the Law, and who were ſworn therein to carry themſelves

indifferently betwixt Him and his Subjects; that the King might ſhew Mercy unto him, and pardon his Offence, without any Scruple of Conſcience, they ſaid no Man doubted, if other Reaſons of State did not hinder, of which the major Part deſired to be neither Judges nor Advifers: But the Biſhop of Lincoln went a little farther; he urged the Opinion of the Judges, and the Judgment of the Parliament thereupon, repreſenting the terrible Conſequences of an enraged Multitude, and that no other Expedient could be found out to appeaſe the People. It is not ſaid the King was convinced by any thing ſaid to him at this Conference; but the Motive ſuperior to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein, with a noble Unconcern for his own Life and Safety, he requeſted of the King to aſſent to the Act for attainting him, in order to eſtabliſh an Agreement between his Maſteſty and his People. A Strain of Generoſity which deſerved a better Fate.

On the next Day in the Morning, he ſigned a Commiſſion to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, for the paſſing of the two Bills, the one for the Continuation of the Parliament, the other, the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of Strafford; than which Conceſſion, never any thing paſſed from him with greater Reluctancy at the preſent, or which he bewailed afterward with greater Remorſe of Conſcience: For thoſe themſelves that framed it, knowing of what dangerous Conſequence it might be hereafter to the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects, to let ſuch a Precedent remain in Force, a Clause was added to the Bill, that it ſhould not be drawn into Example for the time to come; which becauſe it may ſeem ſtrange to them that know it not, we ſhall here inſert ſo much of the enacting Part thereof, as concerns this Point, (for the Preamble is only a Recital of the Heads of the Accuſation.)

*Be it therefore Enacted by the King's moſt excellent Maſteſty, and by the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame; That the ſaid Earl of Strafford, for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforeſaid, ſhall and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pain of Death, and incur ſuch Forfeiture of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, of any Eſtate of Freehold or Inheritance in the ſaid Kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the ſaid Earl, or any other to his Uſe, or in Truſt for him, have or had the firſt Day of the Sitting of this preſent Parliament, or at any time ſince. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other Manner than he or they ſhould or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the ſelf-ſame Action; that being judged Treason in this one Man, which never was to be judged Treason in any other.

What Inducements the King had to paſs this Act, and with what Regret he did it, we have heard;

A Bill for the Continuance of the Parliament paſſed by both Houſes. The Lords alſo paſs the Bill of Attainder.

They preſent both to the King, requeſting his Royal Aſſent.

The King conſults with the Biſhops about the Caſe of the Earl, as to Matter of Conſcience.

The King ſigns a Commiſſion on to paſs the two Bills.



1641. heard; but \* who drew him to the other, may be now enquired: Some attribute it to the Lord Say, then Master of the Wards, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council; who, as it is reported, when the King asked him, if a Continuance for seven Years might not serve the turn, made Answer, that he hoped they would dispatch all Business in so many Months; and that if his Majesty passed the Bill, it should be so far from making the Parliament perpetual, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolved before three Years end. But most lay the blame on the Marquess of Hamilton, who by cutting out so much Work for the King in England, doubted not to carry on his Designs in Scotland without Interruption; for it is credibly said, that he did brag much of this Service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently, that he had got a perpetual Parliament for the English, and would procure the like for the Scots before he had done.

The King gives his Royal Assent to the two Acts.

The Lords send to satisfy the King about this Matter.

Although the King signed the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal Assent was not given to them 'till the 10th of May; and on the next Day the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of Wales. The Design of the Letter was by way of Request, to move the Houses to consent that the Earl of Strafford's Life should be saved; but on Condition of being a perpetual Prisoner. It was twice read in the House of Peers, who, after Consideration thereof, sent twelve of their Number to the King, to signify to him, That neither of the two Intentions expressed in the Letter, could with Duty in them, or without Danger to his Consort the Queen, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more Expressions offered, the King suffered no more Words to come from them, but said, That what he intended by his Letter, was with an If, if it may be done without Discontentment to his People. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, *Fiat Justitia*.

My other Intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few Days respite, was upon certain Information, that his Estate was so distracted, that it necessarily required some few Days for the settlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered their Purpose was to be suitors to his Majesty for Favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, and if himself had made any Provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesty's Departure they offered up into his Hands the Letter it self which he had sent. But he was pleased to say, what I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my Mind, I hope you will use it to mine Honour.

Upon Wednesday the 12th of May, the Earl was summoned to his Period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Bands. Before him went the Marshall's Men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberds, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earl's Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself, accompanied with the Primate of Armagh, and others. Upon his first coming forth, being to pass near the Archbishop's Lodgings (who stood at the Window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his Eyes, and spying

the Archbishop, bestowed a low Obedience towards him, saying, *My Lord, your Prayers, and your Blessing*. The Archbishop lift up his Hands, and bestowed both; but overcome with Grief fell to the Ground in a Swoon. The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the second Time, saying, *Farewell, my Lord, God protect your Innocency*.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he address'd himself to the Lord Primate, in an eloquent and pathetick Speech, protesting his Innocence of any Design against the Constitution; and concluding with the most ardent Wishes and Prayers, for the Happiness and Prosperity of the same in Church and State. This said, he desired all present to assist him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an Hour, then rising up he bade all his Friends farewell, especially by name his Brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he sent his Love to his Wife, and Blessing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he address'd himself to the Block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the Token of his Preparedness, whereat the Headman doing his Office, severed his Head from his Body, at the first stroke. Thus dyed this unfortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent Endowments, of a happy fluency in Speech, and of a searching and sound Judgment in Counsel, and always faithful to his Master therein. The Scots designing some Alterations in that Kingdom prejudicial to the King's Government there both in Church and State, were opposed therein by him, which made him formidable to them, and they therefore became his mortal Enemies, so that some said, he suffered not so much a Sacrifice to the Scots Revenge, as to their Fear: his Character is expressed by the King his Master, who said, he looked upon the Earl of Strafford, as a Gentleman whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to imploy him in the greatest Affairs of State.

His Children were restored to their Honour and Estates on the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favoured therein, to make some recompence to them, or to give Proof to the Nobility (lest they should be scared by the Example) that not so much the Estate as the Man was aimed at.

Though we were enter'd into great Distempers at this time, yet the King was mindful of the Restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperour at a Diet to be held at Ratisbonne, and Sir Thomas Roe was appointed Ambassador from hence, to assist him there, and to add to the Reputation of the Embassy, the Parliament joyned with the King in a Manifesto in the Elector's Behalf; but no Success ensued.

The Parliament now in good Security and Power, began to think themselves concerned to disband both the Armies.

The Scots by the first Cessation, were limited but for a Month, but they having resolved not to part with them, 'till they had procured the Passage of several Laws in agitation, their stay was from time to time enlarged, 'till there were almost

He is beheaded.

His Character.

EIKON BASILIKH. Chap. 2.

The Earl's Children restored to their Honour and Estates.

The King sent Sir Tho. Roe to the Diet at Ratisbonne to assist his Nephew.



1641. almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Earls of Hartford, Essex, Bedford, Warwick, Lord Say, with some others, made Privy Counsellors.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of, was a great Concession, for thereby the Power of calling Parliaments, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the Hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought a great Foundation of Confidence betwixt the King and his People: But because many of the Peoples Grievances were conceived to proceed from the great Liberty of the Council-Board, or from some Orders and Directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy-Council, the Earls of *Hartford, Essex, Bedford, Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and some others, all of them eminently in esteem with the People for their Reputation of Honour and Justice, that no irregularities might be there committed; and divers of the King's most eminent Officers surrendered their Offices to the King, to enable him the better to gratify most of them.

The Lord Treasurer, and other great Officers, resign up their Places.

The Bishop of *London's* Office of Treasurer, was put into the Hands of five Commissioners; the Earl of *Hartford* was sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, in the place of the Earl of *Pembroke*; the Office of Master of the Wards was resign'd by the Lord *Cottington*, and conferred on the Lord *Say*; and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*: Having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion Remedies to all the visible known Diseases of the State by the Advice and Counsel of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no Rule to his Concession but their asking: Thus they gain'd from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber, a Court formerly erected by Act of Parliament.

The Star-Chamber abolished.

The High Commission Court put down.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness, having so far out-grown the power of Law, that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected, was repealed.

Ship-money relinquish'd by the King.

The Writs for Ship-money, and all the proceedings in that Business were by the King's consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Enrolments, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancell'd, though all the Judges had subscrib'd unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of Danger, of which Danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publick Tryal, after it had been argued by Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, there passed a definitive Sentence for it: But this abrogation of Ship-money by a Law was not enough, for *Bramston, Trevor, Weston, Davenport, and Crawly*, five of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were impeached of high Misdemeanours for so doing, and *Barkly*, another of the Judges, accused of Treason, but no further Prosecution was made therein.

Five of the Judges for Ship-money, impeached of High Misdemeanour, and Barkly accused of Treason.

Several Laws passed by the King for regulating Abuses and disclaiming Privileges.

Under colour of executing the Forest Laws, many had been vexed by Presentments, Fines, and Imprisonments, for Remedy whereof, the King passed a Law, for the Certainty of the Metes, Limits and Bounds of all the Forests in *England*, with great Provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf. Likewise he passed a

Law against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stanary Courts; and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof, he parted with his Title of Imposing, a Power adjudged good, and exercised by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgment in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue Execution thereof had been grievous to many of the People, he consented that no Clerk of the Market of his House should hereafter execute his Office in any Part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the Execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bayliffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises; and in an Act obtained from him for Prevention of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, he absolutely parted with, and discharg'd a Right and Duty as unquestionably due to him by the Law as any Service he could challenge: He parted also with his Propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and consented to an Act, for disclaiming of his Power in impressing Soldiers, enjoyed by all his Predecessors for Defence of his Person and the Realm: But that which chiefly protracted the disbanding of the Armies, was a Bill tender'd to the House of Commons, for the abolishing of Bishops root and branch, but that took no Effect. And now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finished, and an Act pass'd for Confirmation thereof, the Armies were suddenly to be disbanded, and for that Purpose the Earl of *Holland* was made General of the *English* Army, and for the Payment of them and other Debts of the Kingdom, a Poll-Bill was passed, wherein the whole Kingdom was assessed; every Duke at 100*l.* a Marquess at 80*l.* Earls 60*l.* Viscounts and Barons at 40*l.* Knights of the *Bath* 30*l.* Knights Batchelors at 20*l.* Esquires 10*l.* and every Gentleman dispending 100*l.* per Annum, 15*l.* and all others of Ability, a competent Proportion; the meanest through the whole Kingdom was not excused under six Pence: As for the 300000*l.* voted to be paid to the *Scots* towards a Supply of their Losses, it was agreed that 100000*l.* thereof should be paid at *Midsummer* come Twelve-month, and the other 200000*l.* two years after, which was secured to them by Act of Parliament.

1641.

And on the sixth of *August* both Armies were disbanded, and four Days after, the King began his Journey to *Scotland*, to settle the Affairs of that Nation, and on the same Day both Houses of Parliament adjourn'd themselves to the 20th of *October*, and a Committee of the House of Commons consisting of fifty Members, was appointed to sit during the Recess.

The King at his coming into *Scotland* was received there with great Demonstrations of Affection by the People, and to oblige them to him, he confirmed not only the Articles of the Treaty betwixt the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former Concessions also, and all such things as had been acted by them in their general Assemblies: And likewise the better to please them, he conferred Titles of Honour and Dignity on some, and great Places of Power, Trust, and Profit on others: Amongst these, the Marquess

The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirmed.

Earl of Holland made General of the English Army. A Poll raised for the Payment of the Armies.

Both the Armies disbanded. The King takes a Journey into Scotland.

The King confers Honour upon many Persons during his abode in Scotland.



1641. of *Hamilton* was made Duke of *Hamilton*, General *Lesly* was created Earl of *Leven*, who was so transported with a Sense of the King's Favour and Bounty to him, that he often protested, and once at *Perth* upon his Knees in the House of the Earl of *Kinnoul*, that he would never bear Arms against the King.

A while after the King being at *Edinburgh*, some Information was given to the Marquesses of *Hamilton* and *Argile*, that there was some Design upon their Persons, which made them for some few Days withdraw themselves from the Parliament out of *Edinburgh*, but their Persons were of such quality and estimation in *Scotland*, that great Care was taken to discover the ground thereof, and after full Examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themselves, and that great Council were satisfied, that the Information first given to them, could not be made good to the Proof of any design to the Danger of their Persons: But the King who was a little reflected on in the first Information, could not conceal his Repentment of this Carriage in *Hamilton*, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not deserved to be mistrusted by him, for he well knew when he was accus'd to him of High Treason, he permitted him even then to lye in his Bed Chamber: This Reproof had no great Impression on the new Duke, though he seem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King so just a Cause of Displeasure, yet upon the first Report of this Business at *London* (without staying to hear the Opinion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, who had fully examin'd it,) strange Interpretations were made upon the Matter as highly and nearly concerning the Peace of *England*, and a sudden Resolution was taken, first by the Committee during the Recess, and after by the Parliament, to have a Guard for the Defence of *London*, *Westminster*, and both Houses of Parliament, which troubled the Minds of the People with the Apprehension of new Danger, when they were so lately freed from the Fears of two Armies.

About the end of *October* this year, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was carried so close, that no certain Notice was given of the Conspiracy 'till the very Evening before it was to be put in Execution.

The innocent Protestants were upon a sudden dispossessed of their Estates, and the Persons of above 200000 Men, Women and Children, murdered, within the space of one Month, and many of them with exquisite and unheard of Tortures. That which increas'd the Wonder of most Men was, the Consideration that the ancient Hatred which the *Irish*, (a thing incident to conquered Nations) had born to the *English*, did now seem to be forgotten: Forty Years of Peace had compacted those two Nations into one Body, and cemented them together by all Conjunctions of Alliance, by Inter-marriages, and Consanguinity, which was in outward Appearance strengthened by frequent Entertainments, and all Kinds of friendly Neighbourhood.

This Design was to be put in Execution on the 23d of *October*, upon which Day, not only the Castle of *Dublin*, the Kingdom's chief Magazine,

a Storehouse of 10000 Arms at that time, but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom were to be surpriz'd, and all the *English* and Protestants that joined not with them, to be murdered.

The Seizure of *Dublin* Castle was prevented by timely discovery of the Plot to the two Lords Justices, by one *Owen O Conally* of *Irish* Extract, but a Protestant, which Discovery was but the very Night before that fatal Day, and the Occasion of it very accidental, by one *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, Grandson to the great *Tyrone*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of *Monagan*, and one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spain's* Service, who trusted this *Owen* with some Relations concerning it at a Tavern.

Upon which Discovery, *Mac-Mahon* and the Lord *Mac-Guire* were presently apprehended by the Lords Justices, and many Conspirators of great Note escaped that Night out of *Dublin*; so was *Dublin* saved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one Day. But the horrid Design was past Prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the Day fix'd in all Counties round about; and poor *English* Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every Day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their Houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all Parts were fired, and cruel Outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlace* taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*.

It was generally said, the late Insurrection in *Scotland*, gave the first Encouragement to this in *Ireland*, and the Pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for Liberty of Conscience, not to have the *English* Bishops and Liturgy imposed upon them; and these, as those in *Scotland*, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were possessed with a Possibility of compassing their Designs, executed whatever the impetuous Dictates of Superstition or wicked Exhortation of Priests could infuse into them; in this, exceeding the Actions of the *Scots*, whose Religion, founded on more pious Principles, instructed them not to such bloody Ways of Propagation of it.

The Lords Justices sent Sir *Henry Spotswood* to *Scotland* to the King, with Intelligence of all that happened, and thereupon he sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with his Knowledge and Instructions, and to carry all that Money that his present Store could supply: He moved also the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being nearest) to a speedy Help, but they excused their Aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*; but they said, if the State of *England*, would use any of their Men for that Service, they would make Propositions in order to it. At the same time likewise he sends Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally*, the first Discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to *London*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, with an Account of it, wherein the Lords Justices desired some Reward might be given to him; upon

1641.

*O Conally* by Discovery of the Plot, prevents the Seizure of *Dublin* Castle.

*Mac Mahon* and the Lord *Mac-Guire* apprehended.

The Earl of *Leicester* chosen Deputy for *Ireland*. The *Irish* Rebellion occasioned by the Insurrection in *Scotland*.

The King receives Intelligence of what happened in *Ireland*, and sends Sir *James Stuart* with Instructions thither. He moves the Parliament of *Scotland* for Aid, which they excuse. The Discoverer of the Plot rewarded.



1641. upon the Receipt of which, the Parliament voted him a Gift of five hundred Pounds, and an Annuity of 200*l.* a Year, and at a Conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the Relief of *Ireland*, and passed several Votes to that End; but little was done for their Relief, 'till the King returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*.

The *Irish* to dishearten the *English* from any Resistance, bragg'd that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his Cause against the Puritans; that they had the King's Commission for what they did (shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affix'd an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one *Plunket*, in the Presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many). That the *Scots* were in Confederacy with them, to beget a Faith of which, they abstained for some time, from the Lives and Fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

On the other side, to encourage the Natives of their own Party, they produced fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from *England*, that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the *Irish* should be compelled to the Protestant Worship; and the Refusers for the first Offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second, their Estates, and for the third their Lives. Besides, they presented them with the Hopes of Liberty; that the *English* Yoak should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation, and that the Goods and Estates of the *English* should be divided among the Natives.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the *Irish*, the Rebellion increased. The Rebels in *Ulster*, under the Conduct of Sir *Phelem Oneal*, assisted by *Turbeck Oneal*, his Brother, *Rory Mac-Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O'Rely*, *Mulvere O'Rely*, Sir *Cannol Mac-Gennes*, called *Mac-Ruian*, and others, had possess themselves of all the strong Places in *Ulster*, (*London-Derry*, *Colreim*, and the Town and Castle of *Eniskellen* excepted) many Places which the *English* defended, and they could not either surprize by Treachery, or take by plain Force, they had

surrendered to them upon Composition and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor *English* without Pity or Compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the *Scottish* Plantations in *Ulster*, because of their Numbers; and likewise for fear of the *Scottish* Army, so easily to be transported into the North Parts of *Ireland*, 'till such time as their General Sir *Phelem Oneal*, (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, of *English* Education, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, and a professed Protestant 'till some time before) having gathered together a numerous Rabble of the Natives, who daily flocked in to him, fell upon their Quarters; were though he exercised not that Cruelty upon their Persons which he did upon the *English*, yet he deprived them both of their Goods and Livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the *Scottish* Shore; from thence he marched into the *English* Pale, and in the beginning of *November*

he took *Dundalk*, and soon after he encamped at *Arde* within seven Miles of *Tredagh*.

The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the Business of *Ireland* might not suffer thereby, referred the whole Business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, who had undertaken the Charge and Management of the War; where-with the Earl of *Leicester* acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, that they had declared a speedy and vigorous Assistance, and had designed for their present Supply the Sum of 50000*l.* which was to be raised with all convenient Speed.

By this time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the Hands (for the most part) of gallant Men, as their Actions afterwards testified to the World; Sir *Charles Coote*, an active and valiant Man (who was also made Governour of *Dublin*) with great speed made up his Regiment out of the poor robbed and stripped *English* which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, a worthy Commander, was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels; the Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Captain *Armstrong*, Captain *Yarner*, with others, raised many Companies of Soldiers there.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time also the Earl of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horse came to *Dublin*; wherewith in a few Days after, he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, (as likewise by the King's approbation from *Scotland* signified in a Letter) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a Person of great Estate, Credit, and Reputation in that Kingdom, and a Protestant, did very eminent Service against the Rebels.

The Parliament in Prosecution of their great Promises, sent over twenty thousand Pounds in Money, which arrived seasonably at this time, their Treasure being much exhausted, by paying the new Companies they had raised, but with this small Relief they were much encouraged, and very successful Service was performed in divers Places against the *Irish*, but no Levies of Men were made in *England*, 'till the King had disclaimed his Power of pressing Soldiers, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were afterward raised against him: The first Soldiers they sent, was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the last of *December*.

Whilst that Kingdom was thus distressed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England* about the end of *November*, and was by the City of *London*, entertained, feasted, and conducted to his Palace at *Whitehall*, with as pompous Solemnity and costly Expressions of Love and Duty as ever any King of *England* was, and the chief of them afterward were feasted by him at *Hampton-Court*, where several of the Aldermen had the Honour of Knighthood conferred upon them: But this little Prospect of Happiness was quickly clouded by a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, presented to him at *Hampton-Court* a few

The Parliament design Money for *Ireland*.

Forces raised to go against the Rebels.

The Earl of *Ormond* made Lieutenant General of the Forces there.

A Regiment sent to *Ireland* under Sir *Simon Harcourt*.

The King returns out of *Scotland*.

The Parliament present a Remonstrance to him at *Hampton-Court*.



1641. few Days after his Arrival there, from the House of Commons, which they prepared for him against his coming to London, wherein all the Mistakes and Misfortunes which had happened from the King's first coming to the Crown and before, to that very Hour, were with great Asperity recited.

Most moderate Men wondered at this Carriage towards the King, since he had from the first sitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them they reasonably asked, and when he went to Scotland it was voiced to all, that he parted a gracious King, from a contented People: And in Scotland he gave so much Satisfaction to that People (though afterwards as appeared by their unfaithfulness they were perverted) that they caused an Act (then in Force) to be published and revived, *That it should be detestable and damnable Treason in the highest Degree that could be, for any of the Scots Nation conjunctly or singly to levy Arms, or any Military Forces upon any Pretence whatsoever, without the King's Commission.*

An Act published in Scotland against levying Arms without the King's Commission.

A Petition presented with the Remonstrance.

Those in the Parliament of England that were ill disposed to the King's Person and Government (as too many were) were much displeased at these Methods of his, to gain the Affections of his People, and therefore they used all the Endeavours they could, to blast him; and this Remonstrance as an Engine for that Work, was prepared and brought into the House, where the greatest Industry and Skill imaginable was used by private Sollicitations, Threats and Promises, to procure it to pass: The Debate lasted from ten in the Morning till three of the Clock next Morning, so that at last they carried it by eleven Voices, when many of the more aged, and Persons of best Fortunes not accustomed to such Watchings, were wearied out, and many others not daring to provoke the prevailing Faction, left the House: The Consent of the Lords was not asked, for of that they despaired, though some of them were too apt to be seduced: This they presented to the King at Hampton-Court, with a Petition before it, as sharp as the Remonstrance it self; wherein they desired him,

1. To concur with the People for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, (for which there was yet no Bill passed.)

2. To employ such People about him as the Parliament might confide: And,

3. Not to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in Ireland, which should accrue to the Crown by Reason of the Rebellion, and thereupon they promised to undergo the Hazard and Expences of the War, and to apply themselves to such Counsels and Courses, as may support the Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad.

The King receives the Petition.

And desires them not publish to the Remonstrance.

This Petition and strange Remonstrance, was graciously received by the King, from the Hands of the Presenters, who were Members of the Commons House; and he promised to answer to them, but in the mean time desired, that the Remonstrance might not be printed and published to the People: The Thing it self, and the printing any thing of the like Nature, being never heard of by the Direction of the House of Commons 'till this Parliament, it being the first Appeal to the People, and of fatal Consequence

both to the King and many of the busy Actors in 1641. this Transaction.

But without giving the King Leisure to answer, special Direction was given for printing the Remonstrance, and equal Care taken for the publishing it in all Places and Parts of the Kingdom: But this did not hinder the King from performing his Promise, to answer their Petition, and vindicate himself from those Aspersions that were published in the Remonstrance, to lessen or blemish his Reputation with the People.

They contrariwise order it to be published in all Parts of the Kingdom. The King answers the Petition, and vindicates himself from the Aspersions of the Remonstrance.

That Part of the Petition, that he would not alienate the forfeited and escheated Lands in Ireland, he did not dislike; he said, it might be a Resolution very fit for him to take (though he doubted whether it were seasonable to take Resolutions of that Nature, before the events of the War were seen) and to all the other Parts, he gave such modest and gracious Replies, (but yet not without some Resentment of their Dealing towards him) that many of the prime Actors were much discontented, to find their Practices so fully discovered, so that they had Recourse to their former perilous Remedy, the Tumults of the Multitude to bring about their next Design.

For the Commons having passed a Bill for disabling all Persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House, it met with a very cold Reception; but the tumultuous Rabble were so insolent, that they assaulted and evil intreated some of the Peers, even at the Doors of their House, crying out against Bishops, and bending most of their Malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their Duty; and afterwards they went to Whitehall, and made a Stand before the Gate in a great Body, saying, they would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: And when the Lords at a Conference with the House of Commons, desired they would joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such Tumults, several Speeches were made in Justification of them, Mr. Pym saying, God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten People to obtain their just Desires in such a way.

The Tumult upon the Lords slighting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops. The Commons justify those Tumults.

The Lords having in vain tried this way, appointed, by Advice of the Judges, a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous Resort, in Obedience to which, the Justices appointed the Constables and others, to attend about Westminster, to hinder that unlawful Conflux of People; which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was voted to be a Breach of Privilege, and before any Conference with the Lords, by whose Direction that legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his Duty, according to that Writ, was sent to the Tower.

The Lords direct a Writ to the Sheriffs and Justices to suppress those Tumults. Whereupon the Constables and Justices are sent for by the Commons.

These licentious and unpunished Tumults, gave Occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without Danger of their Lives)



1641. Lives) to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this Purpose :

The Bishops Protestation against the Actions of the Parliament.

*They protested themselves to abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their Duties in Parliament: But whereas coming to perform that Duty and Service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in Fear of their Lives by multitudes of People, and can find no Redress or Protection upon Complaint made; they therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their Fears are not in vain, but upon true Grounds and Objects, they do in all Duty and Humility therefore protest before his Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves, null and of none Effect, which in their Absence since the 27th of this Instant, December, 1641. have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, during this their enforced Absence from the said House. Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to record.*

They are charged with Treason, and committed to the Tower.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a Conference with the Commons, they declared, it was of dangerous Consequence, and deeply intrinching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament; at which the Commons took so great a Heat, that after a little Debate, they passed a Resolution by Vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. Glym to the Lords House to impeach them thereof, which caused their Commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four Months.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at Whitehall without a Guard, accepted of the Offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which Means the Insolency of the Rabble was in some Degree check'd; but they instructed by their Heads, laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by seeking on this Occasion, to raise the Rage and Jealousy of the whole City against him: For at Midnight there were Cries made in the Streets of London, that all People should arise to their Defence, for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their Beds; than which thought nothing were more false, yet it found the Effects of Truth; and the People by such Alarms being terrified from Sleep, the Impressions of those nightly Fears lay long upon their Spirits in the Day, and filled them almost with Madness.

The King upon this, sent a Message to the Common-Council of London, complaining of tumultuous Assemblies of the People from the City daily resorting to Westminster, to the Disturbance of that Place and his Palace at White-hall: But the House of Commons to obviate this, petitioned him for a Guard of Security of their Persons, alledging, That there was a malignant Party bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather Strength and Confidence, and were now come

to that height of Boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing Speeches against the Parliament itself. It was therefore their humble Desires, that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, of whose Fidelity to the King and Commonwealth no question was ever made.

This Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn Engagement of himself by the Word of a King, that the Security of all, and every one of them from Violence, was, and ever should be, as much his Care, as the Preservation of himself and his Children; and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those Apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The King at such time as he was in Scotland, had expostulated with some of the Chiefs among them, touching their coming into England in a hostile Manner, and found, that some who were now leading Men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it: And having furnished himself with sufficient Proofs thereof, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; that is to say, the Lord Kimbolton a Kimbolton Member of the House of Peers, Denzil Hollis, with five Esq; Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Pym, Members of the House of Commons, appointing him likewise to inform the House of Peers therewith, and with the general charged with High Matters of the Charge: And at the same time he sent a Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons, to acquaint them that he did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason, and did require that their Persons might be secured in Custody.

The Articles of their Accusation were to this Purpose:

1. That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal Power, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical Power.

2. That they had endeavoured by foul Aspersions upon his Majesty's Government, to alienate the Affections of his People from him.

3. That they endeavoured to draw his late Army from his Obedience, to side with them in traitorous Designs.

4. That they traiterously invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Majesty's Kingdom of England.

5. That they traiterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Being of Parliament.

6. That they have endeavoured by Force and Terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.

7. That they have traiterously conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King.

The House of Commons did nothing herein, to comply with the King's Intimation to them concerning the accused Members; but when a Serjeant at Arms was sent to arrest their Persons, there came a Countermand from them, by which the

The Commons justify the accused Members.



1641. the Serjeant was deterr'd from doing his Office; for they had Voted, if any Person came to attack them without Order from that House, they might stand upon their Defence, and make Resistance.

The King seeing this Obstruction of Justice, and that Opposition was like to be made, if he proceeded in the ordinary way of Justice, resolved to go himself to the House of Commons, and by a clear Discovery of his Intentions, prevent all seeming Inconveniencies, and in this he was so secret (as he thought) that he discovered it not 'till the very Minute of his going.

The King comes to the House of Commons, to demand the Delivery of the five Members.

He therefore took with him the *Palsgrave*, (his Nephew) and about an hundred Lords and Gentlemen, and their Followers, and went to the House of Commons; where commanding his Attendance to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no Violence, nor return any uncivil Language to any, although provoked, he himself, with the *Palsgrave* only, entred the House, and demanded that the accused Persons might be delivered into his Hands, with whom he promised to deal no otherwise than according to Law: But they whom he sought, being before informed, as it is reported, of the King's coming, by the secret Intelligence of the Countess of *Carlisle*, had forsook the Place, and withdrawn themselves into the City; wherefore the King having renewed his Charge, without Injury to any, immediately departed.

The Commons vote this a Breach of Privilege.

This Act of the King's was Voted by the Commons, a breach of Privilege; and strange Reports and Scandals were raised against him in the City of *London*, by the Friends of the accused Members; as that he had offered Violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with Force to murder several Members, and used threatening Speeches against the Parliament, with which the City were so possess'd, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards placed in several Places thereof, as if some desperate Attempt or Assault were to be made upon it; and as if all Men were now absolved from the Rules of Obedience, publick Direction is given for drawing down the Train-Bands of the City to *Westminster* on a Day appointed, to guard and bring in Triumph the Persons accused of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Commonwealth itself could not subsist, but with Reference to them.

The King removes to Hampton Court.

This coming to the Knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants proffered their Service to curb any Insolencies that should be attempted on him; yet was he resolved to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their Children to *Hampton Court*, to give time for their Jealousies and Rumours to waste and perish. And though the King was not conscious to himself of any Error in his first Proceeding against these Members, remembring that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the Case of the Earl *Arundel*, it was asserted, That in Case of Treason, Felony, and Breach of Peace, Privilege of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his desisting from the Prosecution of that Impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give Satisfaction.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the Clearness of his Intentions, he sent

a Message to the Parliament on the twentieth of 1641. *January*, wherein, in gracious Expressions he proposed, *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so both he and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgment of them: And that it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things which the too great Fears and Jealousies of some Persons seemed to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest Examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

The King's Message to the Parliament.

This Message was received by the Parliament with Thanks, and most People expected very good Effects of it; but the accused Members and their Faction, fearing this good Disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast about all ways how they might obstruct the Settlement of Affairs, and in a Petition to the King on Pretence the better to enable them to discharge their Duties in those Matters, they desired him to raise up to them a sure Ground of Confidence by putting the Tower of *London* into their Hands, together with the Command of the *Royal Navy*; as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train Bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the Name of the Militia: This Petition was ill relished by him, but he concealed his Resentment for some time, and about the midst of *February*, he and the Queen went to *Canterbury* with the Princess *Mary*, and from thence to *Dover*, and there she embarked herself with her Daughter, and accompanied her to *Holland*. The King's stay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the Place so remote, but that some Business passed, of which the greatest was, The Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament: From *Canterbury* the King came to *Greenwich*, and from thence he sent for the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, to come to him, to accompany him to *York*, whither he forthwith went, as to a Place of Safety, where he might better find a way to compose those Differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom.

The Commons Petition the King to have the Militia put into their Hands.

The Queen accompanies the Princess *Mary* to *Holland*.

The King removes to *York*.

The Parliament sent after him in his Journey to *York* two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at *Theobalds*, and the other at *Huntington*, to both which he gave a Denial; but since they could not have it by his Consent, they took it without it, and both Houses passed it by an Ordinance, and settled it in divers Counties in the Hands of such as they reposed Confidence.

The King looking upon this as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surprized, he issued out several Commissions of Array to Persons of the most eminent Quality, to muster, train, and array the Subjects for Defence of himself and the Kingdom; and because of the Indisposition of the Earl of *Northumberland* to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir *John Pennington* in his Place: But the Parliament by a Message on the 28th of *March*, disliked of that Choice, and recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to the King; but this the King would not admit of: Never-

The King issues out Commissions of Array.

The King and Parliament differ about who shall be Chief Commander at Sea.



1642. theless they authorized him to command the Fleet, without the King's Consent, and within a few Months they used such Arts, that he became possessed of the whole Navy. At Hull the King had a Magazine of Arms, and Ammunition provided for the late intended War against the Scots, which was laid up there when the Occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denied Entrance by Sir John Hotham, who by the Appointment of the House of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that Place.

Sir John Hotham denies the King Entrance into Hull.

He thereupon is proclaimed Traytor. The Parliament justify Sir John Hotham.

The Parliament oppose the King's Intention to go in Person into Ireland.

The King summons the Gentry of Yorkshire to his Assistance.

The King thereupon proclaimed him Traytor, and by Letters to the Parliament, complained to them of the Indignity, and required Satisfaction; but they justified him therein, and sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing of the Garrison to them, and they gave the Governour Power to raise the Train Bands for his Defence. The King was forced, for the time, to endure this Indignity; but being very intent on subduing the Rebellion of Ireland, he sent a Message to the Parliament to declare his Intention to go thither in Person, and acquainted them with his Purpose in Order thereunto, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse in the Counties near Chester, for a Guard to his Person; which was so grateful News to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, that they very much rejoiced thereat: But the Parliament were so jealous of any thing that tended to the King's Security, that they resolved to oppose it; but in regard it was a popular Action, they were forced to use Art in it. They shewed many Inconveniencies in the undertaking such a Journey, both in the Hazard of the King's Person, and the Interruption of the Proceedings of Parliament; but the chief Matter was an Apprehension, that hereby the King might have a good Occasion of raising Soldiers for his Defence, against the Designs and Contrivances against him: Wherefore in the Conclusion of their Answer to the King's Message, they declare, That they cannot consent to any Levies, but such as they shall advise and direct, and if any be otherwise raised, they must declare against them.

The King did hereupon decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to Ireland, but reflecting now upon the Affront of Sir John Hotham to him, and hearing that the Parliament against his Consent had raised Guards to themselves, He summoned the Gentry of Yorkshire to a Meeting, and acquainted them, That his Magazine at Hull was going to be taken from him against his Will, the Militia against the Law, and his Consent, put in Execution, and Sir John Hotham's Treason countenanced; so that upon these Considerations, he was resolved to have a Guard to secure his Person, in which he desired their Assistance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion from Violation or Injury.

The King's Desires herein were with great Affection complied with; but the Parliament, upon Notice thereof, declared, That it is against the

Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, should be commanded by the King to attend him at his Pleasure, and that whosoever upon Pretence of his Majesty's Command, shall take up Arms in a warlike Manner, shall be esteemed Disturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly. But this did not terrify the People of Yorkshire from doing their Duty to the King.

The Parliament's Declaration.

The Breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houses repaired to the King to York, insomuch that in a very short Space, there were more of the Peers at York, than sitting with the Parliament at Westminster.

Many Members of both Houses repair to the King at York.

The Commons, that they might not seem dejected at this time, sent up an Impeachment to the House of Lords, against Nine of those Peers that deserted; that is to say, The Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Dover, the Earl of Monmouth, the Lord Howard of Charleton, and the Lord Rich, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors; the Substance whereof was, For that contrary to their Duty, they had deserted their Attendance on the House, absenting themselves after a Vote passed in both Houses, That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the Parliament, and that whosoever served or assisted him in that War, was adjudged a Traytor.

The Commons impeach nine of the Peers.

Upon the Impeachment, the House of Peers entered into Debate thereof, and the nine Lords were censured,

The nine Lords censured.

1. Never to sit more as Members of that House.
2. That they should be utterly incapable of any Benefit or Privileges of Parliament, and that they shall suffer Imprisonment during their Pleasure.

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper Littleton sent away the Great Seal to the King, by one Mr. Eliot, who was sent to him for it; and the next Day he himself followed it, and came safe to the King at York: But this Departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great Plunge, and they sent (in vain) to intercept it in its Passage.

The Lord Littleton flies to York with the Great Seal.

The King found himself in very good Esteem in the Northern Parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the Effusion of Blood, by any reasonable Accommodation, than engage the Nation in a Civil War: And during his Abode at York, many Messages and Replies to that Purpose passed between him and the Parliament, and at last, that they might not seem altogether averse from Peace, about the beginning of June, they sent a Petition to the King with nineteen Propositions.

The Propositions were,

1. That all the King's Privy Council, Great Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an Oath.
2. That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such Matters as are transferred by them to the Privy Council, and to be concluded by the major Part of the Nobility under their Hands; the full Number not to exceed fifteen, nor under fifteen: And if any Place fall void in the Interval of Parliament, then the major Part of the

The Parliament's Propositions to the King.



1642. the Council to choose one to be confirmed at the next Sessions of Parliament.

3. That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with Approbation of Parliament, &c. as before said.

4. The Government and Education of the King's Children by Parliament, &c. ut supra.

5. Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.

6. The Laws against Papists, Priests, and others, be executed without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.

7. No Popish Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Protestant Faith.

8. To reform Church Government as the Parliament shall advise.

9. To settle the Militia as the Parliament have Ordered, and for the King to recal all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.

10. All Privy Counsellors and Judges to take Oath for Maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament.

11. All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their Places quam diu bene se gesserint.

12. All Members of Parliament put out during this time, to be restored again.

13. The Justice of Parliament to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their Censure.

14. The General Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.

15. All Forts and Castles of the Kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament, ut supra.

16. The King to discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in Case of actual Rebellion.

17. The King to enter into a strict Alliance with all Reformed States, for their Assistance to recover the Rights of his Royal Sister and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.

18. To clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members, by Act of Parliament.

19. No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their Consent.

And these Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King shewed great dislike at these Propositions, for indeed they seemed rather calculated to gratify the Ambition of some of those that framed them, than for any other Purpose; and the Answer he gave was more smart than usually his Answers were.

Amongst other things, he told them, That they had, contrary to Law, pressed their Ordinances on the People, wrested from him the Command of the Militia, countenanced the Treason of Hottham, and had directed to the People Invektives against his Government, aspersed him with the favouring of Papists; and with an utter dislike of the Propositions, he protested, that if he were vanquished and a Prisoner, in a worse Condition than any the most unfortunate of his Predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low, as to grant those Demands, and to make himself of a King of England, a Duke of Venice.

On the 10th of June an Order was made by both Houses of Parliament, for bringing in of Money and Plate to Guildhall for their Service; wherein it was expressed, that whosoever should bring in either Money or Plate, or furnish any with Horse and Arms, should have their Monies repaid with Interest, according to Eight in the Hundred; for which both Houses of Parliament did engage the publick Faith.

The King was not wanting to his own Preservation in the mean time, and to do whatsoever might give Encouragement to the Business he had in hand; and first he assembled all the Peers then at York to attend him, and made to them a short but significant Declaration: In which he promised to require no Obedience from them, that was not warranted by the Laws of the Land; and to defend the Religion and Liberties of the People, and the just Privileges of Parliament: Which Declaration was answered by a loyal Engagement to defend the King, and all National Rights; subscribed by the Peers. To this was added afterwards another Declaration of the King, by which he disclaimed and disavowed any Intention to make War upon the Parliament: Which Declaration of his was attested by the same Lords. These Acts of the King and his Peers being made publick, and dispersed over the Kingdom, did him very great Service.

The King strengthened with some Arms and Ammunition from Holland, from the Endeavours of the Queen, but more strengthened by this Protestation in his Behalf, concerning his Intention of not making War against the Parliament, proceeded in his Business with great Circumspection and indefatigable Industry; and from York he went to Newark, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of Nottinghamshire in a loving and winning way, commending their Affections towards him. Another Speech he made at Lincoln to the Gentry of that County, full of Protections concerning his good Intentions, not only to them, but to the whole Kingdom, and the Laws and Liberties of it; so that within three Weeks both in his own Person, and by his Messengers, with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his Business in a wonderful Manner. From Lincoln he removed to York, and from thence to Beverly, from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation concerning his going to Hull, to take it in, requiring before his Journey that it might be delivered to him: Which they answered with a Petition, praying him to disband all his Forces about Hull, to recal his Commission of Array, dismiss his Guards, and come to his Parliament: At which the King was much displeased; and the Parliament Voted, that an Army should be raised, whereof by the Vote of both Houses the Earl of Essex was chosen General, with whom they protested to live and dye in that Cause; the King had about 3000 Foot, most of them Train Band-men, and 1000 Horse before Hull.

Hotham, upon the King's Advance, having the Advantage of a Spring Tide, drew up the Sluices, and drowned all the Country about the Town.

The

Both Sides make Preparation for War.

The King takes a Journey into Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, to win those Places to his Party.

The King resolves to reduce Hull.

The Parliament raise an Army under the Command of the Earl of Essex.



1642. The Parliament took all Care imaginable to supply the Town, which they re-inforced with 500 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir John Meldrum. The King finding so great a Strength to oppose him, and considering the Preciousness of that time which he consumed there without hope of Success, resolved to march away. Some about him, laid the Fault of his not prevailing, upon the Unskillfulness of the Country Captains, and the unexperienced Rawsness of the Soldiers. It was said the King might have sped better, if Sir John Pennington could have brought part of the Navy to his Assistance, to have straitned them by Sea; but that was seized by the Earl of Warwick.

The King leaves Hull.

The Earl of Warwick gets the Command of the Navy.

The Earl of Essex was very busy in raising his Army; the Earl of Bedford was made General of the Horse, Sir John Merrick Major-General of the Army; the Lord Roberts, the Lord St. John, the Lord Rochford, the Lord Gray of Groby, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Mr. Hampden, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Mr. Grantham, all Members of Parliament, had Commissions for Regiments.

The King in the mean time was not idle, he went to Leicester, where he summoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and by his great Affability won many of them to an Opinion of his Cause; and from thence by the first of August he returns to York, where he summoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliament's Preparations for a War, and desired their Advice and Assistance; for the Parliament had now published a Declaration for the raising of all Power and Force by Train Bands, or otherwise, to lead against all Traytors and their Adherents that oppose the Parliament, and them to kill and slay as Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom: And in it they named most of the King's Lord Lieutenants and Commissioners of Array in the several Counties. The King then recommended to them the compleating of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind-hand with the Parliament, he publishes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of Essex was proclaimed a Rebel and Traytor to the King and Crown; and all Colonels and Officers authorized by the Parliament that should not instantly lay down their Arms, were declared guilty of High Treason.

The Earl of Essex, and the rest of the Parliament Commanders proclaimed Rebels by the King.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whosoever shall return from the King to the Parliament's Army within ten Days after publication, should have Reception and Pardon, excepting Persons impeached of Delinquency or Treason, or such as have been eminent Actors against them; and except the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Bristol, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Carnarvon; the Viscounts Newark and Faulkland, Secretary Nicholas, Eudymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to send an Army Westward, gave Commission under the Great Seal of England, to the Marquess of Hartford, to be his Lieutenant-General within the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Car-

narvon, Pembroke and Cardigan; and sent to encourage Colonel Goring, who kept Portsmouth at that time for him.

The Preparations were very great on both Sides, and on the 20th of August the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, from whence he sent up a Message to both the Houses, by the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpepper, for a Treaty of Peace.

When they came to Westminster, they were not permitted to sit in Parliament, whereof they were Members; nor could the Earl of Southampton (against whom there was least exception) be admitted to deliver it, but it was sent into the House of Peers by the Usher of the Black Rod.

The King sets up his Standard at Nottingham: He sends to treat with the Parliament.

In the Message the King signified,

*That observing that many Mistakes had arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers, betwixt him and the two Houses of Parliament, which might be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the Matters in Difference might be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted, he proposed that a certain Number of Persons might be sent and enabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in some indifferent Place, with the like Number authorized by him.*

The Parliament answered to this Effect, *That until he take down his Standard, and recal those Proclamations and Declarations whereby he declared the Actions of both Houses to be treasonable, and their Persons Traytors, and whereby he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his Protection, they cannot admit of any such Treaty.*

The Parliament's Answer to the King's Message.

The King replied to this, *That he never did declare both Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up his Standard against them, much less to put them and the Kingdom out of his Protection; and to remove all Scruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promised so that a Day be appointed by them for the revoking their Declarations against all Persons as Traytors, or otherwise for assisting him, he would upon the same Day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.*

The King's Reply.

To this the Parliament answered by Petition, insisting upon their former Request; *To recal his Proclamations; concluding, That they can never allow themselves to be ballanced with those Persons about the King, whom they styled Persons of desperate Dispositions and Counsels.*

Thus did they contend for some time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all fruitless; for the Parliament having in their Power all the King's Revenue, and his Navy, together with the Strength and Riches of the City of London, and great Contributions from them and others of Money and Plate, thought the King's Forces so inconsiderable in respect of theirs, that they despised all the Overtures he made for Peace, or put such Expressions into the Answers they made to them, that he could not with Honour and Safety approve of them.

About the beginning of September, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the second and third Sons of the late King of Bohemia, came to offer their Service to the King their Uncle, whom presently King.

Pr. Rupert and Prince Maurice put into Command by the



1642. presently he put into Command. Prince Rupert within a Fortnight after his Arrival commanded a small Party of those Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers Parts of *Warwickshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Cheshire*, his Forces still increasing as he marched.

The King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*. And whilst the Prince was thus active with his Party, the King moved on slowly with those Forces which he had to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to Quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvous for those Troops and Companies he expected from *Wales* and other adjacent Parts; for those of *Denbeigh* and *Flintshire*, and generally all *Wales* were cordial to him and his Cause.

To *Shrewsbury* the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soon after presented to him; for the University of *Cambridge*, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had sent their Plate to him, and many others had furnished him both with Men, Horses, and Arms; and within a few Days after his coming thither, his Strength, by his Diligence and Address was wonderfully increased, even beyond his own hope; infomuch that before the middle of *October*, which was about three Weeks after his first coming to *Shrewsbury*, with a small Body of an Army, he was grown to a Strength consisting of six thousand Foot, three thousand brave Horses, and two thousand Dragoons in one Body, besides what he had in other Parts, of which he gave the chief Command, under himself, to the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the next to General *Rutben*, a Scotch Gentleman of great Experience, and Prince Rupert was made General of the Horse, and the next in Command to him was Commissary *Wilmot*.

Whilst the King and the Parliament were gathering their Forces together, several Parties were employed in divers Parts of the Kingdom; Colonel *Goring* was besieged in *Portsmouth* by Sir *John Meincles*'s Regiment of Foot, and the County Trained Bands, with one Troop of Horse; to which Place a Squadron of the Fleet was also sent to straiten it the more, and the Garrison-Soldiers were so practised on, the Governour had no Confidence in them; so that though the Marquess of *Hartford* hastened to his Relief with some Forces he had newly raised, yet he was necessitated to surrender the Town before he could help him, and had Conditions to be transported in one of the King's Ships to the *Brill* in *Holland*, whither he was conveyed accordingly: But the Marquess of *Hartford*, tho' he could not secure *Portsmouth*, yet he seized on *Sherborne* Castle in *Dorsetshire*, and passed by the Earl of *Bedford*, (who commanded in those Parts a Party of the Parliament's Troops) and marched over the *Severn* into *Wales*, to raise more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little Brush in his Passage.

The Parliament Army raised under the Earl of *Essex*, was now grown to a considerable Bulk, consisting of about 16000 Horse and Foot united in one Army, besides Parties abroad: Their general Rendezvous was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Roberts*, Colonel *Hamb-*

den, and many other of the chief Commanders staid with them, expecting the Presence of the General; and on the 9th of *September*, he set out of *London* with great Solemnity. The Parliament sent a Petition to him at *Northampton*, to be by him presented to the King; the Effect of which was, To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his Presence from those wicked Persons about him, (for so all the King's Party were called by them) and not to mix his Danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their Advice compose the present Distempers.

The Earl of *Essex*, after he had been at *Northampton* a while, had increased his Army to the Number of 20000, from whence he marched to *Coventry*, and from thence to *Warwick*; and having left some Companies in both those Towns for their Security, he marched away towards *Worcester*, upon Intelligence that the King himself intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir *John Byron* had first entred *Worcester* for the King, whom Captain *Fiennes* had endeavoured to dislodge, with some Troops of the Parliament and Country-Volunteers which he had gotten together, with whom he assaulted the Town on the West Side of the *Severn*, supposing some of *Essex*'s Troops were marching towards the Town on the other Side, (as he was informed by a Spy); but those proved to be a Party of the King's Horse under Prince Rupert, who marched into the Town with 500 Horse, and made *Fiennes* draw off to a Distance. The Prince had notice that Colonel *Sandys* with a Regiment of Parliament Horse, together with Captain *Hales*, Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Fiennes*, and Captain *Austin*, were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near adjoining, and drew up his Men into Battalia: The Passage to the Meadow was through a Lane, where not above four could march a Breast, of which the Prince took the Advantage, and charged them first there, where the Rear could not come up to assist the Van, nor the Van retreat without great Disorder; so that the Prince prevailed. *Douglas*, Colonel *Sandys*'s Major was slain, and the Colonel's own Cornet; the Colonel himself was desperately wounded, and many of his Soldiers killed, and some slaughter was also made of the Prince's Men.

The Prince after the Fight drew into *Worcester*, but hearing *Essex* was marching thither with his whole Army, he went away to *Ludlow*, twenty Miles from thence; nor was his Intelligence ill, for immediately after the Fight, *Essex* came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he lay a Month, and from thence he sent the Earl of *Stamford* with a Party to *Hereford* to impede the King's Levies in *South Wales*, and sent other Forces to possess *Gloucester* and *Bristol*. The Parliament began now to apprehend the King's Strength; for many began to appear for him in several Parts of the Kingdom; in *Yorkshire* and the Northern Parts, the Marquess of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Francis Wortly*, and many others, had raised many Soldiers, and were so powerful, that the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Captain *Hot-*



1642. *tham*, who had gathered some Men together for the Parliament were not able to appear against them: In *Cornwall* a Body was framing under Sir *Bevil Greenvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slaving*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, a Person of good Conduct and Courage was hastening to them to assist in their Levies, and many others in several Parts of the Kingdom were arming on both sides.

And in  
*Cornwall*.

Whilst the Affairs of *England* were in this military Posture, *Ireland* was neglected; some few Regiments were sent over from *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester's* Regiment under Colonel *Monk* from *England*, but in no Proportion to the Necessities of that Kingdom; nevertheless they made many Impressions upon their Enemies into *Lemster* and *Ulster*, but *Munster* was but meanly supplied.

The Title  
of the Act.

The King had consented to an Act of Parliament before he left *London*, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland* to their due Obedience; wherein several Persons were invited as Adventurers to advance Money for that Service, who were to be repaid in Land for the same, when the Rebels should be subdued, according to the Proportions following: For each Adventure of 200 *l.* one thousand Acres in *Ulster*; for three hundred Pounds, one thousand Acres in *Conaght*; for 450 *l.* one thousand Acres in *Munster*; for six hundred Pounds, one thousand Acres in *Lemster*; all according to the *English* Measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable and profitable Pasture; the Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be cast in, over and above, and to be holden in free and common Socage of the King, as of his Castle of *Dublin*, and so for greater or lesser Sums; and it is particularly enacted, That no Part of that Money which should be paid in according to the Act, shall be employed to any other Purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels, until they shall be declared to be subdued. The Parliament nevertheless to enable them the better to set out their Army, had diverted 100000 *l.* of this Money, whereat the King was very much offended, and resented it very sharply in one of his Messages to them; but they answered, that they did intend speedily to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 9000 Suits of Cloaths, with a Chirurgeons Chest, and some draught Horses going into *Ireland* for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made Use of the greatest Part of a Brigade raised under my Lord *Wharton* and one Colonel *Horton*, designed for *Munster*, against the King in a Battle, which was this Year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both sides, it was evident they both thought the Security of *England* more considerable to them than that of *Ireland*, which could not well subsist without this.

The Parliament  
divert  
some of  
the Money  
designed  
for the Relief  
of *Ireland*, for  
setting out  
their own  
Army.

It was now about the middle of *October* when the King came from *Shrewsbury*, he marched along by *Coventry*, and summoned the Town, but by the Example of *Hull* he was denied Entrance.

The King  
denied En-  
trance into  
*Coventry*.

Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam*, being but a small Distance from *Effex's* Army, from whence he struck a Terror into the City of *London* it self, for he was then nearer to *London* than

*Effex* was, inasmuch that both Houses began to apprehend his Approach, and ordered that the Train-Bands should be speedily raised for a Guard, and some Works for planting of Ordnance in special Places about the City of *London* and Suburbs, and the Parliament sent twelve Companies to possess and guard *Windsor* Castle.

The Earl thought it his chief Work to march as near to the King as he could, and on the 22d of *October* he lodged at *Keinton* within six Miles of the King, who then lay at one Sir *William Chause's* House near thereunto, and his Forces lodged at *Cropley* and *Edgecot*.

The King the next Morning drew his Army to *Edgehill*, and *Effex* intended to rest all Sunday in *Keinton*, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horse, and seven Pieces of Cannon who were a Day's March behind him; but when he heard the King's Army was in the Field, he drew his Army into Battalia, consisting of 12000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and forty Troops of Horse and Dragoons. The King's Army was esteemed about ten thousand Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dragoons, but most of the Foot were very ill armed. At the bottom of *Edgehill*, there was a large Plain, called the *Vale of the Red Horse*, where *Effex* drew his Army into Battalia, about half Mile distant from the Foot of *Edgehill*. The main Body of the King's Army was led on by the Earl of *Lindsey* on Foot, with a Pike in his Hand, Prince *Rupert* commanded the King's Right-Wing, wherein was the greatest strength of Horse, and General *Ruthen*, and Commissary *Wilmot* in the left; the Right-Wing of the Parliament's Horse was commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and the Left, which had the greatest Force, by Sir *James Ramsey*, then Commissary-General; the General himself was in the main Body, and Sir *John Meldrum* had the Van. The King perceiving the Hedges near the Hill lined by some Musketeers of *Effex's* Army, sent Major *Bostock* and Captain *Hammond* of Sir *Lewis Dives* his Regiment, down the Hill, to remove them; but in the mean time my Lord of *Effex* caused three pieces of Cannon to be fired upon the King's Army, which was answered from the King with the like Number, and then the Battle began, and was continued with such Fury, that near six thousand were slain upon the Place; and the Parliament's Army was in great Danger to have been totally ruined that Day, with so absolute a Victory on the King's side, that in all Probability this Blow might have put a Conclusion to the War, if it had not been for a Brigade of fresh Men, which was seasonably brought in under the Command of *Hambden* to their Relief. This Succour gave *Effex's* broken Troops time to rally, and put them in a Condition of maintaining the Dispute, which they did with so much Resolution, that it was a long while doubtful what might be the Event of the Battle; 'till in the End Prince *Rupert* having wholly routed *Effex's* left Wing, fell in to the Assistance of those Regiments that were over-powered, and secured the Victory to the King's Party, which was before dubious. Those of Quality that were lost of the King's side, were the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Aubigny*, and Sir *Edward*

The Battel  
at *Edgehill*.



1642. *Edward Verney*: Of the Parliament's side many were slain, but there being but few of equal Note in that Service to those of the King's, they are not remembred, only mention is made of the Lord *St. John*, Col. *Charles Essex*, and Lieutenant Col. *Ramsay*; the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Colonel *Vavasor*, and Sir *Edward Stradling* of the King's Party were taken Prisoners: The King's Standard was taken, but regained by Captain *Smith*, who for that Service was in the Field Knighted Banneret; each Part pretended to the Victory, but it went clearly on the King's side, who though he lost his General, yet he kept the Field, and possess'd the dead Bodies, and rifled all the Waggon and Carriages of the Enemy; and not so only, but he made his Way open to *London*, which the Earl before endeavoured to hinder, and in his Way, in the very sight, as it were of the Earl of *Essex*, he took *Banbury-Castle*, where he had fifteen hundred Arms, and finally entered Triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer than an hundred and fifty Colours. Amongst the Papers of the Earl of *Essex*, a Letter was found from one *Blake* that attended the King and held correspondence with the Enemy, for which he was Tried by a Court Marshal, and condemned and executed betwixt *Abington* and *Oxford*.

*Banbury Castle taken by the King.*

The Earl after the Battle, marched to *Warwick*, and left the Country clear to *London* to the King, and he after a very short stay at *Oxford*, marched through *Abington* to *Henly*, where his Army was two or three Days refreshed, and from thence he made a nearer Approach towards *London*, and came to *Colebrook*: In the mean time the Earl of *Essex* had also marched with his Army nearer to *London*, and on the 7th of *November* came himself to *Westminster*, where he was welcomed by both Houses of Parliament, and had a Present of 5000*l.* given to him.

The Earl of *Essex* comes to *Westminster*, and is received with great Honour. The Parliament present a Petition to the King at *Colebrook*.

Whilst the King was at *Colebrook*, the Parliament sent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commoners, wherein in very humble Terms, they desired his Majesty to stay at some convenient Place not far from *London*, 'till such time as Committees of Parliament might attend him, with some Propositions for the removal of the present Distempers. The King liked well of this Petition, and sent back the Messengers with a very complying Answer, signifying, that he would reside at his Castle at *Windsor*, or any other Place, if that should not be liked, 'till such time as Committees might be sent to him: But the same Night that he had dispatched these Messengers, News was brought that *Essex* had advanced with his Army and the Artillery towards him; and that having possess'd himself of *Windsor*, *Kingston*, and *Aston*, if *Brentford* were likewise possess'd, the King's Army would be so straitned, that it could neither move nor subsist: Whereupon a Council of War being called, it was resolved that part of the Army should advance, and dispossess the Enemy from *Brentford*, which was accordingly done, and there was for some time a very sharp Fight, betwixt the King's Forces and those of the Parliament that were there lodged; but the King's Party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then present, and

several others, and took 500 Prisoners, and as many Arms, with 15 pieces of Ordnance, 11 Colours, and store of Ammunition; and the King was resolved the next Day to have marched to *London*, had not Advice come, that both the Remainder of that Army under *Essex*, and the Auxiliaries of *London*, under the Earl of *Warwick* were drawn up on *Turnham-Green* to oppose his marching further; whereupon he passed his Troops over *Kingston-Bridge* to *Oatlands*, and from thence to *Reading*, where he left a good Garrison, and marched with his Forces to *Oxford*.

The Fight at *Brentford*, in which the King's Party prevailed.

The King marched to *Oxford*.

The City of *London* were very much infligated by some Incendiaries upon this Action of the King's, and were wrought on to Petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the Business of Accommodation, for which they had the Thanks of both Houses; though the Parliament in a Message to the King, did confess, that they gave Direction to the Earl of *Essex* to draw the Army out of *London*, and that part of it was quartered at *Brentford*, whilst the Committee was with the King; but they endeavoured to excuse it, by saying, that they sent a Messenger with a Letter to know whether his Majesty intended forbearance of Hostility, who found the Parties in Fight, and could not pass.

The King's Forces in the North became very considerable; the Earl of *Newcastle*, and the Earl of *Cumberland* being joyned, made up 8000 Horse and Foot, and their Power daily increased, so that the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, Captain *Hotham*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, Sir *Henry Anderson* and others, who commanded for the Parliament in these Parts, were ill able to withstand them; and the King's side received a good Addition of Strength in those Parts, by the landing of Colonel *Goring* at *Newcastle* with two hundred Commanders from *Holland*, and other Provisions of War; which made the Lord *Fairfax* and those with him implore Aid from the Parliament, and they therefore form'd an Association of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, the *Ile of Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, whereof the Lord *Gray of Wark* was, by Commission of the Earl of *Essex* made Commander in chief, with Authority to raise Forces.

*Goring* lands with Men and Ammunition.

Several Counties associate for the Parliament. General *King* lands with 6000 Arms.

In *February*, General *King* a Scotch Commander of great Experience in Military Affairs, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himself with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and passed to *York* with 6000 Arms. In the same Month also, the Queen landed from *Holland* at *Burlington-Bay*, with great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of Note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of *Newcastle* to the City of *York*, to which Place, the Earl of *Montrose*, and the Lord *Ogilby* came to her out of *Scotland* with 120 Horse; and Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, who had the Government of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, declared for the King, and presented himself at *York* with 300 Men to the Queen for his Service: Sir *John Hotham* also and his Son were at the same time inclin'd to desert the Parliament's Cause, but their Intentions were discovered, and they were both seized upon at *Hull*, and sent up to *London*, where they long remained Prisoners in the Tower, before the time of their Trial and Execution.

The Queen lands with Arms and Ammunition.

Sir *John Hotham* & his Son sent up Prisoners to the Parliament.

The



1642.

The Parliament having fortified *Gloucester* with a good Garrison, thought of enlarging their Quarters towards *Oxford*, and had in order thereunto drawn a great strength into *Cirencester*: The King was not well pleased with this neighbourhood, but ordered Prince *Rupert* with 4000 Horse and Foot, to take the Town, who marching by, as if he intended to attempt *Sudeley Castle*, (which had been lately before taken by \**Massey*), when they expected him not, turn'd his whole Force upon them, and after about an hours Resistance made himself Master of the Place, where he took eleven hundred Prisoners, and three thousand Arms.

\* Governor of Gloucester. Cirencester taken for the King by Prince Rupert.

The Treaty at Oxford proves ineffectual.

The King was not so exalted by these Successes to be well pleased with a War, that brought so much Calamity to his People, and therefore he proposed a Treaty to the Parliament, to which, after many delays, they consented, and about the beginning of *March*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulstrode Whitlock* attended him at *Oxford*, with Propositions of Peace; but though they were such as rather did bescem a conquering than a losing side, yet the King was resolved to treat upon them; howsoever he found the Commissioners so straitned in time, and so tyed to such particular Instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yielded to, which might conduce to the Composing of the present Distempers; so that after many Messages betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, the Parliament sent to their Commissioners to return to *London* upon the 17th of *April*; upon which the Earl of *Essex* immediately advanc'd with his Army to besiege *Reading*, then a Garrison for the King.

The King, upon the first Notice sent a Supply of 700 Musqueteers to the Town, and some store of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town against so great an Army, continually supply'd from *London* with fresh Men, Provisions and Ammunition.

The King therefore, after a while, sent a good Body of Horse and Foot to relieve the Town, who assaulted a quarter of the Parliament's Army at *Causum Bridge* within a Mile of it, where many of the King's Forces were slain, and forced to retreat; but those in the Garrison were thought to have failed in performance of their Duty, in not drawing out a sufficient Party to have made a Diversion at the same time; but the Failure herein was imputed to Colonel *Fielding*, then Lieutenant-Governour for Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governour, who was disabled from Service by a Bruise or Wound he had received in the Siege: So that within 16 Days of *Essex*'s first sitting down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but honourable enough, viz. All the Forces to march out in warlike manner, with 50 Carts for Carriage, free Passage to *Oxford*, the Town to be sav'd from Plunder, and whosoever would, might have Liberty to leave it within six Weeks after.

*Reading* surrendred to *Essex* by Colonel *Fielding* Deputy Governor.

The Town of *Reading* was infected with a Pestilential Fever when *Essex* enter'd it, which caused a great Sicknes and Mortality amongst his Soldiers, besides which, they were much discontented for want of Pay, so that when he removed to *Causum House* to avoid the Infection,

many of his Soldiers unanimously disbanded and went away; but tho' he gained nothing by this Town, the murmur at *Oxford* was great for the losing of it, and Colonel *Fielding* was accused of Treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court Marshal, was sentenced to be shot to Death, but by the King's Clemency he was pardoned.

1642.

About this time, scarce any County of *England* was free from the War, and in most places the King's Parties was Victorious; in *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and *Staffordshire*, many Encounters pass'd betwixt the King's Forces under Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Northampton* of the King's side; and the Lord *Brook*, Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament, by one of which the Earl of *Northampton* lost his Life, and the Lord *Brook* was slain before the Town of *Litchfield*, which was afterward taken by his Soldiers, and again re-taken by Prince *Rupert*.

The Earl of Northampton routing the Parlia-ments Forces, is himself slain. *Litchfield* taken by Prince Rupert. *Yorkshire* subdued by the King's Arms.

In *Yorkshire* and those more Northern Parts, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son did take some Towns, and do more than could be expected from so little Force; but after a while, the whole Country was subdued by the King's Arms, and they were forced into *Hull*.

The greatest part of *Wales* was for the King; but to prevent the Increase of his good Fortune, the Earl of *Stamford* was sent with an Army into the West, where Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with some Forces of the King's lay before *Plymouth*, then a Garrison for the Parliament; but upon the Earl's Advance, he drew from thence, and fought, and defeated a great of the Earl's Forces: After this a Truce was betwixt the Earl and Sir *Ralph Hopton* for twenty Days, and in the mean time Sir *George Chudleigh*, who had been very active and successful for the Parliament in *Devonshire*, began to reflect upon his past Actions, and by considering the Pretences of both Parties, resolved with himself, not to hazard his Life and Reputation, but upon what he thought a most just Cause, and hereupon he quitted his side, and joined with the King's Forces.

The Earl of Stamford's Forces defeated by Sir *Ralph Hopton*.

This additional Strength was very advantageous to the King; for shortly after in a Battle fought at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, the Earl of *Stamford* was overthrown, and inforced to betake himself to the City of *Exeter*, whither Sir *Ralph* and Sir *George Chudleigh* with the *Devonshire* and *Cornish* Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so straitened it, that they had opportunity to imploy the main Body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Marquess of *Hartford*, who had raised many Regiments, the greatest parts of the West was reduced to the King's Obedience. *Bristol* was designed to be seized on for the King, about the beginning of *May*, by one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriff of the City, and *William Yeomans* his Brother, with Mr. *George Bouchier*, and Mr. *Edward Dacres*, and some others of their Friends, who had Commission from the King to list Forces, and possess themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, Prince *Rupert* hover'd thereabouts with a Party of 5000 Men: But the raising and listing Party

The Earl of Stamford overthrown at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*.



1642. of Soldiers made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caused the four above-mentioned to be seized on, and tryed by a Court-Martial, who condemn'd them all, and Robert Yeomans and Bourchier were on the 30th of May executed; and the like fate happened to some worthy Gentlemen, and other eminent Citizens of London, who intended to have contrived a mean to have put a Period to the present War, by stopping the issues of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of London, and seizing several Members of Parliament. It was detected by one Roe a Servant to Mr. Tomkins, on the last Day of May; the chief Actors were, Mr. Edmund Waller a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Hassell, Mr. White and Mr. Blinkorne, who were to be strengthened in their Endeavours by the King's Commission of Array brought to London privately by the Lady Aubigny; but upon this Detection, all was blasted, and the Persons before-named, were all tryed by a Court-Martial at Guildhall, and condemned, whereof Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were on the 5th of July executed; Mr. Waller after a Years Imprisonment in the Tower, paid a Fine of ten thousand Pounds, and was for ten Years banished into France.

Yeomans and Bourchier executed at Bristol, for endeavouring to seize the Town for the King. The like happened to several Gentlemen and Citizens of London, for a Design laid to seize it.

Essex marches towards Oxford.

Hambden and Sheffield routed by Prince Rupert.

Sir William Waller about the time of Edgehill Fight, had received a Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and had gained a great Reputation with the Parliament and the City of London, for some Service he did that Winter with Colonel Urry, Colonel Brown, and some others in the taking of Chichester, and hindring Levies for the King in Sussex, so that he was furnished with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his Party in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouth, and Herefordshire, wherein he took many Towns possessed by the King's Soldiers, and was very successful; but whilst he was active in those Parts, the Parliament pressed the Earl of Essex to march towards Oxford to straiten that Garrison, and take some Order by the Conjunction of the Forces of the Associates, to hinder Prince Rupert joining with the Queen: In Prosecution whereof, he marched with his Army to those Parts of Buckinghamshire, which were nearest to Oxford, and settled his head Quarters at Thame. Upon his coming thither, the Weather was very unreasonable, and great Rains fell, so that the Soldiers became very weak and sickly, and much Mortality ensued; but to put a good Face upon his Condition, he frequently sent out Parties upon several Occasions, though little or no Service was at any time performed by them: But about the Sixteenth of June, Intelligence came to Oxford, that a great Party of Parliamenters was then quartered at Postcombe and Chimer in Oxfordshire towards Thame, and Prince Rupert drew out a good Party to attack them in their Quarters, which he did, and took many Prisoners: But upon the Alarm, Colonel Hambden, with Sheffield, and others of Essex's Army, drew into Chalgrove-Field, with a Design to fight the Prince, where he drew towards them, and after a brisk Charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and Horses and Arms, and killed many. Major Gunter was shot dead upon the Place, and Colonel Sheffield and Mr. Hamb-

den were both very much wounded, of which the last died three or four Days after; it being observed, that he received his Wounds in that Field where he first executed the Parliament's Commission for the Militia against the King's Authority. Upon this Affront, Essex draws his Army off to Bristol, with a Purpose to recruit his Regiments with some Forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much busied to spare any Assistance. About this time (or a little before) the Parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary Action, which was the making of a new Great Seal; it had some Opposition in the Debate, but by a Majority of Voices in both Houses, it was voted to be done; yet to put some colour on the Enterprize, they passed an Order, that if the Lord Keeper Littleton upon summons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen Days, he should lose his Place, and whatever should be sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in Law. But this menacing Vote did not bring the Great Seal from Oxford, so that their new Great Seal was made, and some Months after, the Use of it authorized by Ordinance of both Houses.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament.

The Queen was now marching with six or seven thousand Horse and Foot, towards the King, but in the way she was so careful of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, that she left twenty Troops of Horse and two thousand Foot, with Arms for five hundred more, under the Command of Colonel Charles Cavendish, who did eminent Service before and after, in those Counties. About the 13th of June she came to Newark, and was there welcomed with a Victory obtained three Days before, over some of the Parliament's Forces, by the same Colonel Cavendish at Dunnington in Lincolnshire: After some stay at Newark, her Army marched to Burton upon Trent, which was taken by the Lord Ferdinando Commander in chief of her Army, and from thence she went by easy Marches to Stratford upon Avon, where Prince Rupert came to her, with many Troops from Oxford; she had with her when he met her, three thousand good Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse and Dragoons, with six pieces of Ordnance, two Mortar-pieces, and a hundred and fifty Waggon, which with those of the Prince, made up a better Army than Essex could make to oppose them; for his Men were wasted by Sickneis to a very considerable Number, and he drew them to Kingston and other Places near London, to lie there 'till he could recruit. In the mean time, the Rent betwixt the King and Parliament became wider than ever, for now they proceeded to that Height to draw up Articles of High-Treason against the Queen; some of them were,

The Queen marcheth with her Forces towards the King.

The Parliamentarians beaten at Dunnington in Lincolnshire by Colonel Cavendish.

Articles of High-Treason against the Queen.

1. That she had pawned the Crown Jewels in Holland.
2. That she had favoured the Rebellion in Ireland.
3. That she had endeavoured to raise a Party in Scotland against the Parliament; and that she had gone in the Head of a Popish Army in England, for so they termed the Forces with her (though few or none of that Religion were among them). Divers other Articles were framed



1643. med against her; upon which, Mr. Pym carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: They were (or seemed to be) at first surprized at so extraordinary a Matter, but after some time, they agreed to the Charge.

The Successes of Sir William Waller, gave so great Reputation to his Army, that the King sent for his Western Forces towards Oxford, to hinder the Progress of his Fortune; for it was feared at Oxford, if he had not some Check, he might make himself Master of Ludlow and Worcester, and so bring a great Tract of Land, and many considerable Garrisons into the Power of the Parliament. Sir Ralph Hopton in pursuance of his Orders was marched into Somersetshire, and Prince Maurice with the Earl of Carnarvan and a good strength of Horse, were sent from Oxford to joyn with him. Sir William Waller was come to Bath with his Army, with whom Sir Edward Hungerford, with Sir John Horner, and Mr. Strode were joyned, and they marched towards Sir Ralph Hopton, and came so near him, that on the third and fourth of July, some Skirmishes had passed betwixt some Parties on each side, and Prisoners were taken of both Parties: But on Wednesday the 5th of July the two Armies engaged, at a Place called Lansdown, about eight Miles from Bristol, and the Fight was maintained betwixt them, from two in the Afternoon till one the next Morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the Field, and the King's Party had gained a great Victory, if by Accident their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were slain, and above twenty wounded, whereof Sir Ralph Hopton himself was one; and in the Battle Sir Bevil Greenville a Person of great Renown and Integrity to the King's Cause was slain, together with Mr. Leak, a hopeful young Gentleman, Son to the Earl of Scarisdale, who was found dead in the Field, with the Colours of the Enemy about his Arm, as also one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, and two Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliament's side was not known, because the Publishers of such Actions were unwilling to be very particular in their Relations, that they might not too much discourage their Party.

Waller being advertised of what had happened, having got some fresh Men from Bristol, marched after Hopton, hoping to engage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himself, so that he was forced to retire to the Devizes, a Town in Wiltshire, and there he was by Waller block'd up, and after a while he became so distressed, that he began to Treat about the Surrender of it, (for Prince Maurice was with the Horse retired towards Oxford) but immediately the Fortune of War changed; for the King having Notice of Hopton's Condition, sent Commissary Wilmot with the Earl of Carnarvan, and Crawford's Regiment of Horse, and others, to the Number of fifteen hundred, to relieve him; upon whose Approach near to Sir William Waller, he drew off to a place called Roundway-down, where the Horse began to fight, but after a while both Horse and Foot encountred each other, and Waller's Army was totally vanquished; and four Brass Guns, and all the Ammunition and Baggage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horse, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot: Sir Ar-

thur Haslerig was wounded, and many other Officers, and a great Number of Soldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 13th of July, on the same Day whereon the King and the Queen met at the foot of Edgehill, where the first Battle betwixt him and the Earl of Essex had been fought, as was before mentioned: Their Meeting after so long Absence, and on so sad an Occasion, was very joyful to each other: They went that Night to Sir Thomas Pope's House at Wroxton, where they lay all Night, and the next Morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of York, and their Army, with the Carriages and Ammunition to Woodstock, and from thence to Oxford, where her coming was rather to a Triumph than a War.

The King being willing to profit himself of this good Success to his Forces, ordered Prince Rupert to join himself with his Brother and the whole Body of his Strength in those Parts, and to march immediately to Bristol; before which Place he came on the four and twentieth of July, and summoned it to be surrendered to him. Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes Son to the Lord Say and Seal, was then Governour of the City, who made a shew of great Resistance; but yet after three Days, it was surrendered.

A few Days after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the Affairs of those Parts, where presently after his Arrival, he received News of the Surrender of Dorchester to the Earl of Carnarvan, and a Day or two after, Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe submitted to his Forces; so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the farthest Part of Cornwall, except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after, the Lord Fairfax and all his Forces were defeated at Adderton Moor, and he and they driven into Hull by the Earl of Newcastle: And from thence Northward even to the Borders of Scotland, there was no Army in the Field to hinder the King and his Forces from marching whither they pleased. London was then altogether unsatisfied, and many in it favoured the King's Cause, and most of the chief Gentry of the associated Counties were ready upon any Appearance for the King, to have secured those Counties to him; wherefore it was expected that in this Conjunction of Affairs, the King would have marched with his Army to London, and the Earl of Newcastle with his into the associated Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a sudden End would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War; which was not only the Opinion of those in the King's Quarters, but many at London and in the Parliament were of the same Mind, and some of them deserted the Party, and submitted to the King, and others were on the Point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these Hopes, the King against his own Judgment was at a Council of War over-ruled to go to besiege Gloucester; and a few Days after, the Earl of Newcastle sat down before Hull. To this fatal City of Gloucester the King in Person with his Army marched in the beginning of August, and about the 10th he sat down before it; and by two Heralds summoned the City to be surrendered to him: To which Summons within two Hours

The King and Queen meet at Edgehill.

Bristol delivered up to Prince Ruperts.

Several Places in the West submit to the King.

The Lord Fairfax defeated at Adderton Moor by the Earl of Newcastle.

Hull besieged by the Earl of Newcastle, and Gloucester besieged by the King.

Lansdown Fight.

Waller defeated at Roundway-down.



1643. Hours an Answer was drawn and consented unto, both by the Citizens and Soldiers, which was presented to the King by Major Pudsey, and one Toby Jordan, a Citizen of the Place, in these Words:

*We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers within this Garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majesty's gracious Message, return this humble Answer; That we do keep this City according to our Oaths and Allegiance to and for the Use of his Majesty and his Royal Posterity: And do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by God's help to keep this City accordingly.*

The King received this Answer without any Expression of Choler or Indignation, seeming only to wonder at their Confidence; for in all Appearance they could have no hope of Relief, the whole Number of Soldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from Berkley Castle, amounted to few more than fifteen Hundred; forty Barrels of Powder was all their Store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a Service, and the Works were of a great Compass, and little more than half perfected: So that it was generally believed, the King would rather presently have attempted the Town by a Storm, whilst they were yet in some Consternation, than waste his Time and Soldiers by a Siege. But by all the Intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no Condition to send any Forces to disturb him; and his Council of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little Expence of Time, than by exposing the Hazard of so many of their Lives in an Assault: So that a close Siege was made on all Sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the News of this Siege, and used all the Endeavours possibly to recruit Essex's broken Army for the Relief of it: The first thing they did was to cause 2000 Men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a Conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of London, by Consent of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries, and a Regiment of Horse: Nor were they less mindful of the North, for the Army from Scotland, which they had invited to their Assistance, could not be ready soon enough to secure these Parts; wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy pressing of 20000 Men, to be raised out of the six Associate Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford, and Huntingdon, to be put under the Command of the Earl of Manchester. In Preparation whereunto, Colonel Oliver Cromwel was very active: He had the Year before, the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of Cambridge, and obstructed many Levies for the King in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; but some time before this, he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by Authority thereof, he raised a Regiment of Horse, consisting of 1000, with which he was employed in

several of the North-West Parts of England, where he joined, as Occasion offered, with Sir William Brereton, Sir John Gell, the Lord Grey of Groby, and others, and did very considerable Service to his Party. His great Design was by this new Army, to attempt to change the whole Discipline of the Parliament's Militia; for having observed that the King's Horse, who were his greatest Strength, consisted of Gentlemen, or the Servants of such, and that these led on by a Sense of Honour, did in most Encounters worst their Enemies, he believed if the Parliament's Horse could be framed of the most Zealous of their Party, such as were perswaded by the Preaching of the Ministers, that the Cause was God's Cause, and that all their religious Liberties were at stake in it, and that those that died therein, died in the Favour of God, and in Assurance of Salvation, they might set this Sense of Conscience against the other Sense of Honour, and be in better Hopes of Success than before: And this Method he put in Practice as far as he could in the new raised Forces before-mentioned, whereof most of the Officers were very great Zealots, and the Soldiers by Degrees became of the same Leven; and those were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

On the 24th of August the Earl of Essex drew all his Army together to Hounslow, where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament were present, the Remainder of his old Army was well recruited; and he had got some additional Regiments of Horse, besides the Horse and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant Appearance. That Night he marched to Colebrook, where he staid a Day for some more Men that were to come to him, and then he marched to Beskonsfield, and so forward to Beerton, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it scarce credible that an Army could have been so soon got together; but since it was so, he sent out Parties to obstruct their March, but they marched so close, and in so good Order, that little Obstruction could be given to his Progress; so that on the 5th of September he came to Presbury Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in View of the City, and discharged four Pieces of great Ordnance to give them Notice of his Approach, which was at a time when the King's Forces were prepared ready for a Storm, the Belieged in want, and their Ammunition consumed to three Barrels of Powder: But upon Consultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolved the Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were set on Fire. Essex marched thence to Cheltenham, and staid there two Days; and from thence, on the 8th of September, he went with his whole Army to Gloucester, where he staid two Nights 'till he had furnished the City with Ammunition, Money, and other Necessaries, and from thence marched to Tewksbury, staying betwixt the King's Forces and that Garrison four Days, to give them more time the better to furnish themselves with Victuals. Whilst he staid there, he had Advice, that a Body of the King's Army were then in Cirencester Castle, and there had laid in great Stores of Provision; upon which Advertisement, want of Victuals and

1643.

Essex musters his Army at Hounslow Heath.

Gloucester relieved by Essex.



1643. and Necessaries increasing upon his whole Army, he made a long March with the Van-Guard of his Troops to fall upon them, which he did about One of the Clock in the Morning, sending in a Party of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilst himself with the rest of the Horse begirt the Town, and a Forlorn-Hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entered into it, and surprized two Regiments of Horse belonging to Sir Nicholas Crispe, and Colonel Spencer: Here he found thirty Load of Provision, which proved a great Relief to his Army, then in extreme Distress for want thereof. Having proved successful in this Encounter, he by short Marches passed from thence to *Cricklade*, so to *Swinden*, intending to pass through *Hungerford*, but passing over *Oburn Chace*, Prince Rupert with the greatest Part of the King's Horse charged the whole Army by two commanded Parties, one under the Lord *Fermyn*, and the other under Colonel *Urry*, who performed their Duties so well, that many great Bodies of *Essex's* Horse and Foot were disordered, with little Loss to the King's Soldiers or Officers, save only to the Marquess *de la Vieuville*, a young French Nobleman, who was a very brave and generous Cavalier, and unfortunately slain.

Cirencester taken by Essex.

Prince Rupert with the King's Horse, disorders Essex's whole Army.

The Fight at Newberry.

*Essex* from thence marched to *Hungerford*, and the Prince sent an Express to the King then at *Wantage*, desiring him to advance with all haste to *Newberry*, the better to hinder *Essex's* March to *London*, which was the thing he chiefly endeavoured. The King was glad of the Advice, and in Pursuance of it he marched away to *Newberry*, where he got before *Essex*: The next Day the Parliament-Army marched from *Hungerford* toward *Newberry*, but hearing the King's Forces had possessed the Town, they lay that Night in the Field; but the next Morning, by break of Day, *Essex* gave Orders to march to a Hill, called *Biggs-Hill*, near *Newberry*, which with some struggle he gained; but the Forlorn of the King's Army by endeavouring to hinder him of so advantageous a Place, did there begin the Fight, which was very vigorously prosecuted on both Sides 'till Night came on, that both Parties drew off. The next Day *Essex* found his way open towards *Reading*, so that although the Loss was equal to both Armies, (saying that as the Quality of the Commanders were greater on the King's Side, more eminent Persons of that Party were slain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, because they gained thereby their way to *London*, from which the King strove to hinder them. The Number of the Slain in this Battle is not recorded: Captain *Massey*, Captain *Hunt*, and divers other Officers of *Essex's* Army were killed, but not many of higher Rank than Captains: Three of the Nobility fell on the King's Side, the Earl of *Garnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Faulkland*. After this Fight, the King marched to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Essex* drew his Army to *Reading*, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near *London*; but the King on the third of *October*, finding *Reading* free, placed a good Garrison in it.

The Gentlemen of *Norfolk* hearing of the great Success of the Marquess of *Newcastle* in

*Yorkshire*, did expect his March into that and the rest of the Affiliated Counties; and in Confidence thereof, they seized on *Lyn*, and put a Garrison into it for the King; but whilst the Marquess of *Newcastle* vainly thought to take in *Hull*, before he left *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Manchester* with Colonel *Cromwell*, and what Forces they could hastily get together, marched into *Norfolk*, and besieged *Lyn*, which in Desperation of Relief, after a few Days was yielded to them; and to save the Town from Plunder, the Earl imposed a Fine upon the Inhabitants of ten Shillings a Man to every private Soldier, and a Month's Pay to every Officer, which amounted to thirty thousand Pounds: And a while after, namely, on the Eleventh of *October*, Sir *John Meldrum* marched out of *Hull*, with two Bodies of Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Lambert* and Captain *Rainsbrough*, and fell upon the Marquess of *Newcastle's* Quarters before the Town, driving them from their Out-works and Trenches, where they killed fourscore of his Soldiers, and took an hundred and ten Prisoners, and nine great Pieces of Ordnance, and forced himself to retreat to *Beverly*; from whence afterward, all his Army marched away, and left the Town free; yet Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and those in the Town were not in a Condition to take the Field, but *Meldrum* was dispatched to *London* to solicit for Forces to be sent to *Hull* to make up an Army. But in the mean time, the Earl of *Newcastle* having received great Quantities of Arms from *Denmark*, which were brought to *Scarborough*, used Diligence to augment his Army, to be able, not only to oppose the *Scots*, which were very near ready to march into *England*, but to strengthen *Newark*, and the King's other Garrisons in the *Northern* Parts, whereof *Lincoln* and some others had been taken by the Earl of *Manchester*, whilst the Earl of *Newcastle's* Army lay before *Hull*, and others had been much distressed: But whilst these things were acted in the *North*, many considerable Occurrences happened in other Parts, which deserve to be mentioned.

The Marquess of Newcastle beaten from Hull.

The King being moved with Compassion of the sad Condition of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, for want of Relief and Supply of Money, Munition, Arms, Provisions, Cloaths, and all other Necessaries; for the Parliament, who had undertaken the Managery of that War, and raised great Sums of Money for that End, employed the greatest Part of it in the War in *England* against the King, so that many of the *English* Soldiers, unable to endure the insupportable Necessity that lay upon them, did many times seize on Ships, and force the Mariners to transport them to *England*; which being represented to the King, He in *July*, this Year, sent a Commission to the Marquess of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General of the *English* Army, to treat with the *Irish* for a Cessation of Arms for one Year; which after some time, upon the 15th of *September* was agreed to by both Parties: And whilst the Cessation was making in *Ireland*, the King's Armies, in the *Western* Parts of *England*, were very prosperous; insomuch, that about the same time, or a little before, *Biddisford*, *Applesford*, *Barnstable*, and *Exeter* were surrendered

A Cessation of Arms agreed upon in Ireland.



1643. surrendered to the King by the victorious Arms of Prince Maurice, who from Exeter marched to Dartmouth, which place was on the sixth of October surrendered likewise to him; so that though the King was unfortunately prevailed with to lose the Opportunity of ending the War, by besieging Gloucester and Hull, yet was his Condition at this time, much better than the Year before; for whereas a twelvemonth past, he had in all the West but the County of Cornwall, and in Yorkshire no more than that City and Pomfret Castle, and except at Reading, Wallingford, and Abington, not a Soldier quartered out of Oxford, not a Ship nor Port except Newcastle and Falmouth and as the Parliament themselves published, not ten thousand Men in Arms, he had now five Armies in being, and was possessed of all the Western Counties and Garrisons therein, except Plymouth, Lin, and Poole, and of all Yorkshire, Hull only excepted, and in Cheshire none but Nantwich stood out against him, and Wales was wholly His; and though the Parliament got from him Strafford, Warrington, Lyn, Lincoln, and some other inconsiderable Garrisons, the King in lieu of those gained from them, Saltash, Cirencester, Birmingham, Leige, Lichfield, Brandford, Hallifax, Wakefield, Dainton, Bristol, Bath, Dorchester, Weymouth, Biddiford, Barnstable, Appleford, Tenby, Haverford-west, Pembroke, and Exeter, and as to Gloucester, great Care was taken to hinder Excursions from that Garrison: Sir William Vavasor was sent with a strong Party of Horse to engarrison Hereford, with Commission to raise Forces, and to command in Chief in that County and Gloucestershire: Sudeley Castle was garrisoned by the Lord Chandois for the King, which stopp'd Gloucester's Entercourse with Warwick, the only way of Commerce with London: Berkley Castle was for the King, maintained by a Scottish Captain: Sir John Winter was strongly settled in the Forest of Dean; a Garrison was likewise put into Beverston Castle, and indeed Garrisons there were in every Corner of the County, beside several Parties of the King's Army which lay abroad in the Fields about it; so that Gloucester was almost as much distressed as if it had been besieged, they being inforced to Fight or Skirmish for whatever they got. In the mean time, an additional Supply of one thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse, under the command of Sir Wil. St. Leger and Colonel Min, landed out of Ireland to the King's Aid, and were with eight Pieces of Ordnance ordered to advance to Thornbury, the more to distress the City of Gloucester.

Divers places in the West surrendered to the King.

Many places Garrisoned for the King, by Sir William Vavasor and others.

More Forces sent the King from Ireland.

The French King sends an Ambassador to mediate between the King and the Parliament.

and Magnificence; and whilst he stayed at Oxford, he and his Retinue were lodg'd in St. John's College; but finding himself unable to effect any thing of his Embassy, after a few Months stay, he returned. Sir William Waller who had laid long in London to form an Army, had at last got together six thousand Horse and Foot, with which he was about this time lain down before Basing-House, where he met with no better Success than the King had at Gloucester: But whilst he was there, the City press'd the Earl of Essex to besiege Reading, but he found himself not in a Condition for such a Service, but march'd to Uxbridge, and so to St. Albans, where he kept his head Quarters, and sent out Parties to several Places to oppose the King's Forces, which were very active in many places, though not always fortunate; for about this time the Lord Widdrington with Colonel Henderson, and a good Party of Horse and Foot, were met near Horn-Castle in Lincolnshire, by the Parliament's Forces under the Command of the Earl of Manchester, betwixt whom there was a sharp Fight, wherein Sir Ingram Hopton an Officer of the King's, had once unhorsed Colonel Cromwel, but he was again quickly mounted, and the King's Party put to the worst, and Sir Ingram Hopton and some few others were slain. The King shortly after this Misfortune, was recompenced with the good News of four thousand English Foot landed in North Wales, out of Ireland, under Sir Michael Ernely, who immediately after their Landing, took in Hawerden Castle near Chester, and might afterwards have proved more serviceable than they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were, into several parts of his Armies, but kept together under their old and known Commanders.

1643.

Lord Widdrington worsted by Manchester in Lincolnshire.

The Scots promised to the Parliament (from whom Commissioners were sent to Edinburgh about that Business) that they would bring into England to their Assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot, towards the Charge of raising whereof, the Parliament sent one hundred thousand Pound into Scotland, and great Levies of Men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together; but some at Oxford had so good an Opinion of the Scots, that they would hardly be brought to believe they would invade England, till they saw them in the Bowels of the Nation; for General Lesly with great Imprecations upon himself, as hath been before express'd in this History, protested never to draw his Sword against the King: But the ruling Party in Scotland to facilitate the raising of this Army, had raised a Report that the King was deserted by most of his Nobility.

The Scots raise an Army for the Assistance of the Parliament.

The King reposing great Trust in the Duke of Hamilton, had written to him to use all his Power and Interest to keep his Countrymen at home, which had not been difficult for one of his Credit in that Nation; but he by some secret Arts did more inflame them, and to cover his Deceit, pretended to fly from Scotland to Oxford, where he came about the last of December, pretending to seek a shelter there for his Loyalty; but the King had so good Information of his Practices in Scotland, that as soon as he came thither, he and the Earl of Lanerick



1643, his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon *Lanercik* got privately out of Oxford, and went to London, where he was well received, which increased the King's ill Opinion of his Brother, and he was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis Castle*.

The Duke of Hamilton sent Prisoner to Pendennis Castle.

The King summoned a Parliament at Oxford.

Prince Rupert made Duke of Cumberland; and James the King's second Son created Duke of York.

The Scotch Army enters England.

The Marquis of Montrose made General Governor of Scotland.

A Letter to Sir Thomas Glemham, shewing the Reasons of their Army's March into England.

The King had on the 22d of December summoned the Members of both Houses, who had deserted those at Westminster to assemble at Oxford, on the 22d of January following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at Christ's Church, and after the King had made a short Speech to them, he dismiss'd them to their Seats. The Lords sat in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation House, and for their better Welcome, he advanced Prince Rupert to the Titles of Duke of Cumberland, and Earl of Holderness, and created James his second Son, Duke of York, by which Name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might sit and vote amongst them. After they had sat a while, by a Letter they mov'd the Earl of Essex to endeavour Peace, and did also declare against the Invasion of the Scots by another Letter sent to them, in which they acquainted them with the falseness of their Reports concerning the King, and shew'd how inconsiderable a Number of Lords were with those that invited them in; the King himself writ also to them to put them in mind of their several Engagements to be quiet, but before those Letters could come to Scotland, and indeed some Days before the Parliament had assembled at Oxford, the Scotch Army was marched into England; but when the Letters came to the ruling Party at Edinburgh, with a strange unheard of Insolency, they commanded them to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman: But the Dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the Gallantry and Faithfulness of the Marquis of Montrose, who about the time of this their Invasion, was made General Governor of Scotland, and with an incredible Industry, by small Numbers of Men won many Battles, and overthrew well formed Armies, whereof some Relation shall be made hereafter; and had he not been betrayed by those he trusted, he had forc'd that People to Justice and Quietness. Upon the entry of the Scotch Army into England, a Letter was writ from Berwick in the Name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, subscribed by the Marquis of Argyle and Sir William Armine, to Sir Thomas Glemham, who then lay at *Anwick* with sixteen Troops of Horse, two Regiments of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty Pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of Northumberland; wherein it was signified, That they came into England to prosecute the Ends of the Covenant, namely, the Preservation, and Reformation of Religion, the true Honour and Happiness of the King, and the publick Peace and Liberty of his Dominions, hoping that Things of so great and considerable Consequence, would find with him and them such Entertainment as might answer the Weight and Importance of them: Adding, that if Misinformation, or any other unhappy Grounds should so far prevail with him and the rest, as to reckon them in the Number of their Enemies; and if instead of that Concurrence with

them which they wished and hoped to deserve, they found Opposition and Acts of Hostility, the Law of Nature and their own Reason, might tell them what they were to expect. Sir Thomas returned an Answer to this Letter, to this Purpose.

That there being none with him but Officers, he could not return an Answer so suddenly by their Trumpeter; but he said he would send to the Gentlemen of the County to give him a Meeting, and thereupon they should receive an Answer by a Trumpeter of his own; and by this Means he gained time to draw his Forces and Artillery to Newcastle, for *Anwick* was not tenable, and many of the Gentlemen of Northumberland, especially such as were allied to my Lord Grey of Wark, either for fear of the Scots, or Affection to their Cause, were very backward in their Opposition to them: But Newcastle, Tynmouth, Shields, and such other Places as were Garrisoned by the King's Forces, did so obstruct their March, that they passed not Tyne till the second of March, and when they did, the Marquis of Newcastle, and General King marched so near them, that they could not advance Southward, but got into Sunderland, where they lay, till the Lord Fairfax and the rest of the Parliament Forces made a Diversion able enough to give them Opportunity to descend into Yorkshire, as hereafter will be shewn.

Sir John Meldrum, the Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Will. Constable, and Colonel Lambert, had out of Lincolnshire and the associated Counties, got many Men together, and made such Impressions upon the Marquis of Newcastle's Quarters, that they became very well able to keep a Body together in Yorkshire, and Sir John Meldrum marched into Nottinghamshire, where he joyned with some Troops of the Earl of Manchester, and the Lord Willoughby of Parham, to the Number of eight thousand Horse and Foot, with which they besieged Newark.

The King was much concern'd at the News of this Siege, and was resolv'd at any Hazard to relieve the Town; in order whereunto, the King sent an Express to Prince Rupert, which came to him on the 12th of March to Chester, wherein he commanded him to draw what Force he could together, to raise the Siege of Newark: Upon this Advice he made haste to Shrewsbury, speeding away Major Legg (General of the Ordnance) before to chuse out so many commanded Musqueteers of the English (of late come out of Ireland) as might be well spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musqueteers of Colonel Broughton's and Colonel Tillier's Regiment, with a hundred and twenty of Colonel Sir Fulk Huns's. All these sent down by the Severn, met the Prince at Bridgnorth on Friday. Of Horse he took along with him his own Troop, and Regiment, with twenty of Major General Urrey's; with these Forces he drew along three Field-pieces. At Wolverhampton next Day was his Army recruited by a hundred Horse, and two hundred Foot of Colonel Leveson's. On Monday Night he had Notice at *Ashby de la Zouch*, of two thousand two hundred Enemies under Sir Edward Hartop, sent out by Meldrum to the Pass and Bridge over the Sore, a Mile from Loughborough in Leicestershire. Their purpose

Sir Thomas Glemham's Answer to the Letter.

The Scotch Army descended as far as Yorkshire.

Newark besieged by Meldrum.

An Express sent by the King to Prince Rupert to raise the Siege.



1643. pose was either to intercept Major General Porter, or to prevent his joining with my Lord Loughborough: For thither with four Regiments of Horse, and a thousand commanded Musqueteers of my Lord Newcastle's Men, was Porter now come from about Newark, to hinder the farther Inroads into Leicestershire. Daily flight Skirmishes here passed: For Meldrum not able to force the Passage, and hearing of my Lord of Loughborough's drawing out, stole away. Porter thus disengaged, was the next Day together with my Lord Loughborough's Forces conjoined to the Prince's. That Night they all quarter'd in a Close by Bingham, eight Miles short of Newark. About two of the Clock, the Moon then well up, the Drums beat, and all marched. Hitherto had the Marches been so speedy, as Fame it self was prevented; for by Meldrum's own Letter sent to the Lord Fairfax, which was intercepted the Night before, they had no more but an uncredited Rumour of Prince Rupert's coming. On this Days March the Prince had notice by his Espials, how the Enemies were busied all that Morning in sending away their Cannon; which proved no other, than their drawing them off their Batteries into their chief Work at the Spittle, or Exeter-House, a little more than Musquet-shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter had they this Morning drawn all their Regiments and Ammunition. The Prince having Intelligence of their amassing themselves thus into one Body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly, advanced his Van of Horse upon the Spur to overtake them: The rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition. Coming near the Bacon-hill, a Mile short of Newark, he perceived some Horse of the Enemies, who upon his Approach, drew down the other side to their own Gross. The Prince thus easily gaining the Hill, was earnest to pursue his good Fortune, upon his apprehension of having many Advantages upon a retreating Enemy: Whereupon he gave order to charge them with all the Horse then with him, to engage them till the Rear and Foot should be marched up to him. Trooping thus to the Edge of the Hill, he perceived the most of the Enemy in Battalia (Horse and Foot) near the Spittle; all except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very Descent of the Hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few Forces: First himself with his own Troop of Life-Guards, undertook to attack that Body on the left Hand, appointing my Lord Loughborough's Troop to second him, and Colonel Charles Gerrard's Troop to be a Reserve a little on my Lord's right Hand. The Prince's Regiment was cast out into five Divisions, two Troops to each Division: In the first and very right Hand of all, were Captain Gardiner, and Captain Richardson; then Captain Cobb, and Captain Martin; then the Lord Grandison and Sir Thomas Dallison; next them the Troops of Sir Lewis Dives, and the Lord Dillon; Major Legg's and Lieutenant Colonel O. Neal's Troops, being next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General Porter's Regiment: The Field Word was, *King and Queen*; theirs, *Religion*. The Fight began about nine a

Clock, and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the Prince's Right Wing; the other doubling their Files from three to six deep, and charged two utmost Troops upon the Flank so hard, that Captain Martin came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself having pierced deep into the Enemies, and being observed and known, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy Persons, whereof one fell by his own Sword; a second being Pistoll'd by Master Mortaign, one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay Hand on the Prince's Collar, had it almost chopp'd off by Sir Will. Neale. He thus disengaged, with a Shot only in his Gauntlet, with Sir Richard Crane and his own Troop, charged quite through the Body, pursuing them in a Rout, home to their Works at the Spittle. Presently after this, his Regiment with their seconds likewise routed the three other Bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work and bringing away a Captain Prisoner. Loughborough also deported himself honourably, some of his Men shrunk at the second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel Gerard was shot in the Arm in this Encounter, and being by the Fall of his Horse much bruised, was taken Prisoner.

After a little Pause, both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make Impression, and they to receive it: And though for a good while they disputed it roughly, yet by main Force where they and all the rest driven quite out of the Field beyond their own Work, Foot and Cannon at the Spittle; divers of them hastening by a Bridge of Boats over that Branch of the Trent into the Island: Four other Troops, with as many Foot Companies hastened up to Muskam-Bridge, upon the other side of the Island, and main Stream of the River, about three quarters of a Mile both from Newark and the Spittle: Here they stayed till towards Evening; when breaking the Bridge behind them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the Trent, they hastened to Nottingham. In both these stiff Bouts, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereof three Captains, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cannoneers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an Hours silence, excepting that the Enemies Cannon disturbed it. As for the Prince, he now stayed for his Foot and the Rear of his Horse, both left full two Miles behind, when his Van began to double their March to overtake the Enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that Day commanded by Colonel Tillier: These resting themselves a while upon the Hill, the first Division being Part of those that came from Shrewsbury were led on by the Colonel, these marched down in the Face of the Enemy, hooting at their Cannon; and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the Right into a Meadow. At their coming, the Enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their Spittle-Work, and coming up against this Place, both sides saluted one another at too far a Distance with a short Volley; but Colonel Tillier was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the Enemy; but this being too well guard-

1643

Prince Rupert beats them out of the field

The Fight at Newark



1643.

ed, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more Bodies brought down into the Field, who charged up to the Enemy's Work, and killed many: *Loughborough's* Men being left upon the Hill for a Reserve. Thus was the Valley bespread with the Prince's Battalions, and in this Posture stood the Army. Sir *Richard Byron* Governour of *Newark* likewise before this, had sent Part of his Garrison (both Horse and Foot) into another Ground on the South-East Side of the Town: And by this time had the Prince Notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were so distressed for want of Victuals, that they were not able to live there two Days. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other Counsels, esteeming it cheaper to block up their Trenches, than to storm them: And block'd up they were already in a very narrow Room, no more being free than the backside of the *Spittle* towards the River: Besides which, they were on all Sides surrounded by his Forces; on the South Side, by the Town; on the East, by the Prince; and on the North, by Colonel *Tillier*. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides two hundred of the *Newark* Troopers. Thus the late Blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden Relief, or safe Means for Sally; for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen on upon their issuing out, both in Front and Flank with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Rear. Had they offered to escape over their Boat-bridge, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir *Richard Byron* with his own, and Sir *Gervase Eyre's* Horse Regiment, with eight hundred of Sir *John Digby's* Foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the Enemy's two Bridges: By which Interposition was all intercourse cut off betwixt their greater Body at the *Spittle*, and those at *Muskam-Bridge*; upon this those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-Forces too, was the Prince resolved to cast up a Redoubt that Night betwixt the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the Enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir *John Meldrum* some Hours before sent home Colonel *Gerard*, yet upon the Parole of a Soldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner whenever he should be called. They having sent out to parley, quitted their Bridge, which the Prince presently possessed by an hundred Musqueteers. For the Parley on the Prince's Part was appointed Sir *Richard Crane*, Captain of his Life-Guards, with Sir *William Neale*, Scout-Master-General; the other sending Sir *Miles Hobard*, and Sir *John Palsgrave*, two Colonels of *Norfolk*, on their Part. The Prince's Horse, were so over-marched, and the Foot so beaten off their Legs by long Marches, that he found his Men not very able to engage anew, and the Enemy were more than was believed; so that he was willing to give them good Conditions, and the

The Prince  
blocks up  
their  
Trenches.

rather, for that (as by intercepted Letters it appeared) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, being commanded by the Council of State to march; other Places might, e'er long, have need of his Presence; so that at length he condescended to these Articles.

1. That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.
2. That all Soldiers march away with their Swords by their Sides, and Colours and Drums.
3. That all Officers march without Molestation with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Bag and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.
4. That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses and Colours.
5. That his Highness send a Convoy to protect Us from any Injury two Miles from the utmost of his Highness's Quarters.

The Prince  
grants  
with these  
Articles.

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garrisons of *Gainsborough*, *Lincoln* and *Sleaford*, were quitted by the Parliamentarians, and *Sterne Castle* in *Staffordshire* was surrendered to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* for the King; but four Days after the Action at *Newark*, the King's Forces under the Marquess of *Newcastle*, received a considerable Loss at a Place called *Hilton*, where, for two or three Days, several Skirmishes were made betwixt the *English* and *Scotch* Armies; and on the 25th of *March* they came to a pretty close Engagement, wherein the *English* Foot were much disordered, and one Brigade of the Horse routed; and about two hundred Horses and Men were taken, but not without great Loss to the *Scots*, though their Numbers were increased with three thousand *English* Seamen and others, which came to them in *Sunderland* from *Hull*, and upon this Disorder the Marquess enlarged his Quarters Southward; but the *Scots* did not yet advance much further.

1644.  
The Mar-  
quess of  
*Newcastle*  
receives a  
Loss at *Hil-*  
*ton*.

Sir *William Waller* having taken *Arundel Castle* in *Sussex*, and procured a Commission from the Parliament, less dependent on *Essex* than that he had before, marches into *Hampshire* against the Lord *Hopton*, who was then very fortunate there, having taken *Warder Castle*, and many other Places. At *Brandon Heath* near *Alesford*, both Parties met on the 30th of *March*, and there was a very hot Dispute betwixt them; but *Waller* having the Advantage of the Ground, and a Covert of Trees and Hedges to shelter his Foot, did thereby great Execution on the King's Party, who pressing too eagerly to gain a Victory, lost it; yet it was not an entire Conquest, for the Lord *Hopton* retreated to *Winchester* with all his Cannon, except two heavy Pieces which were plunged, and could not easily be drawn off: But Sir *John Smith*, and Colonel *Butler*, and some other Officers of less Note of his Army were slain, and two hundred common Soldiers, and many others wounded; amongst which, the Lord *Steward*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* was one, who died three or four Days after at *Abington*, of his Wounds: He was a young Nobleman of great Courage and Generosity in all his Actions, and very debonair and affable in his Behaviour towards all:

*Arundel*  
Castle ta-  
ken by  
Sir *William*  
*Waller*.

*Waller* de-  
feateth the  
Ld. *Hopton*  
at *Brandon-Heath*.

On



1644. On the Parliament's Side many Officers and Soldiers were killed and wounded; and of the Wounded, Colonel *Thompson*, who lost his Leg, and Colonel *Dalbie*, were the most remarkable. After this Fight, the Town of *Winchester* was yielded to Sir *William Waller*, but the Castle continued long after a Garrison for the King. The News of the Affront lately given to the Marquess of *Newcastle's* Army by General *Lesley*, animated *Fairfax* and the Forces in *Yorkshire*, to draw what Troops they could together, to endeavour to join with the *Scots*, who were now upon their March: And in Pursuance of this Design, the Lord *Fairfax* marched out of *Hull*, with twenty Troops of Horse, and joined with his Son Sir *Thomas* and Colonel *Lambert*, who made up about sixty Troops more, besides a good Body of Foot, under Sir *John Meldrum*, making up in all to the Number of seven thousand Horse and Foot; and with this little Army, they made as if they intended to march to *York*, but on the eleventh of *April*, when they came near *Selby* (where Colonel *Bellasis* lay with a good Body of Men, as a Reserve to the Marquess of *Newcastle*) they drew before the Town, and about eleven of the Clock they assaulted it in three Places, and after two Hours Fight, made themselves Masters thereof, wherein they took Colonel *Bellasis* the Commander in Chief, Governour of *York*, with most of the rest of the Officers, and sixteen Hundred common Soldiers, a Drake and a Saker; seven Barrels of Powder, sixteen Bundles of Match, great Store of Bullets, and two thousand Arms: Immediately upon this Success, the Marquess of *Newcastle* retreated to *York*, to re-inforce that Garrison, in case any Attempt should be made upon it; and *Fairfax* marched to meet the *Scots*, and joined his Army with theirs at *Wetherby*, from whence they disposed them to Quarters, 'till a Resolution should be taken for further Action. In the mean time, the Queen being great with Child at *Oxford*, and somewhat apprehensive of a Siege there, by the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller*, which was the common Intelligence of that time, to prevent the Inconveniencies thereof, set out from *Oxford* on the 17th of *April* towards *Exeter*, where she safely arrived some time after; and two Days after her Departure from *Oxford*, the Parliamentary Convention at *Oxford* were by the King prorogued to the 8th of *October*, and that Prorogation was afterward enlarged to the 9th of *November* by Proclamation. Prince *Rupert* was very active in *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Lancashire*, to make an Army sufficient to relieve the Marquess of *Newcastle*, who was somewhat straitened in *Yorkshire* by the Parliament's Forces, where he had done very good Service in taking many Garrisons from the Enemy, as *Longford House*, and *Tonge Castle* in *Shropshire*, *Stowford* in *Cheshire*, and *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, besides the Relief of *Latham House*, (which had been eighteen Weeks defended by the Countess of *Derby*, against a close Siege) and the Defeat of many Parties that encountered him or his Forces at several times: But we shall leave him for a while, to speak of the King's Condition at this time.

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were for the most Part made

up of *London Trained Bands* and *Auxiliaries*, one under the Earl of *Essex*, and the other under Sir *William Waller*; both Armies Rendezvous'd on the 24th of *May* at *Blewbury* in *Berkshire*, and kept their Head Quarters that Night at *Abington*, within five Miles of *Oxford*, where they continued five or six Days, and *Essex* marched from thence to *Ipsley*, with Purpose to distress *Oxford* on the North Part, and left Sir *William Waller* at *Abington* on the South Part.

The King perceiving the Parliament's Intention to besiege *Oxford*, was resolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies some distant Diversion, or at least to remove his Person from the Inconveniencies of a Siege. The Place resolved to go to, was *Worcester*, which he kept so private, that scarce any knew of it but himself: And to amuse the Enemy, on the third of *June*, he sent a Party of five or six hundred Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Cleveland*, to alarm *Abington*, who bravely entered the Turnpike, and if he had had more Forces, might have carried the Town; but having done his Business, he retreated with his Party to *Oxford*, whilst *Waller* drew his Troops about *Abington*, expecting the King's March that way; but that Evening appointed his Rendezvous at *Northley*, about eight Miles from *Oxford*, where he drew up his Army, consisting of about seven thousand Horse and Foot, twelve Drakes, and sixty Carriages; and having refreshed himself at one Mr. *Parret's* House there, from whence he marched to *Burton-on-the-Water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Stow-on-the-Wold*, and there lodged at Dr. *Temple's*, the Parson there.

From *Burton* the King went to *Parishore*, and from thence to *Worcester*.

*Essex* and *Waller* having Notice of the King's march, eighteen Hours after he was gone, pursued him two several ways; *Essex* was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that fighting would not so much waste his Men, as tedious Marches after the King's light Army, when his was incumbered with a heavy Train of Artillery; so that he thought it more prudent to put *Waller* upon this Service, and to stay for him at *Burford* to consult about the Prosecution of it. At *Burford* it was resolved that *Essex* should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the Obedience of the Parliament, whilst *Waller* should get what Forces he could together, to join with him in Pursuit of the King, who was yet at *Worcester*; from whence, on the 11th of *June*, he sent a Party out to relieve *Dudley Castle* that was besieged, and having Intelligence that the Parliament's Armies were now severed, and hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry Marches, the King advanced to *Budeley*, where he staid four Days, and *Waller* imagining his Intention to be to march towards Prince *Rupert*, hastened into *Staffordshire* to get before him; but the King turns back with Resolution to be furnished with more Men and Ammunition from *Oxford*, and in order thereunto, on the 18th of *June*, he came to *Witney*, where he staid 'till some Forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time, he marched towards the Parliament's Associated Counties, and

*Winchester* yielded to Sir *William Waller*.

*Selby* taken by the Lord *Fairfax*.

*Fairfax* joins his Army with the *Scots*.

The Queen upon apprehension of Danger, removes from *Oxford* to *Exeter*.

The Parliament at *Oxford* prorogued.

*Latham House* defended 18 Weeks by the Countess of *Derby*; relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

The Parliament formed two Armies under the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller*.

The King removes with his Army from *Oxford* to *Worcester*.

*Essex* marches Westward. *Waller* pursues the King to *Worcester*.

The King marches to *Buckingham*.



1644. on the 22d of June, he came to *Buckingham*, where he received the joyful News of the Queen's safe Delivery of the Princess *Henrietta*.

The King receiveth the News of the Birth of the Princess *Henrietta* at *Exeter*.

*Waller* to recruit his Army from the Garrisons of *Gloucester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, and *Kenilworth* Castle, had on the 26th of June, a Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field, whereof the King having Notice, turned his March towards him, and quartered that Night at *Brackley*. Two Days after the King's coming before *Banbury*, he found *Waller* drawn up in Battalia Westward from the Town on the Side of *Crouth-bill*, taking Advantage of the Hills, Boggs, and Ditches, so that the King marched to *Daintry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Cropledy* Bridge, to secure his Pass over the River, and thereupon the Army marched over, and the Musketeers that guarded the Bridge were gone off; when *Waller* greedily apprehending to make some Advantage upon the King's Rear, puts over two thousand Horse, with a great Body of Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it: The King's Rear consisted of the Earl of *Cleveland*, and the Earl of *Northampton's* Brigades of Horse, and Sir *Bernard Ashley's* tertias of Foot: These faced about, and routed all the Enemy that had passed the Bridge; and the Earl of *Northampton* seeing some of *Waller's* Horse endeavouring to ford the River, charged and repulsed them. In this Fight, three hundred of *Waller's* Soldiers were slain, and *Weems* their General of the Ordnance, was taken Prisoner, with two Lieutenant-Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Cornets, with other Ensigns and Officers; an hundred and eighty common Soldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the King's Part, Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, the Lord *Wilmot* General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and the second time by Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for the Service of that Day. Colonel *Nevil* was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners; but there were not above twenty slain.

Sir *William Waller* routed by the King's Forces at *Cropledy* Bridge.

The King sends a Message to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace.

York besieged by *Manchester*, *Fairfax*, and *Lesley*: Is relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

*Marston-Moor* Fight, wherein the King's Party was at last defeated.

The King marched to *Evesham* after this Fight, from whence he sent a Message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went on to *Bath*. Sir *William Waller* was not in a Condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to *London*, to solicit Recruits, whilst the King march'd after *Essex* into the West. In the Beginning of this Month, Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Lancashire* with a considerable Army for the Relief of *York*, wherein the Marquess of *Newcastle* had been besieged two Months by three Armies, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Lesley*: They all upon approach of the Prince, drew off their Army, and thereupon the Prince and the Marquess of *Newcastle* marched after them to a Plain called *Marston-Moor*, where on the third of July, a terrible Fight began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordnance, and many of them Prisoners, insomuch that General *Lesley* and the Lord *Fairfax* thinking all had been lost, fled many Miles from the place where the Battle was fought, and

never came to the Remainder of their Army, 'till two Days after the Fight: But in Conclusion, by a wonderful and an unexpected fatality the fortune of the Day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Prince's Baggage, and with it Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Porter*, and Colonel *Tilliard* Prisoners. In this Battle were slain on his Majesty's Part, the Lord *Cary*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Colonel *Eure*, Colonel *Towneley*, with some others of Note, and about fifteen hundred common Soldiers. On the Parliament's Part were slain Sir *Charles Fairfax*, with many other of their Commanders, and at least three thousand Soldiers.

After this Battle the Parliament Army fat down again before *York*, and Prince *Rupert* marched away with about six thousand Horse and Dragoons into *Lancashire*, and from thence to *Chester*; but the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and his two Sons, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, Earl of *Carnwarth*, Bishop of *London-derry*, Lord *William Carnaby* General Pay-Master, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Colonel *Carnaby*, Colonel *Basset*, Colonel *Mozen*, Sir *Wal. Vavasor*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Fran. Mackworth*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish*, did all take Shipping at *Scarborough*, and were from thence transported to *Hambrough*.

The sudden Departure of the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and so many other considerable Persons at this time, was thought to be occasioned by a general Dissatisfaction among the Officers, concerning the Abilities and Integrity of the King, whose Direction had a great Influence upon the Action of that Day; but however it came to pass, so it was, that being a *Scotchman*, he was very hardly spoken of among the *North-ern* Commanders, as neither so great a Soldier as the World believed him, nor so zealous in the Cause, as perhaps he would have been, if it had not been against his own Countrymen.

The Parliament's Army had now lain twelve Days before *York*, since their last Approach to it, and Preparation was made for a Storm; but Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governour, sent a Trumpeter out late at Night for a Parley, for his Provisions and Ammunition was much wasted; and he had not above a thousand Soldiers, besides those that were sick and wounded, to defend the Town: So that upon the 16th of July, the City was surrendered upon very honourable Terms; amongst which, the two or three first were, That all Officers and Soldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in Mouth, with Bag and Baggage, and a Convoy to *Skipton*, and that no Soldiers shall be plundered. But the Soldiers that were to guard them, in Violation of these Conditions, plundered many of the Waggons, at which the Earl of *Manchester* and *Cromwel* were so much displeased, that many of them were censured at a Court Martial, but little Restitution was made, and most of them that were accused, agreed in one Excuse, viz. That they never heard it was any Part of the Agreement, that they should march away, and be protected with their Bag and Baggage, and that many of Sir *Thomas Glemham's* Soldiers for

York surrendered to the Parliament.



1644. set them on to plunder, discovering to them which were the Waggon of Papists; in rifling whereof they assisted and got their Share.

Having endeavoured hitherto, in the Actions of this Year, to apply them to the times whereon they were acted, we must now return to describe the Motions of the Earl of Essex, and the King, in the Western Parts, which for some Weeks together administered the greatest Matter for Story.

Whilst the King was at Bath, he received Advice that Essex was, about the 16th of July, marched from Teverton in Devonshire towards Plymouth, to raise the Siege, which Sir Richard Greenvil had at that time before Plymouth, and dispersed his Forces, which was the Result of a Council of War then had, when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the King's Forces, or to besiege Exeter; but neither of those were approved, and they were not very earnest to attempt Exeter, now they knew they had frightened the Queen from thence, who about the fifteenth or sixteenth of July, safely arrived at Brest in Britany, where she was very well received, though she got not thither without much Hazard, having an hundred great Shot made at her, and those few small Vessels of her Guard, by a Squadron of the Parliament's Ships that lay to intercept her.

As soon as the King heard of Essex's Advance towards Plymouth, he marched with his Army into Somersetshire, and at Kinsmore, he summoned the Gentry of the Country, and recommended to them the Care of that County in his Absence, and not to suffer themselves to be drawn away from his Service: And hearing that upon the March of Essex's Army towards Plymouth, Sir Richard Greenvil had raised his Siege thereof, and was marched into Cornwall, with his own Regiment, and the Regiments of Colonel Fortescue, Colonel Carew, and Colonel Acktland, and that Essex was marching after him with his Army, he immediately advanced with all his Forces towards Cornwall; but before he could get thither, Essex had much distressed Greenvil, having almost enclosed him with three Regiments of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons, under Colonel Bear.

On the first of August the King entered Cornwall, passing over the Tamor at Polton Bridge, and he marched directly to Liscard, where for some time he settled his head Quarters: The Country was very cordial to him, insomuch that not any of Essex's Men could straggle from their Quarters without Danger to be killed or taken Prisoners by the Country-People, which made him (who then quartered at Liffithiel, about eight Miles from Liscard) keep his Army very much together, and call back those he had sent to attempt on Sir Richard Greenvil; but all his Care did not prevent the Loss of some of his chief Officers, for Quarter-master General Dalbeir, Colonel Allured, Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bartley, with some other Officers, being at the Lord Mobun's House at Boconnock at Dinner, were all, except Dalbeir, surprized by a Party of the King's Horse, and brought Prisoners to Liscard on the 4th of August.

The King, by the Addition of Prince Maurice's Army, was much increased in Strength, and in all Appearance, likely to give himself (as it after happened) a Conquest over Essex, but the Tenderness he always had towards his Subjects, made them try rather (according to his Custom) first to seek Peace, before he proceeded to the Rigour of War; in order whereunto, he writ from Liscard, a Letter to Essex, dated August the 6th, which he sent to him by his Nephew, the Lord Beauchamp; but no Return was made to it, and a Day or two after, another Letter was writ to him by the Officers of the Army; to which he sent a negative Answer to the Earl of Forth, importing, That he had received a Letter from his Lordship, and some other Commanders, by which a Treaty was desired with him for a General Peace, which he could not admit of, without Breach of the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, having no Power by his Commission to treat in a Matter of such Importance. During this Conjunction of Affairs, an unhappy Accident fell out in the King's Army; for in the Consultation amongst the Officers, of the Letter to be sent to Essex, a very earnest Debate was had of the Matter of it, and the Manner of the Address, and some Expressions uttered by the Lord Wilmot therein, of making the Prince of Wales Mediator in the Business, which by some disaffected to that Lord was improved to his Prejudice, as if he intended to make a Division in the Army; and thereupon the King was perswaded to secure him, and send him away with a Guard to Oxford, which caused a great Consternation in the Army, for he was very well beloved among the Soldiers; and if great Care had not been used to temper the Minds of many of them, great Inconveniencies might have ensued: But nevertheless, the King lost hereby the Counsel and Conduct of one of his best Officers, who by all the Actions of his Life, before and after, gave such evident Marks of his Loyalty, that even his Enemies were ashamed and sorry for their Apprehensions of him. General Goring was at the Instant of his Remove put into his Command, and the King began to use all possible Means to distress the Enemy, by almost encompassing them with his Forces; he himself and Prince Maurice quartered at Boconnock, Greenvil fastened himself at Lanbetherock, three Miles West of the King, and possessed himself of Leprin Bridge, a Mile above Liffithiel, to which Place the Tide flowed up from Foy; so that it was not fordable but at one Pass between that and the Sea. The King's Army encamped between Boconnock and a Heath that passed his Quarters and the Enemy, and placed Guards on all Places on the River leading from his Quarters at Liffithiel to Foy, possessing a House of the Lord Mobun's over against the Town, and a Fort that commanded the Mouth of the Haven; so that Essex had no Place for Relief by Water, but at a small Creek, Mimibilly and St. Blase's Bay, but neither safe for Ships, but retained a large Space of Ground Westward: Whereupon Goring was sent with most of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Bassett with fifteen hundred Foot to those Parts, to stop all Provisions coming in at St. Blase, by which Means Essex and his Army were reduced to such Straits, that

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Pr. Maurice joins his Army with the King's.

The King sends a Letter of Peace to Essex.

Lord Wilmot not secured at Oxford.

General Goring put into his Command.

Essex is block'd up by the King's Forces in Cornwall.

Sir



1644. Sir William Belfour with five and twenty hundred of their Horse, broke away before Day in the Morning, on the 31st of August, between the Quarters of his Majesty and Prince Maurice as they lay encamped, and got to *Salisbury*, and the same Night *Essex* himself and the Lord Roberts, deserted the Army, and got away in a Boat to *Plymouth*.

*Essex* forced to desert his Army.

Captain *Breet* knighted for his good Service.

The King sends a second Message to the Parliament for Peace.

The Success of *Montrose* in Scotland.

The King has good Success in the West.

The next Day *Skippon* with the Foot endeavoured to march to *Foy*, but the King having notice of their Motion, marched soon after them, and that Day took five of their Ordnance, falling into their Rear within two Miles of *Lisfithiel*; the next Morning they made a Stand, and with their remaining Horse, regained some Fields from whence they had been forced before; whereupon the King sent Captain *Edward Breet* with the Queen's Troop, who in his View forced them to retire, regained the lost Ground, and got more, and returned in good Order, with the loss only of four of his Men, and himself shot in the Arm; for which good Service the King immediately knighted him. In the Evening their Men were so harrassed, they could scarce be made to stand to their Arms, and in that their Condition, Lieutenant Colonel *Butler* came to desire a Parley of the King, which was granted, and a Treaty followed, by which the King had delivered up to him all the Train of Artillery, consisting of Forty-nine Brass Pieces of Ordnance (with those taken before) two hundred and odd Barrels of Gun-Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, seven hundred Carriages, and betwixt eight and nine thousand Arms; and many of the common Soldiers deserted their Officers, and voluntarily offered their Service to the King; but this Victory did not lessen the King's Inclination to Peace, insomuch that on the 8th of September he sent a second Message to the Parliament from *Tavestock*, though this, as that before, had no Answer; nor was any Treaty agreed on 'till January following, as will be hereafter mentioned. But instead of this Message, if he had gon with his Army towards *London*, in all Probability he might have made an End of the War, the Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern Service.

About this time the Marquess of *Montrose* was very victorious for the King in *Scotland*, having obtained a great Victory over the Covenanters upon *Newbigging-Moor*, and taken *Perth*, and within fourteen Days after this, he gained another Victory near unto *Aberdeen*, and soon after took that City, and marched from thence into the Earl of *Argyle's* Country, which he wasted with Fire and Sword, and did many great Services, even to Admiration, considering the smallness of his Beginning and the little Assistance he had from *England*; but we shall leave a while the Narrative of his Fortune, to return to the Transactions in *England*, which were the remaining Part of this Year prosecuted in several Places with various Success: In the West, after the great Victory over *Essex's* Army, *Ilford-Comb*, *Barnstable*, and *Salisbury*, submitted to the King's Arms, and *Basing-House*, that had been eighteen Weeks besieged, was relieved by a Party from *Oxford* under Sir *Henry Gage*, and a little after, he with the Earl of *Northampton* raised the Siege of *Ban-*

bury-Castle, which had been a Month beleagured by Colonel *John Fiennes*, and slew and took many of his Men, and one Piece of Ordnance; but the good Fortune of the Parliament in several Parts, ballanced this Success with Advantage; *Monmouth* was, in September, taken by Colonel *Massy*, and the Town and Castle of *Newcastle*, which had long endured the utmost Force of the *English* and *Scotch* Armies, was taken by Storm, with great Loss to the Assailants on the 27th of October, and a while after, *Liverpool* in *Lancashire* was surrendered to Sir *John Meldrum*: But the great Business that concluded this Year, were the Battle of *Newberry*, and the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable Occurrences that then happened.

The Earl of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, had drawn a great Army together, with a Resolution to hinder the King's March to *Oxford*; but he not believing that *Essex* could have so soon appeared at the Head of an Army, fought, or was willing not to decline Engagement. *Essex* and *Manchester*, on the 23d of October rendezvoused their Army in *Aldermaston Park*, and the next Night came privately over the Water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next Morning to *Bucklebury Heath* near *Newberry*, where the King then was, and about twelve of the Clock drew down their whole Army, between *Thacham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the King's Horse: On Saturday both Armies plyed one another with their great Ordnance, but without much Hurt done. Then some of *Manchester's* Troops, and *London* Trained-bands crossed the River *Kennet* between the Hill and *Newberry*, and did some Execution upon those that kept the Pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to their Rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again, in the Afternoon four thousand of *Essex* and *Waller's* Horse and Dragoons with five hundred Pikes, charged the Royal Army on the West side of *Newberry*, where were the *Cornish* Foot, and the Duke of *York's* Regiment, with five Field Pieces, and Prince *Maurice's* Brigade of *Cornish* Horse, all which having not unmanfully sustained the rough charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some Disorder, and here some of the King's Field-pieces were taken. The *Essexians* following their Success, advanced with five hundred Horse, and a sufficient strength of Musqueteers betwixt *Newberry* and *Spine*, upon the King's Life-Guards, and Sir *Humphry Bennet's* Brigade, whom they over-powered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their Assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having settled three Bodies of Foot in certain Inclosures, advanced over a Ditch, with a great Body of Horse to break through the King's Guards; but first they were obliged to fight with General *Goring* and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, (who charged stoutly and beat back the Enemy, but pursuing disorderly, were repulsed with Loss.)

Upon the North East of *Newberry* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lisle*, against whom the Earl of *Manchester's* Horse and Foot, with

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The Parliament's Success in divers Parts.

The Battle at Newberry.



1644. with the Trained Bands of London, came down the Hill and worsted Colonel Lisle's Guards: But Sir John Brown, Lieutenant Colonel of the Prince of Wales's Regiment of Horse, charged the Foot, and stopp'd them, and then received a Charge of a thousand Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next Place forces his Way to charge the Reserve, commanded by Colonel Thelwell, and after a smart Dispute, beat them out of the Field, and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battle on the King's Part were slain Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lieutenant Colonel Leak, Lieutenant Colonel Topping, and Captain Catlin; the Earl of Cleveland, and some few were taken; the Earl of Brainford, and Forth, Sir John Greenville, Sir Richard Camfield, Major Alford and Captain Walgrave, and others, were wounded; many private Soldiers slain and taken Prisoners. The Fight endured 'till eight of the Clock at Night, and was ended to the Advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King perceiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total Overthrow if the Battle should be renewed, marched away secretly to Dennington-Castle, and there left behind him his great Pieces of Ordnance, and so hastened to Willingford. General Essex lodged himself in Newberry, and having in vain summoned and assaulted Dennington-Castle, he marched away on the 29th of October, committing the Care of that Siege to a Party which he left behind him.

The King after this Fight, made what hast he could to recruit and refresh his Army, that he might relieve Dennington-Castle, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition and Baggage which he left there; and that he might also succour Basing-house, which was again besieged; and therefore on the 6th of November, he had his Rendezvous at Bullington-Green, betwixt Wallingford and Oxford, and from thence, he marched two Days after to Dennington; but upon his Approach to the Castle, the Enemy drew off their Forces, and he put into the Garrison a Supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he left there: And hearing Sir William Waller was with an Army about Hungerford, he march'd thither to engage him, but they would not venture an Encounter, and from thence Sir Henry Gage was sent with a Party to relieve Basing-house; but before he came, the Besiegers drew off, and left the Work very easy to him. After these Performances, the King returned to Oxford, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters; and there he was attended by the Earl of Denbeigh, and some of the House of Commons, as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace; which produced an Overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at Uxbridge, which began about the first of February after, of which we shall make further mention in its Place.

About the end of this Month Sir Alexander Carew, who was Governour of St. Nicholas Island

at Plymouth, was tryed by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and sentenced to be Beheaded, which Sentence was a few Days after executed upon him on Tower-Hill; and by the same Court Martial Sir John Hotham and his Son were in like manner arraigned, found guilty, and executed for designing to quit their Party, and by some Service to ingratiate a Return to their Allegiance to the King.

In this Heat, Roger L' Estrange, the Son of Sir Hammond L' Estrange of Norfolk, was condemned to dye by the same Court, being taken with a Commission for reducing of Lyn. He was betrayed by one Leman, and Haggard, under the horridest Oath of Secresy imaginable: He was sentenced by a pack'd Committee unheard: And upon his Appeal to the Lords, reprieved in order to a Hearing, which he expected almost four years, in Newgate, and came off at last without it.

By this severe and sanguinary way of proceeding, the Parliament made themselves very terrible, especially to their own Party, against whom any particular Crimes could be objected; but where the Offences were General, and the Persons of great Interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their Methods; and it happened at this time, that they were much perplexed at the ill Conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that Progress he lately did in the Relief of Dennington and Basing-House; for by his Appearance there, the Quarters of the Parliament's Army on that side, were at Reading, Henly, Abington, and Farnham, and the King's Troops were quarter'd at Basing, Odiam, Newberry, Blewberry, and Marlborough.

Essex began to be suspected as careless or discontented, and Colonel Norton writ a Letter that he had received a Warrant from a chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from Basing; and the Earl of Manchester made a long Relation in Writing concerning the Carriage at Dennington, wherein he made his own Defence, but accused Colonel Cromwell. Upon this the House of Commons fell into Consideration of the slow Proceedings of their Armies, alledging that many of their Officers were deficient in not prosecuting Advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the Differences among their Commanders were commonly most where Command was the greatest; which produced this Resolution, viz. That no Member of either House of Parliament shall (during this War) enjoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any Authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that Purpose.

This Vote and the Ordinance thereupon, was very much opposed by the Peers; but Petitions from the City and several Counties were framed and presented to move their Compliance, which in the End prevailed upon them: In the mean time, though it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of Action, the War went on in several Places, and several new Garrisons were made by both Parties, to the miserable Spoil and Destruction of the Country. Sir Jacob Ashley possessed himself

Sir Alexander Carew beheaded. Sir John Hotham and his Son executed.

Dennington and Basing-house relieved by the King's Forces.

The House of Commons vote, that no Parliament Man shall execute any Command Military or Civil.

The King's Party worsted at Newberry.

The King returns to Oxford, and receives Propositions for a Peace



1644 himself of Cirencester with three Brigades of Foot and four Regiments of Horse, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very Gates of Gloucester; nor were the Garrisons in Worcester, Hereford, and Bristol, less active; and Monmouth that had been before taken from the King, was regain'd by the Lord Herbert of Ragland. But in the midst of this good Fortune on the King's side, a Garrison was form'd at Abington, a Town within five Miles of Oxford, by order from the two Houses of Parliament, under the Command of Colonel Brown; the King and Council looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be rais'd, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. It cannot be denied, but that Sir Henry Gage, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about Oxford, offered their Service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that Mischief, which by the Intrenchments of this Town, must needs fall upon them. But the Lord George Digby, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon Assurance that he held Intelligence with Brown, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victuals, Arms and Ammunition, at the Charge of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesty's Hand. In which Design he was deluded, and expos'd to some loss of Reputation: For Brown having brought his Project to the highest Round of the Ladder (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after, all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord Digby upon this Occasion. But now when it was too late, Sir Henry Gage was sent with a commanded Party out of Oxford and Wallingford, to raise a Fort at Cullum Bridge within half a Mile of Abington, but the Design being discovered he was prevented, and in the Attempt unfortunately received a Shot, whereof wherein two Hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Colonel Lower, the Deputy Governor of Wallingford, and Major Green of that Garrison, with several others of great Courage and Reputation.

Archbishop Laud beheaded on Tower-Hill.

On the same Day, or the Day before, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded on Tower-hill, after he had been kept four Years a Prisoner in the Tower, his Rent sequestred, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seized; his Charge was, *A constructive Treason under several Heads, reducible into two Particulars;*

1. For endeavouring the Subversion of the Laws of the Land.
2. And a like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. William Pryn of Lincoln-Inn, his profest Enemy, was made his Prosecutor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his Offences, though when all that could be, was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him; but the Scots who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied unless he were put to Death, to manifest thereby their Zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to usher in the

Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High-Treason, though at the passing thereof in the House of Peers, there were but seven present, viz. \* the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Bullingbrook, and the Lords North, Grey, and Bruce.

He ended his Life with such a modest Confidence and so much Piety, that his greatest Enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with Hearts full of Joy, returned back with Eyes as full of Tears.

In pursuance of several Messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at Uxbridge Commissioners met on the 30th of January for the King, on one Part, and for the Parliament of England and the Parliament of Scotland on the other.

The Treaty at Uxbridge.

The Commissioners for the King, were,  
Duke of Richmond and Lenox.

Marquess of Hertford.  
Earl of Southampton.  
Earl of Kingston.  
Earl of Chichester.  
Lord Capel.  
Lord Seymour.  
Lord Hatton.  
Lord Culpepper.  
Sir Edward Nicholas.  
Sir Edward Hyde.  
Sir Richard Lane.  
Sir Thomas Gardner.  
Sir Orlando Bridgeman.  
Mr. Jo. Alburnham.  
Mr. Jeoffry Palmer.  
Doctor Stuard.

Commissioners for the Parliament, were,  
Earl of Northumberland.

Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.  
Earl of Salisbury.  
Earl of Denbeigh.  
Lord Wenman.  
Mr. Pierpoint.  
Sir Henry Vane, Junior.  
Mr. Crew.  
Mr. Whitlock.  
Mr. St. Johns.  
Mr. Prideaux.  
Lord Lowdon.  
Sir Ch. Erskine. } Scotch  
Mr. Dowglas. } Commis-  
Mr. Brackly. } sioners.  
Mr. Henderson.

The first things to be treated on, were,

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. Ireland.

The Matters of the Treaty.

The first Paper at the Opening of the Treaty was concerning Religion, which was delivered from the King's Commissioners to the others, in these Words;

1. That Freedom be left to all Persons of what Opinion soever in Matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoin these Penalties be suspended.
2. That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the Consent and Counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each Diocese, of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Diocese.
3. That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocese, except when he shall be required by His Majesty to attend him on any Occasion; that if he be not hindered by the infirmity of Old Age or Sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocese.
4. That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in the publick and solemn Manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency and other Qualifications of those Men who shall be received

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\* Heylin's History of the Life of King Charles I. page 113.



1644. ved into Holy Orders. And the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders without the Approbation and Consent of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.

5. That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Improvements, according to the Value of several Parishes.

6. That no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages with Cure of Souls.

7. That toward the settling of the publick Peace, 100000 l. shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.

8. That the Jurisdiction in Causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be settled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament. And likewise that Acts to be passed for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other Abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the King's Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the Consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners, after they had perused this Paper, delivered one of theirs to the King's Commissioners, which was as followeth :

That a Bill be passed for abolishing of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the Third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for publick Worship, already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed and passed both Houses, be enacted as a Part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the First Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoined to be taken according to the Second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following Paper.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is by the respective Bounds of their Dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church-Officers in each Congregation, shall join in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classial, and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

These Papers were debated on three Days without any Determination on any one Controverted Point, and on the 4th of February, the Parliament Commissioners delivered in the following Proposals concerning the Militia.

We desire that the Subjects of England may be armed, trained, and disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; and that the like be for Scotland, as the Parliament there shall think fit; and that his Majesty give his Royal Assent to the Acts following.

1. An Act for Settling the Admiralty, and all Forces at Sea, and Moneys thereto for Maintenance, to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for Scotland.

2. An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, to be such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, with Power to suppress all Powers and Forces contrary thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.

And so for the Kingdom of Scotland.

That the Militia of the City of London, and the Parishes without London, and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

That the Tower of London may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Officers thereof nominated, and removable by the Common-Council.

That the Citizens or Forces of London may not be drawn out of the City without their own Consent, and the Example of drawing them out in these distracted times, may be no Precedent for the Future.

These Papers were likewise debated three Days, and then the Parliament Commissioners presented a Paper concerning Ireland to this Effect.

That His Majesty give His Royal Assent to an Act to make void the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties of the Rebels without Consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of Ireland in the Parliament, to be managed by the joint Advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, and to do no Act to discountenance or molest them therein.

The King's Commissioners in the Debate of this Proposition, did lay open the eminent and inevitable Necessity which caused the King to make the Irish Cessation, which he was in Honour obliged to make good; nevertheless they offered to condescend to any thing for the Security of the King's Protestant Subjects: But the Parliament Commissioners were so bound up by their Instructions, that they could admit of no Alteration of what they offered.

The Matter of Religion was then resumed, and that was to be concluded before they proceeded to any other Proposition. But so many Difficulties occurred in the Debate thereon, that no Accord could be made; for the Parliament to endear the Scots to them, had caused every Member of each House to take the Scotch Covenant, whereby they bound themselves to the Preservation of the Religion of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government; and, to endeavour the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Reformation of Religion in England and Ireland, according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches. Whereby they could mean nothing less than to bring them to the Discipline of Scotland, because they had sworn to the Preservation of the Religion there: Moreover, they had sworn in this Covenant against detestable Indifference

The Scotch Covenant taken by both Houses.



1644 ferency and Neutrality, (to keep their own Words) whereby it seemed apparent, that tho' at first the Contrivers of this Oath pretended only for Liberty of Conscience, they now would allow none to any: Wherefore the King's Commissioners were at a stand; for the King took himself bound by the Oath of his Coronation, not to alter the Government of the Church, and they were bound by their Instructions to insist thereon; so that the Treaty became desperate upon this Account, though on the King's Part it was offered, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give Satisfaction, that then so great an Alteration as the total Abolishment of a Government established by Law, might (for the Imparance of it, and any Reformation in Doctrine for the Scandal of it) be suspended, 'till after the Disbanding of all Armies, when the King should be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, might receive such Advice both from the one and the other, as should be necessary; and as any Reformation thus calmly made, would needs prove for the singular Benefit, so whether the contrary, that is an Alteration even to things, though in themselves good, could by the Principles of Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

The Treaty proves ineffectual.

This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty Days, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no Peace but on their own Terms, believing all the King's Proposals for Peace, to proceed either from an Inability to hold out the War, or from the Weakness and Irresolutions of his Council.

Shrewsbury taken.

After this, followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a Place of very great Importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising Ground, and almost encompassed about by the River *Severn*; that Part which is not environed by Water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town the King's former Intercourse with his Loyal Subjects of *North Wales* was not only hindered, but a present Stop was given to an Association which was then upon the Point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, &c. to the great Prejudice of the King's Affairs in those Parts of the Kingdom.

Pomfret Castle relieved by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Lord Fairfax's Army defeated.

But to make a Recompence, in some Measure, for this great Loss, about the beginning of *March* this Year, *Pomfret Castle* in *Yorkshire*, was relieved by *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax's* Army that lay before it; and in his going thither, he defeated a great Party of the Parliament's Forces, commanded by *Colonel Rossiter*, near *Melton-Mowbray* in *Leicestershire*.

The Prince of Wales sent into the West to perfect the Association.

The King at this time thought fit to send the Prince of *Wales* into the West, to perfect the Association which had been begun in the end of the last Summer, and in those Countries to advance such further Forces as might not only serve for the Defence of themselves, but give some reasonable Increase to his Army; so that upon the fifth of *March* he set forwards toward *Bristol*, accompanied by the Lord *Culpepper* and *Sir Edward Hyde*, as his principal Counsellors,

and some of the chief Gentry of the West, 1644 who were of most Authority in their several Countries.

The King having advised with such of the Members of both Houses of Parliament as had assembled at *Oxford*, from their last Meeting in *November*, after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*; He then being resolved for Action, dismissed them to their several Countries.

And now both Sides prepare for Action, in 1645. order whereunto, the Parliament had passed their Ordinance which they called Self-denying, wherein all and every the Members of either House were to be discharged of all their Command, Military or Civil, and in Pursuance thereof, they elected *Sir Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, which they now modelled out of their other Armies, consisting of eleven Regiments of Horse, and ten Regiments of Foot. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a Member of the House of Commons, was particularly excepted out of the Ordinance, and so was *Skippon* the Major-General, and *Ireton* the Commissary-General of the Horse; and to make way for these Officers, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh*, surrendered their Commissions in the Lords House, and the Earl of *Warwick* also surrendered his Commission of Admiral.

The Parliament pass their Self-denying Ordinance. *Sir Thomas Fairfax* made General of their Army. *Cromwell*, *Skippon*, and *Ireton* excepted out of their Ordinance. *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh* surrender their Commissions, and *Warwick* his Admiralship. *Fairfax* goes to *Windso* to gather up his Army.

*April* the third, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* sets forth for *Windso*, where he applies himself to the gathering together of his Army, to which Place Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* came to him, and was immediately ordered to march towards *Oxford*, with a Brigade of one thousand one hundred Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horse, which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester* to fetch off the King from *Oxford* with his Train of Artillery, and some Foot with Intention to take the Field; and at *Ips*, *Cromwell* falls upon them, which after some Dispute he routed, and took divers Prisoners, and about two hundred Horse, and from thence he pursued several of them that escaped to *Blechingdon* House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King, which was surrendered to him upon the first Summons, but the Colonel was soon after condemned by a Court of War at *Oxford*, and shot to Death for parting so easily with the Place. A few Days after *Cromwell* marches to *Farrington*, and assaulted that Garrison, but was repulsed with the loss of near two hundred Men, besides many that were wounded and taken Prisoners. The King perceiving that *Fairfax* intended to besiege *Oxford*, sent for Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to march to him thither, and these about the beginning of *May* came to *Oxford* and fetch'd off the King, who quickly increased his Army, and advanced with it towards the Relief of *Chester*; but *Goring* returned to the Siege of *Taunton*, from whence he had been called to this Service.

*Fairfax* in Commiseration of the distressed Condition of *Taunton*, marched with his Army to the Relief of it as far as *Blandford*; but upon second Thoughts, he sends Colonel *Welden* with near two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and five hundred Foot to *Taunton*, and returns to *Newberry*, where he receives an Express to march to *Oxford*,



1645. *Oxford*, and lay close Siege to it: In the mean time *Welden* makes haste to *Taunton*, and the King's Forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious Assault, and if that took not effect, to quit the Place; which was performed, and they entred the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governour retired to the Castle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and suffered Colonel *Welden* to enter the Town; but *Goring*, *Greenvil*, and *Barkley* uniting their Forces together, did so press upon *Welden*, that they besieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved *Chester*, and from thence marched to *Leicester*, and taken it by Assault, wherein were many Prisoners of Note, and good store of Arms and Ammunition, and from thence he went to *Darventry*. *Fairfax* having Intelligence as he lay at the Siege of *Oxford*, of this fortunate Progress of the King's Arms, was resolved to raise his Siege, and march directly towards him, with an Intent to give him Battle; and in Pursuance hereof, on the fifth of June his Army rendezvous'd at *Great Brickhill*, and from thence he marched to *Gilbrough*, within four Miles of *Northampton*, and five Miles of *Brough-hill*, which was one of the Quarters of the Royalists.

*Fairfax* lays close Siege to *Oxford*.

The King relieves *Chester*, and takes *Leicester* by Assault.

The King hereupon drew off from *Brough-hill*, minding to march Northward to the Relief of *Pomfret*, which was again besieged; but *Fairfax* being eager to engage, sent *Ireton* with a flying Party of Horse, who fell into *Naseby* Town, and took many Prisoners, giving such an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight left his own Quarters, and for Security hastened to *Harborough*, where he raised *Prince Rupert*, and called a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battle; and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would not stay for him, but seek him out, and at a Place near *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire* the two Armies met on *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*.

The Fight at *Naseby*.

The King himself commanded the main Body, *Prince Rupert* and *Prince Maurice* the Right-Wing, *Sir Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Lord *Abley* the Right-Hand Reserve, the Lord *Bard* and *Sir George Lisle* the Left. Of the Parliament's Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the main Body, *Cromwell* the Right-Wing, with whom was *Rositer*, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight; and *Ireton* had the Left: The Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond* and *Pride*. *Prince Rupert* charged the Parliament's Left-Wing, commanded by *Ireton*, who made a notable Resistance, but at last was forced to give Ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner. For a while *Prince Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his Return summoned the Train, who made no other Answer but with their Fire-Locks: But in the mean time *Cromwell* charg'd furiously on the King's Left-Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them and their Reserve; during which, the main Bodies had charged one

another with incredible Fierceness, often retreating and rallying, falling in together with the But-Ends of their Muskets, and coming to handy-Blows with their Swords: But *Fairfax's* Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse, and *Cromwell* coming in with his victorious Right-Wing, they all charged together upon the King's main Army, who maintain'd the Fight 'till over-born with fresh Numbers; and being out of Condition to dispute it any longer, retired out of the Field toward *Leicester*, in the greatest Disorder and Confusion imaginable, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who pursued them within two Miles of *Leicester*; and the King finding the Pursuit so hot, leaves that Town and hastens to *Litchfield*. This Battle was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very courageous and numerous, not being five hundred odds, fought in a large fallow Field on the North-West Side of *Naseby*, about a Mile broad, which Space of Ground was wholly taken up: On the Parliament's Side were wounded and slain above a thousand Officers and private Soldiers: Major General *Skippon*, who was an old experienced Soldier, and was ordered to draw up the form of the Battle, fought stoutly that Day; and although he was sorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General desired him to go off the Field, he answered, he would not stir so long as a Man would stand, and accordingly staid 'till the Battle was ended. *Ireton*, as is said before, was dangerously hurt, and taken Prisoner for a while, after he had done his Part; but in the Confusion of the Fight got loose again, and saw the Victory atchieved. The General and Lieutenant-General performed their Work with sufficient Resolution (had their Cause been as good) and by their own Examples infused Valour into their Followers; so likewise did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded.

1645.

The Victory obtained by the Parliamentarians. The King escapes to *Litchfield*.

On the other Side, the King shew'd himself that Day a courageous General, keeping close with his Horse, and himself in Person rallying them to hot Encounters: The Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Abley*, Col. *Rastol*, and others were wounded, twenty Colonels, Knights, and Officers of Note, and six hundred private Soldiers slain: But much more was the Damage that the King sustained by what was taken; viz. six Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, eighteen Majors, seventy Captains, and seventy Lieutenants, two hundred Ensigns, and other inferior Officers; four thousand five hundred common Soldiers, and many Women; thirteen of the King's Household Servants, four of his Footmen, twelve Pieces of Ordnance, eight thousand Arms, forty Barrels of Powder, two hundred Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Pil-lage; three thousand Horse, the King's Standard, one of the King's Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after published by the Parliament (with less Decency and Civility then became such an Assembly). *Sir Marmaduke Langdale* hastened away the same Night to *Newark*. The next Day General *Fairfax* sent up Col. *John Fiennes* to *London*, with the Prisoners and Colours taken in the Fight.



1645. The King having saved himself by Flight, gathered together some part of his scattered Forces, but never was able to make Head against the Conquerors, losing this Year one Garrison after another, till his whole Strength was almost reduc'd to Oxford. I shall take notice only of some of the Principal; namely, *Leicester*, *Carlisle*, *Pomfract-Castle*, *Bridgwater*, *Scarborough*, *Bristol*, *Hereford*, and *West Chester*, on which so great a part of his Affairs did most especially depend.

Several Garrisons of the King's taken.

*Leicester* and *Carlisle* surrendered up to the Parliament.

On the 16th of *June*, *Fairfax* sat down before *Leicester*, and summoned the Governour, the Lord *Hastings*, to deliver up the Town, which he refusing, Warrants were issued for the Country to bring in Ladders and other Necessaries for a Storm; and *Hastings* continuing yet obstinate, he assailed it in several Places, and at the *Newark* Side he made so wide a Breach, that the Governour desired a Parley, which was granted; and thereupon a surrendering ensued upon very fair Terms. There were in the Town fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, two thousand Arms, five hundred Horse, fifty Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable; and about a Week after, *Sir Thomas Glemham*, Governour of *Carlisle*, having been long besieged by the Parliament Forces, and despairing of Succours, yielded up the Town. The low Condition of *Col. Welden*, and the Town of *Taunton*, caused the Committee of both Kingdoms to order *Gen. Fairfax* to march thither, which he readily obeyed; but upon his Approach to the Town, *General Goring*, on the 10th of *July*, drew off from *Taunton*, and retreated to *Langport*. The next Day *Fairfax* being at *Long-Sutton*, within two Miles of *Langport*, he drew out his Forces early in the Morning in *Sutton-Field*; *Goring* likewise drew forth at that time, and took a Pass leading to *Bridgwater*, and lined the Way to it with Musqueteers: *Fairfax* sent *Major Bethel* to force the Pass, but he was repulsed; then *Desbrough* was sent with two Hundred Horse, who press'd so hard upon the Royalists, that they were put to a disorderly Retreat into *Langport*, setting one End of the Town on Fire, that the Smoke thereof might hinder the Enemies Pursuit of them; but Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, with some Troops press'd through, and pursued them within two Miles of *Bridgwater*.

In this Fight *Goring* lost about two hundred of his Men, who were slain, and about fourteen hundred taken Prisoners, of which *Col. Brel-trige*, and *Col. Slingsby*, were the chief. On *Fairfax's* Side, *Col. Cook*, *Col. Butler*, and *Major Bethel* were wounded, and a Captain of *Butler's* slain, and about a hundred of the Soldiers killed and wounded.

*Sir John Digby* died of his Wound at *Bridgwater*.

*Sir John Digby*, who was Major-General of the Horse to *Goring*, was shot in the Elbow, and carried into *Bridgwater*, where shortly after he died of his Wound, and was very much lamented by his Party; he was about forty five Years of Age at the time of his Death, and in all his Life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great Courage and Conduct in Martial Affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. *Goring*

after he had refreshed himself for some time in *Bridgwater*, march'd away to the North of *Devonshire*: *Sir Thomas Fairfax* presently thereupon sits down before *Bridgwater*, and summon'd the Town; but being resolutely denied by *Sir Edmond Windham*, the Governour, he storm'd the lower Part thereof, which is divided from the rest by a Bridge, and gain'd it; and the next Day he shot hot Steel Plugs into the Town, by which means, and by some Intelligence he had with the Town, most of the Houses that were thatch'd were fired; whereby the Townsmen were so distracted, that they left the Works, and flung down their Arms to endeavour to save their Houses. In the midst of this Consternation, *Fairfax* sent a Trumpeter in to the Governour, whereby he acquainted him, that he purposed to assault the Town, but in Compassion to the Women and Children therein, he offered to permit, as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this, there was so great a Distraction in the Garrison, that the Governour was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon, on the 23d of *July*, the Town was surrender'd upon Condition only of fair Quarter, but all, except Townsmen, that were in Arms, to be Prisoners at War, of which there were a thousand Officers and Soldiers; and in their Stores they found forty four Barrels of Powder, and four hundred Weight of Match; and in the Town forty four Pieces of Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Arms: And two Days before, *Pomfract-Castle*, after three Months Siege, was delivered up to *Major-General Pointz*, upon Condition, for the Officers and Soldiers to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, and Bullet in Mouth, with six Shot of Powder, and Bullet proportionable: And on the 25th of *July*, the Castle of *Scarborough* had the like Fate, it being then surrender'd, by *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, the Governour, to *Sir Matthew Boynton*, who commanded the Forces before it, upon very honourable Conditions; amongst which it was provided, that the Governour, and all his Officers, and Soldiers, should have a safe Convoy to *Newark*; and from thence, after six Days notice, as many as desired should have a Pass to go into *Holland*, or any other Place abroad; and none were to be plundered or forced to take up Arms against their Wills, but have Passes to go home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle so well, that at the Delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Soldiers were so sick and weak, that they were brought out in Sheets: There were about thirty five Pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Arms, but very little Victuals or Ammunition.

*Bristol* comes next, a Place conveniently seated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great Ships, and the Port well guarded: At the taking of this City by the King's Forces, to such Strength as before it had, there was added a Fort-Royal, then conceived impregnable. Into this City *Prince Rupert* had put himself at the present, and was besieged not long after by *General Fairfax*, who came before it on the 25th of *August*. The Prince made several Sallies, and did some Execution upon the Enemy, but not without considerable Loss to his own Party; amongst

*Bridgwater* yielded up to *Fairfax*.

*Pomfract-Castle* delivered up to *Gen. Pointz*.

*Scarborough-Castle* surrendered to *Sir Matthew Boynton*.



1645. amongst which, Sir Bernard Aspley, and Sir Richard Crane, died of Wounds they received in one of them.

Fairfax had Intelligence that the Works in many Places were very weak and imperfect, and withal, he heard that the King did purpose to join with Goring to raise the Siege, but first expected that they should weary themselves so long before the Town, till he should be able to draw together a Force sufficient for such an Enterprize: Upon Consideration whereof, a Council of War was called, and Resolution taken to storm the City, which was done in this Order: Colonel Fortescue, with four Regiments on Somersetshire Side; Colonel Montague, with the like Number on both Sides of Lawford-Gate; and Colonel Rainsborough, on this Side the River From, from the Sally-port to the Fryers-port; and other Regiments were disposed in several Stations to second the Assaults and enter the Lines: Fortescue fail'd in his Attempt, but Montague and Rainsborough effected their Business; and Rainsborough possess'd himself of Fryers-port; and all the other Forts, except the great Fort, were taken: The Way being thus made by the Foot, the Horse entered the Town, and the Prince's Horse hastened to get themselves into the Fort-Royal; but the Parliamentarians from the Fryers-port did so command the Gate and Entrance into the great Fort, that none could go in or out; so that the next Day a Parley was had, and Articles concluded on for the Surrender thereof; and in the Place they had above two hundred Pieces of Ordnance, eight thousand Arms, two hundred Barrels of Powder, eighty Tun of Beer, and great store of other Provisions. In the Storm, on the King's Side, Major Price, Major Williams, and ten other Officers were slain, and many Soldiers, and Colonel Taylor wounded. On the Parliament Side, Lieutenant-Colonel Purefoy, and Captain Hill, and Major Cromwell, with thirty more Officers were killed; and Major Bethel, Major Gettings, with some others of less Note were wounded. The Prince, on the 11th of September, march'd out of the City with eight Lords in his Company, five hundred Horse, and fourteen hundred Foot; the Foot march'd with their Musquets and other Arms; but when they came within twenty Miles of Oxford, they were to lay them down.

Bristol being thus reduced, Fairfax march'd into the West, towards the Prince of Wales, who was now in the middle Parts of Devonshire, intending to take in Exeter, but there were so many Blocks in his Way, that it was a long time after, before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick Surrender of Bristol did much trouble the King, for he thought that City so well fortified and furnished with Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition, would rather have given a turn to his Affairs, by the Ruin of the Parliament Army against it, than otherways; but the Line being so very large, they had hardly Men enough to Man the Works, especially being kept by frequent Alarms upon continual Duty; so that in the end, partly out of Weariness, and partly out of Discouragement to see the Parli-

ament carry all before them, the Prince was necessitated to deliver it up, for the People would stand by him no longer. Soon after this Disaster, Col. Legg was removed from his Government of Oxford, and Sir Thomas Glemham appointed in his stead.

Hereford next followed the same Fortune of Bristol, which having been besieged by the Scots, from the 13th of July to the 1st of September, (at which time they were forced to draw off upon News that their Help was required in their own Kingdom, where Montrose was very prevalent, having defeated an Army imployed against him in a Battle fought in Kelsie Field near Glasgow): The Town was suddenly surprized by Colonel Birch and Colonel Morgan, (the last then Governour of Gloucester) on the 18th of December. The King a little before this time had got a small Army together in Wales, and seeing Bristol lost, was very desirous to free Chester (a City of very great Importance in those Parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it, by Sir William Brereton, Colonel Jones, and others; to effect which, he march'd with his Army, consisting of about five thousand Men and most Horse, to relieve the Town; but in his March towards it, he was fought by General Pointz at Routon-Moor, within two Miles of Chester, where being out-power'd with Numbers, his Army was worsted; and amongst others, the L. Bernard Stuart, Brother to the Duke of Richmond then newly made Earl of Litchfield, was slain: He was a young Nobleman of great Hopes, and therefore was his Loss very much lamented by the King. Upon this Discomfiture, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-East, and commanded the Lord Digby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to march for Scotland, and to join with the Marquess of Montrose, who was very successful there, and only wanted Horse to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the King's Obedience. These in Obedience to their Order marched Northward, and at a Village called Sherborne, they surprized seven hundred of the Parliament Foot, with their Arms and Baggage; but staying there for Carriages, some of General Pointz's Forces commanded by Colonel Copley, Colonel Lilborne, and Colonel Allured, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about a hundred Officers, three hundred common Soldiers, six hundred Horse, with their Furniture, and the Lord Digby's Coach and Horses, and therein his Cabinet of Letters: But he with his Remains of his shatter'd Brigade, making towards Scotland, was a second time met upon Carlisle Sands, and utterly defeated, he himself escaping to the Isle of Man, from whence he got a Passage into Ireland. The King was got to Newark when this Misfortune happened to the Lord Digby; but so great was the Discontent he found there, that he was put to much Trouble thereby. Sir Richard Willis was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord Bellasis made Governour thereof in his Place; which Alteration caused great Heats among several noble Persons, as they stood severally affected to either Party, insomuch that Indelicencies of Language and Behaviour passed even in

Scots raise their Siege from Hereford. Montrose's Victory in Kelsie Field near Glasgow. Hereford surprized by Colonel Birch and Morgan.

Routon-Moor Battle, where in His Majesty's Army was worsted, and the Lord Bernard Stuart, Earl of Litchfield, slain.

Lord Digby defeated at Sherborne in Yorkshire, and himself compelled to fly into Ireland.

The King comes to Newark.

Sir Richard Willis removed, and the Lord Bellasis made Governour of Newark.

Fairfax marches into the West to the Prince of Wales.



1645. in the King's Presence; and the Feud, in all probability, had proceeded further, if his Majesty had not interposed with his Royal Authority to compose it. But all this was not yet sufficient to extinguish the Animosities which were contracted upon this Dispute; although for the present they were so far pacified and allayed, as not openly to break out into any notorious Act of Violence or Mischief. This Matter hath been reported several Ways, and all with so great Uncertainty, that I have rather chosen to deliver the Truth in Generals, than to run the hazard of a Mistake in a more particular Relation. In the close of this Affair, the two Princes, *Gerard*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with some others of their Friends, retired to *Norton-House*, fourteen Miles from *Newark*; from whence they sent to the Parliament for a Pass to transport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

The two Princes, *Gerard*, Lord *Hawley*, and *Willis*, depart the Kingdom.

*Basing-house* taken by storm, and in it the Marquess of *Winchester*. *Shelford-house* taken by storm, and Col. *Stanhope*, with many others slain.

The King leaves *Newark*, and comes safe to *Oxford*, whither the two Princes came to him and regain his Favour.

The King sends Offers of Peace to the Parliament, but they would not consent to any other Terms of Accommodation, than to have all their Demands drawn up into Bills, to be presented to him for his Assent: Yet in the mean time the King omitted not to use all ways in his Power to relieve his Garrisons; and the Prince of *Wales* in the West was very active: But the Spirits of Men became so much depressed by the vigorous Progress of the Parliament's Troops, that nothing succeeded.

*Dartmouth* surrender'd and two Days after, *Dartmouth* was surrender'd to *Fairfax*.

These Traverses were accompanied with unwelcome Intelligence from most Places; for about this time the King received the ill News of the taking from him of *Basing-House* by Storm, (the Defendants not having a sufficient number to man their Works) and therein the Marquess of *Winchester*, who had long and gallantly defended his House, taken Prisoner, with about two hundred others, and about a hundred were slain in the Defence of the Place. And as one Misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had Notice about the same time of the Loss of *Shelford-House* taken by Storm, wherein the Governour, Colonel *Stanhope*, a Son of the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and near two hundred more were killed after the House was entered.

*Newark* at this time, became so in-secure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, and therefore with a Guard of three hundred Horse, he got safe to *Oxford* on the 3d of *November*; and thither the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, came to him from *Worcester*, after a serious Reflection upon themselves for their Miscarriages towards him, and were perfectly reconciled to his Favour.

The King's Forces, in most Parts, became very much lessened, and though by the Endeavours of the Queen, and some of his Ministers abroad, foreign Aids was promised him against the next Summer; yet the King, in Affection to his People, was rather inclined to try all other Ways, than accept of those Succours; and to that Purpose, from the 15th of *December* to the 23d of *March* following, he sent nine or ten Messages to the Parliament with Offers of Peace; and for the better Accomplishment thereof, he proposed to have a personal Treaty with them, but they would not consent to any other Terms of Accommodation, than to have all their Demands drawn up into Bills, to be presented to him for his Assent: Yet in the mean time the King omitted not to use all ways in his Power to relieve his Garrisons; and the Prince of *Wales* in the West was very active: But the Spirits of Men became so much depressed by the vigorous Progress of the Parliament's Troops, that nothing succeeded.

The Siege of *Plymouth* was raised by *Fairfax*; and two Days after, *Dartmouth* was surrender'd

to him by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Governour thereof: And from thence he marched to *Exeter*, and summon'd it, and there he left Sir *Hardress Waller* to block up the City, whilst himself, with the rest of his Forces, went to find out the Prince's Army, then commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, he himself being gone into *Cornwall* to raise the Trained-Bands, and what other Soldiers he could, to strengthen his Troops. Whilst these things were acting in the West, the King at *Oxford* was again intent upon the Relief of *Chester*; and for that Service several Forces were by Sir *William Vaughan* drawn out of the Garrisons of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, *Worcester* and *Bridge-north*, who with seven hundred Horse, and seven hundred Foot, advanced to his Relief; but the Enemy drawing out a Party of one thousand four hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, encountered and utterly routed him; so that after this Attempt, all Hopes of Relief failing, on the same Day the City was delivered up to Sir *William Brereton*.

The King's Forces sent to the Relief of *Chester*, routed; and the City delivered up to Sir *William Brereton*.

And on the same Day *Belvoir Castle* was by Sir *Gervase Lucas* surrendered to General *Pointz*, upon Conditions, that the Governour and his Lady, with the Officers and Soldiers, were with a Convoy conducted to *Litchfield*. At *Torrington* in *Devonshire*, *Fairfax* found the Lord *Hopton* with his Army, which he resolved to engage; *Hopton* having the lesser Number, drew up his Men into several Clofes, and *Fairfax* press'd upon him very hard; but a great Part of the time was spent in Skirmishes by several Parties, 'till both retired; at length the forlorn Hopes of both Armies engaged; that of the Parliament's, with its Reserve, was at first beaten back to the main Body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight o'Clock at Night, nigh the Town, to which the Royalists retreated; and there they maintained the Charge so resolutely, that had not *Fairfax's* Soldiers been heartened with fresh Supplies, they had utterly given it over: But the other over-power'd by their fresh Numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemy gained the Town; which being entered into, the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a Train, and destroyed *Fairfax* more Men than he had lost in the Battle; for there was no less than eighty Barrels of Powder. Upon the firing of the Magazine, Sir *John Digby* took Advantage of the Enemies Amazement, and gave them a resolute Charge, in which he did some Execution, and so fell off, and marched with the rest of the Forces into *Cornwall*; whither *Fairfax* follow'd with so much Speed, that he compelled the Royalists in disorder to quit *Launceston*; whereupon the Prince of *Wales* marched away towards *Pendennis Castle*, accompanied with the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Culpepper*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, and took Shipping there on the 1st of *March*, and arrived safe at *Scilly*. The Lord *Hopton* soon after finding it in vain to make Resistance with his broken Army, being summoned by *Fairfax* to disband, consented to it upon very honourable Conditions: But having experienced how ill Articles had been observed, and being likewise sensible of the ill Effects of the King's gracious Proposals for Peace, he chose, rather than to go to *Oxford*, (whither

*Belvoir Castle* surrendered to the Parliament.

The Lord *Hopton* beaten, and *Torrington* taken by *Fairfax*.

*Launceston* quitted by the King. The Prince of *Wales* takes shipping, and arrives at *Scilly*.

Lord *Hopton* accepted of Conditions for disbanding his Army, and transports himself to *France*.



1646. (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliament's Horse) to transport himself to France.

After the disbanding of these Forces, all the King's Garrisons and Forts in Cornwall yielded, except Pendennis Castle, and St. Michael's Mount, and General Fairfax returned to the Siege of Exeter.

All these Mischances thus happening on the Neck of one another, all the King's Hopes and Expectation rested upon the coming of Sir Jacob Astley, created Lord Astley of Reading two Years since; who having kept together some Remains of the King's Forces since the Fight near Chester, and increasing them with the Accession of some fresh Supplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir John Campsfield, with the Oxford Horse. But either through the want of Intelligence, or the Necessity of Fate, or some occasional Delays, it was so long before Campsfield was upon his March, that the News came of the Lord Astley's being vanquished by Colonel Morgan, at a Place called Dunnington, near Stow on the Wold, on the 21st of March; in which Fight himself was taken Prisoner; and with him all the King's Hopes were lost of preserving Oxford, 'till he could better his Conditions.

Lord Astley defeated near Stow.

The King having often sent to the Parliament (as hath been said) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to Westminster in Person, had, on the 30th of March, a Message from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unsafe for him or them to return to Westminster, until he had assented to the Propositions which they were framing, &c. And to prevent his coming to London without their Knowledge and Consent, they voted, That if the King should come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication; that then the Committee of the Militia of London should have Power, and were thereby enjoined to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent Resort unto him, and to secure his Person.

The Parliament Vote against the King's coming to London in order to a Treaty.

Exeter was at this time so much distressed, and without Possibility of Relief, that the City was on the 13th of April surrendered to Fairfax upon very good Conditions; Sir John Berkley, the Governour, was to march out with his Soldiers, both Cornish and others, in the Height of Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, Matches lighted, &c. The first into their Country, and the others to Oxford. The Princess Henrietta, youngest Daughter to the King, (who ever since her Birth had continued in this City, under the Care of the Lady Dalkeith) was sent up to London, there to be disposed of by the Parliament, 'till soon after she was by her Governess conveyed privately to her Mother in France. To the Fortune of Exeter, Barnstable Town and Fort, St. Michael's Mount, Dunston Castle, Woodstock, and many other Garrisons soon after submitted; so that Fairfax's victorious Army, having cleared the West, was now resolved to march up to a close Beleaguering of Oxford, (which had some time before been extremely straitened by the continual Alarms of Fleetwood and Rainsborough) which

The Princess Henrietta conveyed privately to her Mother in France.

made the King begin to think of some way for his safety; and at last, on the 27th of April, the King, disguised, departed out of Oxford, and accompanied only with Mr. Hudson a Minister, and Mr. John Ashburnham, and few or none else were acquainted with this Design; so that tho' many knew that he was gone, yet various were the Opinions whither; some said to Wales, others to Montross in Scotland; but the most general Opinion was, that he was come up and lay in London concealed: To discover which, the Parliament passed an Order, That whatsoever Person should Harbour or Conceal, or know of the Harbours or Concealing of the King's Person, and should not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traytor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole Estate, and die without Mercy. But contrary to all Mens Expectations, he is at length heard of at the Scots Camp before Newark; many wondered how he durst trust his Person with them; but the Parliament having Notice of it, immediately Ordered that the Commissioners, and the General of the Scottish Army should be desired, That his Majesty's Person might be disposed of, as the two Houses should desire and direct, and that he be thence disposed of, and sent to Warwick Castle; and, That John Ashburnham, and the rest that came with him into the Scots Quarters, should be sent for, as Delinquents, by the Sergeants at Arms, and that the Commissioners of the Parliament, residing before Newark, should make a Narrative of the King's coming thither, and present it to the House. But the Scots were not yet base enough to comply with these Orders.

Oxford besieged and gained by Fairfax. The King disguised leaves Oxford.

The Parliament's Order against his Concealment.

The King comes to the Scots Camp before Newark.

The Parliament sues to the Scots for the Disposal of the King's Person.

In the mean time, the Garrison of Newark, (which had been for a long time valiantly defended by the Lord Bellasis both against the Scots and English Forces, and had many fortunate Sallies upon the Besiegers) upon the fourth of May, the Day before the King came into the Scotch Camp, entered upon a Treaty, and on the 9th was agreed to be surrendered.

Newark surrendered.

About this time also was Banbury Castle surrendered, and not long after Carnarvon Town and Castle were delivered up upon Articles, by the Lord Byron, and the Scots having conveyed the King from Southwel to Newcastle, for the more sure Possession of him, he on the 10th of June, by their Advice, published a Direction to Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Thomas Tilsely, Colonel Washington, and Colonel Blague, Governours of Oxford, Worcester, Litchfield, and Wallingford, and to all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles, or Forts within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, giving them an Account of his Resolutions to comply with the Designs of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the Good of his Subjects, and leave no Means unattempted for the removing of Differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the Reality of his Intentions therein, he required them upon honourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts intrusted to them, and to disband all the Forces under their several Commands; which some of them however demurred upon, in regard of his Majesty's Restraint: But before Notice hereof came to Oxford, the Governour and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at Haddington the 17th of May, between

Banbury and Carnarvon Town and Castle surrendered. The Scots convey the King to Newcastle. The King sends directions to his Commanders to quit their Towns and Forts, and to disband their Forces.



1646. Sir John Mounson, Sir John Heydon, Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir George Binion, Sir Richard Willis, Sir Stephen Hawkins, Colonel Gofwell, Colonel Tillier, Dr. Zouch, Thomas Chickely, John Dutton, Geoffrey Palmer, and Robert Mead, Esquires, for the Belieged; and Lieutenant-General Hammond, Commissary-General Ireton, Colonel Lambert, Colonel Rich, Scout-Master-General Watson, Major Desborough, Major Harrison, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Waller, for the Parliament. And after a tedious Treaty continued to the 25th of June, without any Cessation of Arms,

Oxford delivered up to the Parliament.

The Duke of York, with the rest of the King's Children, committed to the Care of the Earl of Northumberland.

All the Seals of Estate broken in the Lords House.

Ragland Castle surrendered.

it was delivered upon Conditions sufficiently Honourable, had they been as honourably performed: The whole Number of the Garrison was supposed to amount to seven thousand Soldiers and Scholars in Pay, who all marched out, but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to tarry for Passes; the Chief of whom were the Duke of York, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Earls of Dorset, Hertford, and Southampton; the Lords Cottington, Dunsmore, Secretary Nicholas, and others. The Duke of York was conveyed to London, and at St. James's committed with the rest of the Royal Children to the Tuition and Care of the Earl of Northumberland and his Lady. The two Princes Rupert and Maurice had Passes granted them to go beyond Sea; but before their Departure, by the Parliament's Leave, they had a Visit made to them by their Brother the Prince Elector.

Two Days after the Surrender, all the Seals of Estate were sent up from the General to the two Houses at Westminster, to wit, the Great Seal of England, carried by the Lord Keeper Littleton to the King in the Year 1642. The Privy-Seal, Signet, King's Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy Seals, together with the Sword; the Seals were immediately voted to be broken in Pieces, which was accordingly performed by a Smith in the House of Lords, the Commons standing by, and the broken Silver given in reward to the two Speakers; but the Sword was laid up safe in the Wardrobe. All other Garrisons were soon after surrendered according to the King's Order: Ragland Castle was one of the last held out in England or Wales, which the old Marquess of Worcester, a Man of Fourscore and four Years of Age, delivered up on very good Conditions, when the King had neither Field-Army nor scarce a Garrison besides it in England.

The King's Children were not long kept together under that Restraint the Parliament put upon them, the Princess Henrietta being in a short time after conveyed into France by the Lady Dalkeith, and the Duke of York after, as will be related hereafter.

The Scots desirous to haste home in safety with that Spoil and Plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt Tweed and Hereford, were impatient at the Caution of the King's Governours (as aforesaid), and therefore pressed his Majesty to reiterate his Orders: But that which they most earnestly importuned was, That the Marquess of Montrose should lay down his Commission, who having twice beaten the Marquess of Argyle out of the Field, followed him home, and wasted his Country with Fire and Sword: And having vanquished Baile, one

of the best Soldiers of the Faction, (commanding over a well formed Army) in a set Battle fought between them, and followed his Blow so well, that he made himself Master of the City and Castle of Edinburgh, releasing divers of his Friends who had been seized and imprisoned there when he first took up Arms, was at last (for want of Supplies) totally overthrown by Lesley, with six thousand Men out of England. And yet about this time he was beginning to make Head again, and in a hopeful way of proceeding, till he received his Majesty's Command to disband; which he immediately did, and took Shipping, and put himself into a voluntary Exile.

1646.

Montrose's Army broken by Lesley.

Montrose disbanded by the King's Command.

Whilst the King was at Southwell he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which, after many Debates, was so far complied with, as to send Propositions to him by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Mr. Godwin, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hippsley, and Mr. Robinson; but they were so high both in Relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the Change of Religion established, that he could not consent to them. Nevertheless, he sent them a Message, proposing a Personal Conference with them, where he should be ready to hear their Reasons in behalf of the Propositions they made him; and promising his Consent to all such Bills as should be for the Good and Peace of his People, without regard to himself.

The King's Presence in the Scotch Army occasioned at first some Dissention between the English Parliament, and those of that Nation; the first demanding that the King should be delivered up to them, and the others as stoutly refusing the same. But these Disputes were by Degrees changed into an infamous Negotiation; in which the Scots agreed, upon the present Payment of two hundred thousand Pounds, and the Promise of the like Sum, to leave the Kingdom, and surrender up the King's Person. And the first Payment being made at Newcastle, according to the Compact, &c. they delivered the King to the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and Major-General Brown, who were Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him; and with these, on the eighth of February, the King set forward towards his House at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the sixteenth of the same Month: The Scots two Days before the King's Departure, marched from Newcastle, which was possessed by a Garrison of English, and a few Days after, they also put Berwick and Carlisle into the Parliament's Hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland. The King at Holdenby was kept so close, that none of his domestick Servants that had attended him since he left London, nor any of his Chaplains were suffered to have access unto him, nor so much as a Common Prayer-Book allowed him for his private Use. And the Parliament having now the King in their Possession, and all his Armies and Garrisons subdued by their Forces, they began to be much divided amongst themselves under the Names of Presbyterians and Independents.

The Scots deliver up the King into the Power of the Parliament.

The King close Prisoner at Holdenby House.



1646. The first whereof, who were the major Part in both Houses, were those who in compliance with the Scots, thought themselves obliged by the Covenant to set up the Presbyterian Discipline of Geneva, as it was exercised in Scotland, under the Government of Congregational, Clafical, Provincial and National Affsemblies, (to whom the City of London very much adhered) but the others disliked that sort of Government, as too rigorous, imperious, and conclusive, holding that Churches should not be subordinate, as Parochial to Provincial, and Provincial to National, but co-ordinate, without Superiority; and from hence they were called Independents: Whereof the first eminent Appearance was in the Assembly of Divines, which met in the Year 1643, at Westminster, to consult about Matters of Religion; for the major Part of these being Presbyterians, were in Consideration of a Directory and Model of that Government to be proposed to the Parliament, when five of their Members, viz. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge, made some Opposition, and desired Toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the Votes of the Assembly; but the rest of the Members opposed their Toleration, and some moved their Ejection out of the Assembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith: Whereupon the Dissenters appealed from the Assembly, and presented an Apologetical Narrative to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for some Favour to them, whose Consciences could not join with the Assembly in all Particulars; concluding, That they pursued no other Interest or Design, but a Subsistence in their own Land, as not knowing where else with Safety, Health, and Livelyhood to set their Feet on Earth.

Presbyterians described.

The first Rule of Independents.

An Assembly of Divines sit at Westminster.

Upon this Petition, they found such Favour, that they were secured from further Trouble; and from this Beginning they grew to so great an Increase, that they had the best Preferments left in the Church, and opened and shut the Door of Preferment to others.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and Commissary-General Ireton, and the greatest Part of the Army, consisting now of Men of several Sects of Religion, did much favour these Independents, who to ingratiate themselves with them (though in their Confession of Faith and Doctrine they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian) held out a Liberty of Conscience to all other Sects in the Profession of their Faith and Exercise of their Religion.

1467. This Inclination of the Army to the Independents, made the Presbyterians, who were the major Part of the Parliament, very watchful over their Actions, and observing that the Army at their Courts of War laid hold on all Pretences of Scandals and Crimes to disband and cashier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their Places, resolved to disband all of them except five thousand Horse, a thousand Dragoons, and five Companies of Firelocks, for which they wanted not a good Pretence, that the People might be eas'd thereby of a great Part of the Taxes impos'd upon them for their Maintenance, and that some of them might be sent into Ireland, where there was a want of English Soldiers. And for this

The Army resolve to disband the Presbyterians.

Purpose, they borrowed two hundred thousand Pounds of the City of London. The head Quarters of the Army was at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolk, when these Matters were debated in Parliament; but by the Intelligence they kept at Westminster, nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent Party in the House (as it was commonly said) they were so practised on, that they were resolv'd not to disband; yet when something of this was suggested in the House of Commons, Cromwell with his Hand upon his Breast, said, *In the Presence of God before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their Doors whensoever they should command them.* Upon this Assertion, Orders of both Houses for disbanding were sent to the Army, with Instructions for determining the Accompts of the Soldiers; but instead of Obedience to these Orders, a Council of Officers met at St. Edmunds-bury to consider thereof, began to debate of the Matter with much Dissatisfaction, and two Soldiers out of each of sixteen Regiments of Horse and Foot, as Agitators or Agents of their respective Regiments, were allowed to meet also in a kind of Council on the same Business, and both of these Assemblies agreed upon the same things in Substance, namely, against disbanding; and in a Petition to the General, they desired the Army might be speedily drawn to a Rendezvous, and that he would use his utmost to Endeavour that it be not disbanded 'till publick Grievances should be redressed, and all such Persons called to Account who had been Intenders, Contrivers, or Promoters of their Destructions, (for so they termed those of the Parliament that voted them to be disbanded). These Requests of the Officers and Soldiers produced a General Rendezvous of the Army at New-market on the 4th of June, and the Agitators the Day before privately sent Cornet Joyce with a Party of Soldiers to seize on the King (as will be mentioned hereafter) and at this Rendezvous they associated themselves together, as a kind of distinct Body from the rest of the Kingdom, and subscribed a solemn Engagement of their Resolution, wherein they to this Purpose expressed themselves, viz.

*We, the Officers and Soldiers of the Army subscribing herunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promise to, and with each other, that we shall not willingly disband or divide, nor suffer our selves to be disbanded or divided, until we have Security, that we as private Men, as other the free born People of England, shall not remain subject to the like Oppressions and Injuries as have been attempted, and shall have such Satisfaction and Security as shall be agreed upon by a Council to consist of those General Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the Army in this Resolution (for many moderate Men upon these Discontents left them) with two Commission Officers and two Soldiers for each Regiment, of such likewise as subscribed to this Agreement.* But whilst these Contrivances were acted at the Head Quarters, there was a large Petition framed in the County of Essex against the Army: Upon this Cromwell goes to Walden, where the head Quarters of the Army then was, on Pretence of quieting the Distempers thereof, but nothing was effected; and in the Month of May they presented a Petition to their General, where-

Agitators of the Army chosen.

The Army's Engagement.



1647. wherein they desire to be satisfied, not only for their Pay as Soldiers, but that a Provision might be made for their Indemnity, and several other things relating to publick Settlement; of which Petition great Complaint was made by the Presbyterians; yet they rested not here, but were very active in framing another to be presented to the Parliament. But the Parliament shewed their high dislike of that Petition, and their Approbation and Esteem of their good Service who first discovered it: But declared, if the Subscribers would forbear to proceed any further therein, they should be retained in the Parliament's good Opinion, and that those who shall continue in the present Distempers shall be proceeded against as Enemies to the State.

The King brought from Holdenby to the Army by Cornet Joyce.

These and some other Alterations wrought at last so far, that on the 4th of June, a Party of Soldiers commanded by Cornet Joyce, came somewhat late to Holdenby, and desired to speak with the King, which being granted, he told him, he was come by Command of the Army to remove him from that Place, and so the next Day after Dinner he carried him towards the Army. But on the 6th of June, the General sent a Letter to the Parliament, pretending that he knew nothing of the Party that attended the King, professing that his Remove was without his Consent, or his Officers about him, but the Party that did it, told him that the Reason thereof, was from an Apprehension of some Strength gathered to take him away, thereby to make a new War, the Plot and Plotters whereof, they were able to prove when called thereunto: When this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament,

1. That the King should reside at Richmond.
2. That he should be attended by the same Persons that he was at Holdenby.
3. That Rossiter's Regiment should guard him.

The Army's Representation to the Parliament

But the Army, instead of complying herewith, sent a Representation to the Parliament, wherein they proposed,

That the two Houses might be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endangered the Kingdom, might be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of Time might be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

That Provision might be for succeeding Parliaments not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any Power, but by their own Consent during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

That the Freedom of the People to present Grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant Power of Country Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliament's Accounts for their vast Sums received, and also in divers other things wherein the Commonwealth have been long abused.

That after such Delinquents as have been of the King's Party have compounded for their Delinquencies, and paid their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed.

And immediately after this Representation, 1647. there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, viz. Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Massey, Mr. Glyn Recorder of London, Anthony Nichols, Esq; Colonel Edward Harley, and Colonel Walter Long, for things done for the most Part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, That by their Power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass. The impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer any Crime that could be objected against them; but the Officers of the Army requested that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members: But this was denied, as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the Privilege of Parliament; but when the Army reiterated their Desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary Secession for six Months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, that the King should go to Richmond, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not command, that 'till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no Residence for the King nearer to London, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be: After which the King was conveyed to Roydon, thence to Hatfield, not long after to Causam, while the Army quartered at Reading, from whence when the General with his Army marched to Bedford, the King went to the Earl of Bedford's House near Wooborn, and during all this time he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Love and Duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own Party who desired to see him.

Eleven Members impeached by the Army.

The City of London's Militia, as it was settled by Ordinance of the 4th of May, was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and industrious in compleating their Companies, both of the trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracy against the Army, and the General, in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10th of June, requested, that the Militia of the City might be put into the Hands of Persons better affected to the Army: Upon which Letter, the Commons upon the 22d of July, voted the repealing the said Ordinance of the 24th of May, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old Militia was presently passed.

The unexpected News of this changing their Militia, caused the City to meet in Common-Council, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Army's Desires, they resolved to petition the House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26th of July by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Council; but so it happened, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three hours after, with another Petition, therein complaining, That to order the City's Militia was the City's Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed by Parliament, for Defence whereof they had

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their Hands.



1647. had adventured their Lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same Hands in which it was put, with the Parliament and City's Consent by Ordinance of the 4th of May. Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords revoked the Ordinance of the 23d of July, and renewed that of the 4th of May, by a new Ordinance of the 26th of July, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their Consents, where some of the Apprentices in a Childish Heat were over clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, so that at last it passed in the affirmative about three in the Afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed; but after this, some disorderly Persons, when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust him again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced from them a Vote, That the King should come to London.

The Speakers, and divers Members Aye to the Army.

After this Disorder, the two Houses adjourned for four Days, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither; so that on the fourth Day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon* for the Peers, and Mr. *Henry Pelham*, a Barrister, for the Commons, by whom it was that Day voted,

1. That the King should come to London.
2. That the Militia of London should be authorised to raise Forces for Defence of the City.
3. That Power should be given to the same Militia to chuse a General for those Forces.

It was likewise ordered, That the aforesaid eleven Members impeached by the Army, should return to their Seats in Parliament. The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Massey*, and Colonel *Pointz*, who were each of them busy in lifting of Soldiers; but *Waller*, who was a Person of good Experience and foresight, seeing great Numbers of reformed Officers, and Soldiers lately disbanded, flocking to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about London, to the Number of six thousand, and bring them into *Tuttle-Fields*, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have Soldiers quickly to Mount them, and in four and twenty Hours time, they might have a Body of Horse to join with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt any thing against the Parliament and the City: And of this, the Army were in great Fear; but some of their Friends, in the Common-Council, did so distract their Consultations, that it appeared impossible for them, suddenly to raise any Forces to withstand the Army, who by this time, upon Intelligence thereof made their Approaches towards London, whereupon the Aldermen and Common-Council were so terrified, that they sent to the General for a Pacification, which by the Consent of the Members of Parliament then with him, was granted to them upon these Conditions:

The City submits to the Army.

1. That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.

2. That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.

3. They should relinquish their present Militia.

4. They should deliver up to the General all their Forts and the Tower of London.

5. They should disband all the Forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary to the publick Tranquillity: All which things none of them daring to deny, were presently ratified.

In the mean time, the Lords and Commons, who had left London, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, that all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26th of July and since, should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, that the General with his Army should march to London; and on the 6th Day of August, he with his Army came to *Westminster*, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers, in the Name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn Thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London: And a Month's Pay was likewise given as a Gratuity to the Army. The next Day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, Major General *Skippon*, and the rest of the Commanders, with the whole Army marched through London, from the Western Part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower, the General made Colonel *Tickbourne*, an Alderman of the Independent Faction, to be Lieutenant of the Tower; and to humble the City, the Militias thereof were by Order of Parliament divided, and Authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the Hamlets about the Tower, to exercise and command their own Militias;

The General comes with his Army to Westminster

The Members of Parliament in this Manner restored, and the Militia of London settled to the Army's good liking, the General marched out of London, and quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about *Whitehall* and the *Meuse*, to guard the Parliament, his head Quarters being at *Putney*; and the King about the middle of August was brought to the most stately of all his Palaces, *Hampton-Court*.

The King brought to Hampton-Court.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthening of their Factions, to proceed against all such of both Houses of Parliament, and others, that were in any Measure active in the late Troubles, and therefore Serjeant *Glyn* was outed of his Office of Recorder of London, and one *Steele* a Barrister of *Gray's-Inn* admitted in his Place, and *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Massey*, and *Nichols*, were summoned to attend the House on the 16th of October; and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*, and *Middlesex*, with the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Barkley*, *Hunsdon*, and *Maynard*, were impeached of Treason, and committed to the *Black-Rod*, and Sir *John Maynard* acting in the late Troubles; and Sir *John Gray* of the House of Commons, and Sir *John*

Several Members and Citizens committed for the late Troubles;



1647. Gray Lord Mayor of London, with four Aldermen, Adams, Langham, Culham, and Bunch, were also impeached and committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look into the Affairs of Ireland during these Occurrences.

The Affairs of Ireland.

The Irish, when the Cessation of Arms was concluded with them at Singinston in the Year 1643. seemed very desirous of a Peace, but by their ill Observation of the Articles of Cessation, their reality therein was much suspected; for they were so far from ceasing from Acts of Hostility during that short Term of a Year, as they had agreed to, that they often pillaged and plundered the English, imprisoning and murdering their Persons, and particularly at the Castle of Wicklow, which they surprized, and put all the Men, Women and Children therein to the Sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the Confidence to send Commissioners to the King, to supplicate, that before the Expiration of the Cessation, a Peace might be concluded with them; but he referred them back to his Lieutenant Ormond, and he considering the Necessity of the King's Affairs, and his present Inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a Pacification; but the Irish having Correspondence with the Spanish and French, upon the Interest of the Romish Religion, spun out all Treaties with tedious Delays, in Hopes of Supplies of Men and Money, to be sent to them, so that in two Years, nothing was effected therein; and moreover at the same time, when they were in Treaty with the Lord Lieutenant, they were likewise agitating under hand, an Agreement elsewhere, pretending the King's Commission to authorize the Proceeding: Which His Majesty utterly disowned, with Expressions of much Indignation, that his Name should be made Use of, to so odious a Purpose, as the Advancement of the Popish Religion, and the Discouragement of the English Clergy in that Kingdom. While these things were transacting, matters went still worse and worse with the English, so that in Conclusion, all the strong Places in the Province of Leinster, except Drogheda and Dublin, were possessed by the Irish. One of the principal Actors in this Affair was seized and taken into Custody by Order of the Lord Lieutenant, who struggled as far as in him lay, to prevent further Inconveniencies: But about the time that the King went to the Scots Army near Newark, he was forced to conclude a Peace with them, and upon Conditions very advantageous to the Natives; but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it: For the Pope's Nuncio had drawn a great Party of the most zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a Peace wherein there was not sufficient Security for the free Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion. Ormond thought to profit himself of that Division, and made himself ready to joyn with those that adhered to the Peace, to suppress the others, not doubting upon his Success herein, to be Master of such a Force as might make the King's Terms in England easier to him: But in the midst of all these Hopes, when he was ready with a Party to march to Kilkenny to joyn with his new Friends, he was inform'd of a Design against his Person, which was related to him with such Circumstances, that

A Peace concluded in Ireland by the Marquess of Ormond.

he was confident of the Truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to Dublin, he and his Party had been lost: In this Extremity he thought it better to put Dublin and the Forts yet in English Hands, in the Parliament of England's Power, than suffer them to be possess'd by the Irish, and brought under foreign Jurisdiction; in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliament's Ships then riding near Dublin, and imparted to them his Desires of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his Assent thereunto, and obtained of them Ammunition and Powder for his present Supply; and in further Prosecution of that Overture, having the King's Command for so doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners, and yielded up Dublin, and what remained under his Government to their Authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel Jones with 1450 Horse and Foot, who on the 17th of June took Possession of Dublin, and from that time such Supplies were sent to re-inforce the English, that every Week produced News of Victories over the Irish.

Dublin put into the Hands of the Parliament of England.

Whilst the King remained at Hampton-Court, he seemed not at all a restrained Man, but as a Prince living in the Splendor of a Court, so freely to his Presence were all sorts of People admitted to kiss his Hands, and do all Obeisances whatsoever; nor did the People from London only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by Order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. Ashburnham, and Sir John Barkley, now by permission of the Army had safe Recourse to him: The Marquess of Ormond likewise attended him there with an Account of the Irish Affairs, and was with much Kindness received by him, and about the beginning of October, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and the Lord Seymour, repaired to him; but the Parliament were displeased at this Liberty; whereupon those Lords being told of it, after two Days stay at Hampton-Court, returned to their Houses: On the 7th of September Propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland concurring also) were sent to the King at Hampton-Court, to which they requested his Answer in six Days: The Commissioners appointed for this Business by the Parliament of England, were the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Mountague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Cook, Sir John Holland, and Major General Brown; and for the Kingdom of Scotland, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir Charles Erskins. Two Days after their Arrival, the King gave the Commissioners a Message in Writing to the two Houses of Parliament; the Substance of which was only to let them know, that he could not in Conscience comply with them.

Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King at Hampton-Court.

After the King had been seized by Cornet Joyce, and brought to the Army, he was at first treated by Fairfax, Cromwell and Ireton, the chief Commanders, with great Respect. They made the utmost Professions of Loyalty to him, and promised to espouse his Interest with the greatest Zeal and Fidelity; his Chaplains were allowed to come to him, which had never been permitted before; and many of his Friends and Servants came



1647. came to visit and attend him, and some Officers who had served under him, used to lye in the very Quarters where the Army was bestowed. But he had not been long at Hampton-Court, before he found an Alteration for the worse. Fairfax indeed meant well; for he was an honest, though a weak Man; but Cromwell and Ireton were false and treacherous: They had done their Business, and subdued their Opposers in the Parliament; and now the King stood in their Way, they began with lessening the Respects they had formerly shewn him, and discountenancing the Attendance paid him, so that in a short time the King perceiving this Change, grew apprehensive for the Safety of his Person: And by the Advice of Sir John Berkley, Colonel Leg, and Mr. Asburnham, he resolved to attempt his Escape out of England. On the 11th of November, at eight o' Clock at Night, he got away from Hampton-Court, and mounted a Horse that was provided for him, and in Company of those three Gentlemen took his Way towards Hampshire. But whether a Ship was not provided, or whether by some Misfortune, it was obliged to leave its Station, is not certainly known; but none was to be found where the King expected it. Upon this Disappointment new Measures were to be taken, and by some fatal Mistake the King was induced to go to the Isle of Wight, and put himself into the Hands of Colonel Hammond, Governour of that Place, who betrayed him.

The Parliament were at first surprized with this unexpected News of the King's Departure, and they dispatched Messengers to all Sea-Ports to prevent his going out of the Kingdom, and upon a Rumour that he was concealed in London, they ordered, that if any Man should closely detain the King's Person and not reveal it to the Parliament, he should be punished with the Loss of his Estate and Life: But in the midst of this Confusion, a Letter came to the Lords from Colonel Hammond, Governour of the Isle of Wight, dated at Cowes the 13th of November, wherein he acquainted them, that being that Morning on his way from Carisbrook Castle to Newport, Mr. Asburnham and Sir John Berkley overtook him, and after a short Discourse told him, the King was near, and that he would be with him that Night; and was come from Hampton-Court, upon Information, that there were some who intended to destroy him, and that he could not with Safety continue any longer there; and finding his Case thus, he chose rather to put himself into his Hands, being a Member of the Army (which he said he would not have left, could he have had Security to his Person) than to go to any other Place; and therefore weighing the great Concernment that the Person of the King was of, he resolved to use his utmost Endeavours to preserve his Person from any such horrid Attempts, and to bring him to a Place of Safety: Hereupon he went over the Water and found the King near the Water-side, and by his own Desire he brought him to the Isle of Wight.

The King is brought to the Isle of Wight.

The Parliament were well pleased to hear of the King's being at Cowes, and ordered thereupon the 10th of November,

1. That he should continue there and in the Castle.

2. That none that have borne Arms against the Parliament, but Inhabitants that have compounded, shall remain in that Island.

3. That no Delinquent or Foreigner should be admitted to come to him without Leave of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and that Propositions should be speedily sent to him.

4. That five thousand Pounds should be advanced for his Accommodation: And,

5. That it should be considered who should attend his Person.

In the little Space of time betwixt the King's Departure from Hampton-Court, and his Arrival at Cowes-Castle in the Isle of Wight, many great Divisions happened in the Army.

Distempers appeared in the Army, which had been growing some while before, on this Occasion. The Agitators having some Jealousy, that Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of the General Officers designed to establish the King, (and being acted and guided by divers Persons not of the Army that were for a total Subversion of Monarchical Government) possessed the Soldiers with much Prejudice against them, as that they had fallen from their Principles, and were in their Proceedings false and treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by several Insinuations of this kind which they dispersed in printed Papers, they had made great Factions and Parties in the Army, and much divided the Soldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Soldiers among themselves: These Disorders and Discontents were much encreased by the repair of the Agitators to the Head Quarters, where they assembled as a kind of Representative Council, and debated divers Matters of great Concernment: But the General doubting the Event of these Practices, and being willing to quiet the Discontents then growing among the Soldiers, in the first Place dismissed the Agitators to their several Regiments, and sent also most of the Officers then at the Head Quarters to their respective and particular Charges, to endeavour to satisfy and compose those Discontents and Divisions; and about a fortnight after, he contracted the Quarters of the Army, intending to draw them to several Rendezvous; the first whereof was to be in a Place called Cork-bush Field, betwixt Hartford and Ware, on the 15th Day of November; but as soon as the Agitators had Notice of these Orders, they and their Associates laboured to hinder the Execution thereof, and to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and Rendezvous, to which they were ordered, to the first Rendezvous, near Ware; whereupon the General the Day before, called a Council of War at Hartford, and there agreed upon a Remonstrance, and Engagement, which was to be read at the Rendezvous at the Head of every Regiment, and subscribed by the Officers and Soldiers; but the next Day when the Army was drawn together, many of the Soldiers of five whole Regiments mutinied against their Officers, and wore certain Marks of Distinction to be known by from the rest; nor was this done in so tumultuous a Manner as usually Mutinies are made, but with some kind of Order, and had proved very dangerous, if Cromwell and Ireton and some of the rest of the Officers had not been very active in seizing on some of the Principal Mutineers; in the doing whereof, one or two were shot to Death before the Troops were

The Soldiers mutiny against their Officers.



1647, reduced to Order and good Obedience: But though the present Distemper was thus ended, great Animosities remained, most of the Mutineers and the Officers that favoured them, were tryed at Court-Martials, and Cashiered, or otherwise punished; but Cromwell and Ireton, and their Faction were after this (to keep their Credit with the Army) to alter their Counsels, which brought great Miseries to the Kingdom, as will be shewn hereafter.

Whilst the Parliament were deliberating about Propositions to be sent to the *Isle of Wight* to the King, a Letter came to them from him, dated the eighteenth of November, superscribed, *To the Speaker of the Lords House, to be communicated also to the House of Commons*, which was read in both Houses. In which he delivered his Sense and Opinion concerning many things contained in the former Propositions to him, especially concerning the Abolition of Episcopacy, which he said, *He could not consent to either as a Christian or a King, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, and had sworn at his Coronation to maintain it; but yet he was willing that Presbytery should be authorized for three Years, and in the mean time, a free Debate had between the Divines assembled at Westminster, and twenty that he should appoint for the future Settlement of Church-Government: He was also willing that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the Choice of his Privy Counsellors during his Reign, provided they would have it by Grant in Letters Patents from him, and that it might return to his Successors: He gave touches also concerning the Payment of the Arrears of the Soldiers, and the other Matters; of all which, he said, he hoped that he should satisfy the Parliament with his Reasons, if he might personally treat with them. Therefore he desired earnestly to be admitted with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, to treat personally at London.* The Commissioners of Scotland likewise with great Vehemency pressed, That the Desire of the King might be granted; insomuch, that after a long Debate, on November the 26th it was concluded, that four previous Propositions being drawn up into the Form of Acts, should be sent to the King in the *Isle of Wight* to sign; which when he had signed, he should be admitted to a personal Treaty at London.

Four Acts sent to the King to be signed.

1. An Act for Raising, Settling, and Maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of England and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, &c.
2. An Act for Recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have adhered to them.
3. An Act, that those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made incapable of Sitting in the House of Peers.
4. That Power may be given to the two Houses to adjourn themselves as they think fit.

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which divested the King, his Heirs and Successors of the Power thereof for ever; for though it seemed to be but for twenty Years, yet it saith, That neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other, shall exercise any

Power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and Approbation of the Lords and Commons: It gives also an unlimited Power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, and what Number for Land and Sea, and of what Persons (without Exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit, and to raise what Money they please for maintaining them. The Titles of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the Nature of them, and therefore we shall not enlarge upon them: The Commissioners of Scotland would in no wise give their Consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he treated at London; and in a large Declaration they protested against it; notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of Denbeigh, the Lord Montague, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Bunkly, and Mr. Kemp, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24th of December they were presented to the King at Carisbrook Castle; but he willing to satisfy all Interests, and finding the Scots openly to protest against them, refused to give his Assent to any Acts 'till the whole Peace should be concluded; and the Commissioners returned to London with his Denial. This Refusal of his Majesty's, together with some other unhappy Circumstances, gave Cromwell a Suspicion that the King had some thought of deserting the Army, and casting himself upon the Presbyterian Interest; whereupon the Army marched to Windsor, where the head Quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many Consultations about the present Transactions betwixt the King and the Parliament; for Cromwell and Ireton finding the Interest of the Scots was likely to be joined with that of the King, and that the City of London was very favourable to them, they feared a Downfall to their Greatness, if they did not prevent the Progress thereof, and strengthen themselves by drawing the inferior Officers and Soldiers who were much affected by the late Mutinies against the King and his Government, to have a good Opinion of them; to effect which, as a Pretence to procure an Unity in the Army, a Fast was solemnly kept amongst the Officers, and a whole Day spent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the Close thereof, all those Prisoners that were committed for the Mutiny at Ware, as the Mind of God, were set at Liberty. And now Cromwell and Ireton declared themselves open Enemies to the King; and the latter moved in Parliament, that a Vote might be passed, that no more Addresses or Applications might be made to him. He was seconded by others of his Party, with great Fury and Bitterness of Speech against his Majesty; whom they used before to treat always with Respect and Duty in Words, howsoever they conducted themselves towards him in Actions. But those who were not in the Secret with Cromwell, were startled at this new Spirit; and found that different Schemes were to be followed, from those which themselves had laid, at the Head of which, other Persons would preside; so that they opposed this Motion vigorously: The Debate was long and fierce, but at last Cromwell's Party carried the Question; and it was Resolved, that no Persons should make Applications of any Kind to the King, under Pain of High Treason;

The King refuseth to give his Assent to them.

The Officers of the Army keep a solemn Fast.



1647. Treason; and that the Houses would receive no more Messages from him. And the Army soon after declared they would stand by these Votes.

The Parliament publishes a Declaration.

The Committee of Derby-House new empowered.

The Scots Commissioners allowed to make Addresses to the King.

The Parliament passes an Engagement.

The Parliament also made a publick Declaration about the beginning of February, with many invective Arguments in it against the King, laying open all those Errors of his Government together, which they had with Virulence and Malice formerly published in *Parcels*; but the more sober Part of the People knew too well by what Arts the Councils which produced these Actions were framed, to be persuaded by them, and so great were the Discontents in the City of London, and the Suburbs thereof, that Part of the Army was Quartered about *Westminster*, the *Meuse*, and other Places of the City, for fear of Insurrections; and the Month before these high Transactions, seven Lords, and thirteen of the House of Commons were chosen out of both Houses, to sit as a Committee in *Derby-House* (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of England and Scotland had sat before) who were empowered to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, and to that Purpose to raise Forces as they saw Occasion; the Names of these were, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick*, and *Manchester*; and the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, and *Roberts*; and of the Commons, *Sir Henry Vane*, sen. *Sir Henry Vane*, jun. *Sir William Armin*, *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, *Sir Gilbert Gerard*, *Sir John Evelyn*, *Lieutenant-General Cromwell*, *Nathaniel Fines*, *William Pierpont*, and *Oliver St. Johns*, Esquires, *Mr. Crew*, *Mr. Brown*, and *Mr. Wallop*, these were pretty equally made up of Presbyterians and Independents; but the latter seemed to be most prevalent by the Influence of the Army, but they were less violent in their Actings than otherwise they would, that they might not too much exasperate the Scots; for their Commissioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes against the King, propounded to know, *Whether the Houses by their Votes, That no Person whatsoever do presume to make, or receive any Application or Address to, or from the King, would debar the Scots to make or receive any Addresses to, or from him, and so put an Incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government towards them*: This Message caused great Debate, but at last it was consented to, *That the Scotch Commissioners might make Addresses to the King*; but these Carriages in the House of Commons, made the Army and their Independent Friends consult how to suppress or terrify the Presbyterians, who in that House, notwithstanding all the military Means, were yet the major Part, though least active; and to effect this, about the beginning of March the Lords sent a Message to the Commons (which had been six Months before rejected) to desire their Concurrence to an Engagement of those Members that fled to the Army, *To live and die with the Army*; which after eight Hours Debate, was carried by nine Voices in the Affirmative, when there were near two hundred present, after many Presbyterians, who were awed by the Threats of some of the Army's Creatures, had left the House, because it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative: And it was intimated, that if they had not approved of the Engagement, a

new Charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords against the principal Opposers; which prevailed upon the Weakness of many, though the wiser sort believed that they durst not attempt any such thing; for many Arguments at this time were published against those Proceedings, very well received by the People, some of which went so high, as not to allow the Lords any Judicature over the Commons, but others agreed, *That the House of Peers was a Court of Judicature, but not without the King's special Authority, granted to them either by his Writ, or by his Commission*: And the Lords by the four Votes before-mentioned, having denied all further Address or Application to the King, had cut off from themselves that Fountain from which they derived all their Power. During these Practices, to increase and strengthen the Independent Party, the Discontents of the People were much augmented in all Places, against the Parliament and the Army, for their Severity against the King; for upon his Denial to assent to the four Bills, or Acts lately sent to him, the Governour removed most of his Servants from him, and restrained him to the Circuit of the Castle within the Walls, and though he did it at first without the Authority of the Parliament, yet they afterwards approved of the Action. Those in the Island being nearest to the View of this Usage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain *Burleigh* lately an Officer in the King's Army and an Inhabitant there, beat up a Drum in *Newport* to draw some Soldiers together to rescue the King; but being too hasty in the Attempt, his Endeavours were frustrated, and he himself was taken Prisoner, and those that took Part with him suppressed: He was after some time sent in Custody to *Winchester*, where by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to *Serjeant Wild of Worcestershire*, the then chief Baron and others; he was tryed and condemned of High Treason; and on the tenth of February injuriously executed for the same.

During the time of these Restraints, the King betook himself to Meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entituled, *ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, Or, *The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*.

About the Month of June last, the Parliament sent Visitors to the University of Oxford, but their Authority was not submitted to by the Members thereof, who alledged, that they could not acknowledge any Visitors but the King, or his immediate Substitute, without manifold Perjuries: But about the 27th of April this Year, 1648. the Earl of *Pembroke* being lately before by Vote or Ordinance of the two Houses, made Chancellor of the University, resorted thither with some others that were with him made Visitors; and being armed with the Authority of a Vote of the Lords and Commons to expel all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers of Colleges, as refused to submit to their Power: The next Day after his Arrival, he went to *Christ-Church College*, and there by Force removed the Dean, and all the Canons and Students that did not comply with him, and take the Covenant, and put others in their Places; and in the like Manner he proceeded in the Colleges of *All-Souls*, *St. Mary Magdalen*,

Hist Indep. 61, & 62.

The King suffers a more close Restraint.

Capt. Burleigh suffers for endeavouring the King's Rescue. He is so distinguished from another Loyal Person of his Name, late Recorder of London and now a learned Judge.

The Parliament send Visitors to Oxford.

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.



1648. *Magdalen*, and *New-College*; and in all other Colleges and Halls, by displacing those that did not submit, and putting others in their Places.

An Insurrection of the London Apprentices.

This Summer the King, tho' a Prisoner, was as Formidable as ever since the beginning of his Troubles, and many of the more Moderate of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joined in Arms against him, began to look upon his Estate with Consideration, and they and others attempted by Force to try their Fortunes on his Behalf: And first, an Insurrection was made in *London*, where some Apprentices in *Moor-Fields* set upon a Part of the Trained Bands who were there keeping Guard, and over-powered them, by which Success their Numbers hourly increased, and they divided themselves into two or three Bodies, one whereof (which was the most considerable) having born before them an Ensign which they took from the Trained Bands, marched towards *Whitehall*; but being without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse from the *Meuse* charged and dispersed them; yet at Night they joined again, and surprised *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and shut up the Gates thereof, and seized a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayor's House, which they planted within *Ludgate*, being animated hereunto by some of the Army, to make their Conquest of them more remarkable: The Morning following, they laboured to get Arms, and broke open some Salesmens Houses of Ammunition, and mastered the Magazine at *Leadenhall*, crying out in a tumultuous Manner, *For God and King Charles*; but the next Day General *Fairfax* entered *Aldersgate* with two Regiments, and marched to *Leadenhall Street*, and there charged this undisciplin'd Multitude; who, after a short Skirmish, were utterly dispersed, with little or no Loss to the Assailants.

Poyer and Laughorn refuse to submit to the Parliament.

In *South Wales*, about this time, Col. *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke Castle*, refused to yield up his Charge (though commanded thereunto) but the better to countenance his Intention, his first Pretences were to have the Arrears of him and his Soldiers paid to him; but this produced some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the Castle, and stored it with Provision for a Defence, and Major-General *Laughorn*, for the same Reason, refused to disband his Men, and so both resolved to run the same Fortune. *Laughorn* surprised *Tenby Castle*, with the Parliament Commissioners therein; and for the Support of their Soldiers, they raised Contribution from the Neighbouring Parts, and declared for the King, to whom one Colonel *Powel*, a valiant Soldier of that Country, joined. Colonel *Horton* was sent by *Fairfax* Commander in Chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse and Foot, who sent out Adjutant-General *Fleming* to charge them, who when he came near, went to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he found quitted to his Hands, and going on improvidently, he fell into an Ambuscade which *Poyer* had laid, whereby his Men were disordered, and he with some few of them compelled to shelter in a neighbouring Church; but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as it is thought) by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners: This Success was attended with the Surprise of

*Chepstow Castle*, which was taken by Sir *Thomas Keymis* for the King, in the Governour's Absence. And now *Fairfax* thought a greater Force was required than those with *Horton* to reduce *South Wales*, and therefore *Cromwell* himself was ordered to march with a strong Power into that Country; but when the News of his Advance came to *Laughorn*, he thought it best to fight *Horton* before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him; and near *St. Frago's* on the eighth of *May*, the two Armies came in Sight of one another, *Laughorn* had many more than the other, but not well arm'd nor disciplin'd; and for that he did not so soon expect *Horton*, the Conquest was the easier, for as soon as his Men were charged, after a little Resistance, *Horton's* Men obtained a Victory, in which they killed and took fifteen hundred Officers, and three thousand common Soldiers, *Laughorn* himself, and *Powel*, escaped by Flight: Lieut. General *Cromwell* entered *Wales*, shortly after this, and stormed *Tenby Castle*, which yielded upon Mercy, and *Chepstow Castle* was retaken by Colonel *Ewer*, and from thence he marched to besiege *Pembroke Castle*: Sir *John Owen*, whilst *Cromwell* besieged *Pembroke Castle*, got together some Forces in *North Wales* for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppressed, but being too weak, was defeated, and taken Prisoner by him; but shortly after, the same Fortune befel *Owen* himself, by the Forces of Major-General *Mitton*. *Pembroke Town* and *Castle* held out courageously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendered, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon Discretion; and to force them thereunto, *Cromwell* gave a furious Assault to the Place, which the Besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke *Hamilton* was preparing to march into *England* with an Army of *Scots*, he became inclinable to give them better Terms, and thereupon the Town and *Castle* was delivered up to him July the 13th on these Terms, viz. *Powel*, *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors, to submit to the Parliament's Mercy: The other Commanders, Knights, and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six Weeks, for two Years, the rest to return to their respective Dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their Freedom and Liberties: Those that submitted to Mercy, were afterwards tryed as Traytors, notwithstanding the Prince's Letter in their Behalf to General *Fairfax*; but his cruel Favour was extended towards them, that they should cast Lots for their Lives, and so only *Poyer* suffered.

April twenty, The Duke of *York*, disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from *St. James's* by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by the help of one Mr. *Bampfild*, sent over purposely on that Design by the Queen.

Whilst some by Arms were endeavouring to free their Country, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by Favour, which would not without great Hazard and Effusion of Blood be procured by Force. The County of *Essex* was the first that began, who supplicated the Parliament, That the Army might be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty: *Surrey* followed, and desired the

*Chepstow Castle* taken for the King.

*Laughorn* defeated by *Horton*.

*Tenby Castle* stormed by *Cromwell*, and *Chepstow Castle* retaken.

Sir *John Owen* routed by Major-General *Mitton*.

*Pembroke Town* and *Castle* delivered up to *Cromwell*.

The Duke of *York* escapes to *Holland*.

Petitions brought to the Parliament, from *Essex* and other Counties.



1648. the like, but in higher Terms; and being numerous, a Quarrel was made with the Soldiers of *Westminster*, who came to keep Guard against them, Words were first the Weapons used, but from thence they came to Blows, and some hurt was done on both sides, but Night parted the Fray: The City of *London* succeeded next, and petitioned to the same Effect; and also requested, that those Prisoners who stood committed for their former Difference when the Parliament went to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were; and upon the City's constant Profession to adhere to the Parliament, their Militia was restored, and Major-General *Skippon* was appointed Major-General thereof, and of all their Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* put in by the Army, was also discharged, and Mr. *West* a Citizen, surrogated in his Place: And because Alarms of Insurrections came from all Parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from *Whitehall* and the *Meuse*, and any other Parts of *London*, or the late Lines of Communication, upon the City's Promise to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and settled six hundred Pounds yearly on their Major-General for his Entertainment.

The Kentish Men in Arms.

The *Kentish* Men finding those of *Surry* so ill treated when they came in a peaceable Manner to petition the Parliament, resolved to make their Demand with Swords in their Hands, and to that Purpose a numerous Body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord *Fairfax* (for so he was now by his Father's Death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; the *Kentish* were ten thousand, but unadvisedly they parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle; the General advanced, and defeated some of them between *Cranford-Heath* and *Gravesend*, and from thence he sent Major *Husbands* before, who gained a Passage over a Bridge at *Northfield*, and took some Prisoners; *Fairfax* followed, marching in a full Body, expecting the *Kentish*, (who hovered in Sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any Resistance, he came near *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* Men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barrocadoed the Avenues of the Town.

Routed at Maidstone by General Fairfax.

*Fairfax* having his Army by this time encreased to ten thousand, on the second of *June* at seven o'Clock at Night storm'd the Town twice, and was both times repulsed, but the third time he got Entrance, yet then the Fight was more perilous than before, while the Assailants had to do not only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galled with continual shot from the Houses, getting all by Inches, nor could they master the Town till after six Hours fight, and much Loss on their own Side: But of the *Kentish*, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse, and eight Pieces of Ordnance, and good Booty; and presently upon this, *Roche* was also quitted to the General's Mercy. Many of the *Kentish* Men after this Defeat kept still in Body and marched towards *London*, and rendezvous'd upon *Black-beath*, whither some

resolute Persons repaired to them from *London*, 1648. and the Earl of *Norwich* at the Head of them gave them the best Encouragement he could; but the *Kentish* Men perceiving their Succours to come short of what they expected; they quitted their Commanders apace, and returned Home: *Norwich* with five hundred Men crossed over *Greenwich* Ferry into *Essex*, in which County the Committee-Men were already secured by some that were for the King there, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together two thousand Horse and Foot joyned with *Norwich*, who seized the Earl of *Warwick's* Armoury, and possessed themselves of *Colchester*, which now became a Seat of War, and the Country People flocked in unto them, and many also came from *London*, and the Lord *Capel* and the Lord *Loughbrough* from *Hartfordshire*, but General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Hewson* to take in those Places which held out in *Kent*, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and came before *Colchester*, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army; neither were these Endeavours for the King only confined to the Land, but a considerable Part of the Royal Navy encouraged by Captain *Batten* formerly Vice Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the Power of the Prince of *Wales*, to be used for the King's Service; and with these the Prince with his Brother, Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Calpepper*, with others of Quality came into *Yarmouth* Road; he had on board about two thousand Soldiers, and these he would have landed, but hearing of Colonel *Scroop's* coming against him with a Party of Horse and Foot more in Number, he sailed from thence to the Downs in *Kent*, seizing what Merchant Ships and Goods he could meet withal. *Deal* Castle was at this time besieged, for Relief whereof the Prince would needs attempt something, and therefore he set five hundred Men ashore, who at first charged handsomly, but being over numbred, were beaten, and several of them were slain and taken, but the rest got aboard again: Soon after this, *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymore* Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully subdued. Whilst the Prince anchored in the Downs, the States of *Scotland* invited him to them, and engaged the publick Faith of that Kingdom, for his well being in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when or whither he pleased. But he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as highest Captain General under the King, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, went with his Fleet into *Holland*.

Colchester besieged.

Part of the Navy revolt to Pr. Charles.

A Party of his landing in Kent are beaten.

The States of Scotland invite the Prince of Wales to them.

The Earl of Holland takes up Arms for the King.

But the Earl of *Holland* being commissioned from the Prince, heads a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in view of the Parliament at *Kingston* upon *Thames*; his chief Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis Villiers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*; July 2d, they rendezvoused near *Kingston*, and had five hundred Horse, and some Foot upon the *Heath*



1648. Heath there, and from thence they marched to *Darkeing*, and would have possessed *Rygate*, but were prevented; for Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons* marched towards him, and thereupon they retreated towards *Kingston*, and being closely pursued, they sent away their Foot before to secure their Retreat to the Town, and made a Stand between *Ewel* and *Nonsuch* Park, where the Pursuers overtook and engaged them; the Fight was short and smart, wherein the Lord *Francis Villiers* refusing Quarter, was slain with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others, and the rest put to flight, and many Prisoners of Note were taken: The Earl of *Holland* got into *Kingston*, but staid not long there, but fled with all Speed to *Saint Needs* in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle; and *Dalbier* was there killed, but the Duke of *Buckingham* retired towards *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Seas; *Colchester* yet held out courageously, making frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers with indifferent Success and good Hopes of Relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had sat ever since the 2d of *March*, and were much disgusted at the *English* Proceedings in Reference to the King, which was not a little increased by the Report of their Commissioners now returned, so that notwithstanding that the Parliament of *England* made them fair Offers concerning the Payment of the Money due upon Account of their auxiliary Armies, both in *England* and *Scotland*, and on the 24th Day of *July* passed an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in *England* and *Ireland*, viz. under Classical, Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies: yet all would not serve, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their Affairs in relation to *England*; the major Part whereof being of *Hamilton's* Faction, voted a War: And the Scots published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

He is routed and the Lord *Francis Villiers* slain.

The Earl taken at *St. Needs*.

An Ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian Government in *England*

The Scots Declaration.

*That the King may come to London, or some of his Houses near, and that with Safety.*

*That Reparation be made for his carrying away, or Satisfaction by punishing them that did it.*

*That the Army under the Lord Fairfax be disbanded.*

*That Presbytery be settled, and Sectaries punished.*

*That all Members of the House be restored.*

*Berwick* and *Carlisle* surprized.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made Gen. of the *English* Forces for the King.

These actings drew many of the King's Party from the Northern Parts to *Edenburgh*, and *Wogen* a Captain in the *English* Army marched to them with his Troop, and fifty Foot, and two Companies of Foot landed out of *Ireland* at *Chester*, and marched thither also: Moreover *Berwick* was surprized by some Royalists, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* raised Forces for the King in *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland*, with which they seized on *Carlisle*, and with them joyned Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse, being commissioned to be General of the *English* Forces for the King, with which now increased to three thousand, he coasted about the Northern Counties.

*July* the 13th, a Scots Army under Duke *Hamilton* entered *England*, the Van was brought up

by the Duke himself, the main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Rear by the Earl of *Calender*; these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirkby-Steven* and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him, to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken August the 7th, by Sir *Philip Musgrave*; Colonel *Boyn-ton* Governour of *Scarborough* Castle declared for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major *Morris*; in *Tinmouth* Castle, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lilbourne* declared for the King, but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*.

The Scots staid some time at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, and Major-General *Lambert's* Army increased daily with additional Forces, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marched to joyn with him, and in the way took *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle; *Hamilton* left *Kendal* and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the *English* Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Forces, reported to be twenty thousand strong; *Cromwell* and *Lambert* now joyned were reckoned to have five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and seven thousand Foot. August the 17th, both Armies faced one another, Major *Smithson* commanded the forlorn of the *English*, who charged furiously on the Scots Van, and routed them, and alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battles joyned on a Moor two Miles East of *Preston*, and the Fight was very hot for two Hours, and then the Scots gave Ground, which encouraged the *English* to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide; one Part being a Body of three thousand Horse, moved towards *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow* (who took multitudes of them Prisoners); and the other Part Horse and Foot marched over the River *Rible*, whom the main of the *English* Army followed, and at *Rible-Bridge* the Scots made a stand, defending the Pass stoutly for two Hours, even to the Push of Pike, but where then constrained to retire. The next Morning the Scots drew up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great Disorder to *Wiggon*, which they plundered, and the next Morning after marched towards *Warrington* (the *English* pursuing all the way); near *Warrington* the Scots taking Advantage of a Pass, made another Halt, but were again beaten with the Loss of a thousand Men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the Foot in Number four thousand, being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to Mercy: *Hamilton* got away with three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Country being up in Arms seized upon most of them: Lieutenant General *Cromwell* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe* who was marching with a Reserve of Scots, giving Order to all the Parliament Commanders in these Counties to follow the flying Scots, by some of whom Major General *Middleton* who commanded four hundred Horse was defeated and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Utoxeter*, and made to submit to Mercy by the Lord

1648.

The Scots enter *England* under D. *Hamilton*, and joyn with *Langdale*.

The Scots Army defeated by Lt. Gen. *Cromwell*.



1648. Lord Gray of Groby, who sent him Prisoner to *Abby de la Zouch*: In this Day's Fight, the English took more Prisoners than their own whole Army amounted to, the Scots Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken, were afterwards hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn: *Cromwell* improved his Success, and came to *Durham* to look out *Monroe* supposed to be about six thousand strong, but the stricter Presbyterian Party in *Scotland* having now recovered the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for Fear of the English, than Obedience to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together they made eight thousand Horse and Foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesley* Lieutenant General, but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwell* entered *Scotland* by their Invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration.

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England into the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining Part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of England, and for the Recovery of the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*: These are to declare, that if any Officer or Soldier under my Command shall take, or demand any Moneys, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be tried and punished with Death by a Court Martial.

To him *Argyle*, *Lowden*, *Leven*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing of the publick Enemy: And so much feared was he in *Scotland*, that the following Agreement was consented to by them.

First, That the Armies under *Argyle*, and the other under *Lanerick* and *Monroe* with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in *Scotland* be disbanded, and *Berwick* and *Carlisle* be delivered to the English.

Secondly, That the Settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the Determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil Differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.

Thirdly, That no Party that were in the last Engagements against England, be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly. And so he returned into England after he had been invited to *Edenburgh* to Feasts and Banquets, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland* with all Expressions of Honour: And in *Yorkshire* as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarborough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected: *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such Scarcity of Provision that the Besieged had not Horse Flesh enough to serve them one Day (that being the Food which they had fed on almost a Fortnight, and not purchased without much Blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses), and now perceiving all Hopes of Succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yield.

The Prisoners of Quality were the Earl of *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Loughborough*, eleven

Knights, twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Soldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Martial, viz. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoign* a Florentine; but the last was reprieved because a Stranger, and the other two shot to Death, the first having (as the General said in his Letter to the Parliament falsified his Word with him) the second directed the shooting of poisoned Bullets against the Laws of Arms.

And so General *Fairfax* after much Loss of Time and Men, and difficult service for a quarter of a Year, took Possession of the Town of *Colchester*, August the 27th, after which he marched up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford*, to settle Peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to *St Albans* his Head-Quarters: And thus we have briefly described the Military Actions of this Year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of *London* among the rest had preferred one, and withal desired as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunch*, and Serjeant *Glyn* their Recorder, to which the Houses readily consented, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunsden*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the eleven Members, for they became very well inclined to Peace with the King, now they were freed from the Insolency of the Army by their Distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hopesley*, and Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the King, to let him know this their Resolution: Who returned with his ready Compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament Voted.

That the Votes of Non-Addressees should be recalled.

That such Persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted.

That he be in the same State of Freedom as at *Hampton-Court*, with such Servants as he desired.

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to treat with the King, and the Place to be *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*: And that the King be admitted to invite the Scots thereunto to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to treat Personally with these Commissioners, viz. the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords; and the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Bulkley* for the House of Commons, and with King. these were joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*.

Monday, September the 18th the Treaty began: The Propositions were in Number eleven.



1648.

The first was for calling in all the King's Declarations, which he assented to, with this *Proviso*, That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his, Advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded. The second Proposition was, Concerning the Settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three Years, reserving Liberty to himself and his Party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter Abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the Selling of their Lands. The third Proposition was, For settling the Militia in the Hands of the Parliament for twenty Years, solely; to which he assented. Likewise to the Fourth, For making void the Cessation of *Ireland*, and remitting the Government of it, both Civil and Military, to the two Houses at *Westminster*. And to the Fifth and Sixth, For nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for Payment of publick Debts. The seventh Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great Severity; the King moderated thus, he was contented that they should be fined, and prohibited Access to Council or Court without the Parliament's Consent; that they should be deprived for three Years of their Right of sitting in the Parliament, and brought to Tryal (if the two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the Merit, whereof they should be legally convicted: But he would by no Means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away either Lives or Possessions from any, but such as after a legal Tryal should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land. The Eighth, For empowering the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates for twenty Years, he agreed to: And to the Ninth, For confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it. And to the Tenth, For ratifying all Privileges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities to the City of *London*, with Power to dispose of the *Tower*, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: And the Citizens to be exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliament's Appointment. The last was, For total Exterminating the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an hundred thousand Pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of Compensation for it.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised Forces there, in Opposition to the Parliament, by the King's Commission; but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take Effect, the *Irish* Affairs should be managed at the Discretion of the Houses only.

The Parliament vote a full Agreement with the King.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his Desire voted;

That he be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, according to the Laws. Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the Deductions for such Forts and Garrisons, as were of Old accustomed to be maintained. Thirdly, That he have Compensation of the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be passed with such Exceptions and Limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses.

1648.

Most Men thought now that the King and Parliament would have united, and so in all likelihood they had, nothing being in Difference but only the Business of Episcopacy: But whilst the King was treating for Peace at the Isle of *Wight*, with the Commissioners of the Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at *Windsor* the Destruction of both. And having Force in their Hands, which is the last and most cogent Reason, they resolved to employ it. And first, General *Fairfax*, who was all along over-reached by *Cromwell*, was persuaded by him to command Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters to deliver up his Charge of the King's Person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst-Castle*, the 30th of *November*. But the Parliament declared their Resentment of this Action, and Voted, *That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner unto Hurst-Castle was without the Advice and Consent of the Houses.*

Col. Ewer put in place of Hammond.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords voted the King's Concessions a sufficient Ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourned, and the major Part of the Commons voted the same. But the Army being now come up to *London*, and quartered at *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, the *Meuse*, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these Proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and ordered Colonel *Pride's* and *Rich's* Regiment to supply their Places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*, and the Parts adjoining: And not satisfied with this, they accused Major-General *Brown*, and above Ninety Members for inviting in the *Scots* the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these Proceedings the Commons (being displeased) adjourned for four or five Days, in which Space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was, amongst other things proposed;

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

The Parliament adjourned.

*That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred Persons, half which Number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of State should govern.*

The Model of Government proposed by the Army.

And this Declaration, together with half a Score of Modifications, they filed, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller* and sixteen Officers, when the House new moulded by the Army, met again, (for besides those that they forced out, a great Number absented themselves); and to testify their Submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addressees, and repealed those which appeared of the King's Concessions, and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon Pain of Treason; That the General should take Care of his Person; And, that the Council of War*

The Parliament new moulded by the Army met again.

Their Votes.



1648. War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him; which manifested that impious Intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: But before this open and avowed Acting, some secret Practices were designed upon his Life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one *Dowcet* and *Osburn* against Captain *Rolph*, who commanded a Company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his Death, by Poison or Pistol, and not without the Privy of Colonel *Hammond* and some Chiefs of the Army that incited them thereunto: And tho' great Endeavours were used to obstruct any Proceedings in the Business, yet the Clamour of the People was so great, that they were forced to commit him to Prison, and subject him to Trial; but by the stickling of some of the prevailing Party in his Behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the Grand Jury of *Hampshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the Advice of *Maynard*, of Council with him, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, as in Cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

December the Tenth, the King was brought from *Hurst* Castle with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next Day to *Farnham*, and the next Day to *Windsor*: In the mean time the two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to levy War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traytor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their Consent*; and adjourned for a Fortnight: Upon which the Commons voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with the Peers, are empower'd and enjoyn'd to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the Peers joined not therein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the King's Trial, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

January the Sixth, the Ordinance for the King's Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and engrossed, and Proclamation was made two Days after in *Westminster-Hall*, *Cheapside*, and the *Old Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now the City (or rather a contemptible Party therein, suborned to that Purpose) petitioned the House for Justice against the King. And *Hillary* Term, beginning January the twenty third, was adjourned 'till fourteen Days after, to give Place to the Proceedings against him.

January the 19th, the King was brought from *Windsor* to *St. James's* House, and all things were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded notwithstanding the Dissent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a new Tribunal, called the *High Court of*

Justice, who were empowered to convene, hear, judge, and execute *Charles Stuart* King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these Words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these Words, *In the first Year of Freedom by God's Blessing restored*, 1648.

Thus this great, though unfortunate Prince, Monarch of three mighty Kingdoms, was now through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable Condition of a calamitous Prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was tried, condemned, and lastly executed, yet not without a sharp Retaliation (however late) upon the Heads of the greatest Part of those that were the chief Contrivers and Actors of so abhorred a Fact, as in the Sequel of the Story will appear.

#### Of his TAXATIONS.

KING *James* dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the Occasion that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Father's Reign.

In his first Year, the Parliament at their first Session granted him two Subsidies from Protestants, and four from Popish Recusants, and from the Clergy three; and 'till the Parliament took Order therein, he continued the Levies as in his Father's time of Tonnage, Poundage, and other Sums by way of Imposit upon Merchandise imported and exported.

In his second Year he engaged in a War with *France*, and for the Relief of *Rockell*, he raised near two hundred thousand Pounds by Loan.

In his third Year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, they gave him five Subsidies.

In his sixth Year, he revived an antient \* Custom or Usage by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon them that Order, or to make Fine for Respite of the same, whereby an hundred thousand Pounds was brought into the Exchequer.

In his ninth Year, by the Advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Council learned in the Laws, several Writs were issued under the great Seal of *England*; for the Charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs, and Counties of this Realm respectively, to provide and furnish Ships for the Defence of the King and the Kingdom, whereby great Sums were raised. And in a Parliament holden in *Ireland*, the Deputy obtained some Subsidies for the Payment of the Army of that Realm, and the Encrease of his Majesty's Revenue there.

In his sixteenth Year, the Earl of *Strafford* obtained of the *Irish* Parliament the grant of four Subsidies: And the Convocation of Bishops in *England* gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the Pound for six Years, to be assessed on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on of a War with *Scotland* then begun.

And in the same Year, the Parliament of *England* then assembled, granted to him four entire Subsidies for the Relief of his Army then raised against

Secret Practices to take away the King's Life.

The King removed from *Hurst* Castle.

The two Houses clash.

The King is brought to *St. James's*.

A high Court of Justice erected for the King. A new Great Seal made.

See *Coke's* 2d Book of Institutes, Fol. 593. Statute de militibus.



against the *Scots*, and for Relief of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom then much burthened by an Army of the *Scots* quartering in those Parts, who imposed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their Maintenance.

In his seventeenth Year, the same Parliament granted two Subsidies for the further Relief of his Majesty's Army, and the Northern Parts of the Kingdom; and likewise a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable upon Merchandise exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of *May*, to the fifteenth of *July* following, and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the same Duties from the fifteenth of *July* to the tenth of *August* following; and by five other subsequent Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subsidy and Imposition upon Merchandise to the third of *May*, 1642. And the said seventeenth Year, several Sums of Money were by Act of Parliament charged upon Persons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Estates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the speedy disbanding two Armies then in the Bowels of the Kingdom.

This Year also a Contribution and Loan was granted for the Relief of *Ireland*, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the Year before.

And in his eighteenth Year, an Act passed for Raising and Levying of Monies for the necessary Defence and great Affairs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the Payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

These were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwise raised by Royal Authority during the King's Reign. But the War which the Parliament raised without his Authority, and against it, was supported and maintained by great and vast Sums of Money illegally levied on the Subjects by Contribution, Assessments, and Excise, which cannot be properly here inserted.

#### Of the LAWS made in his REIGN.

THOUGH it is certain this unhappy, but worthy Prince, was sometimes misled to extend the Royal Power beyond its legal Bounds, yet as Extremes easily pass from one into another, so in no Reign were more excellent Laws made for the Security of the Subjects Liberties. In his third Year, the Petition of Right was made a Law; by which no Subject can be compelled to any Gift or Contribution to the King, but by Consent of Parliament: Soldiers are forbidden to be quartered in private Houses; and Martial Law is annulled. In the 16th Year of his Reign was passed, what was then called the Triennial Act, entituled, *A Bill to prevent Inconveniencies from long Intermiſſions of Parliaments*. By this Act, if the King should refuse to summon a Parliament at the end of three Years Intermiſſion, the Chancellor or Keeper might issue out Writs to summon the Peers, and elect the Commons: If the Chancellor or Keeper should neglect this, any Twelve of the Peers might summon the Parliament: If the Peers should not send out their Summons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magistrates might cause Elections to be made; and if these should omit their Duty, the Electors might assemble themselves and chuse Members. The Court of Star-

Chamber had been so much distorted from its original Institution, to the Infringement of the publick Liberty, as had also the High-Commission-Court, that two Acts were passed for taking them away for ever. An Act was also passed to dis-annul the Claim of Ship-Money, and for vacating all Proceedings thereon. There having great Vexations arisen to the Subject, from the Uncertainty of the Limits and Extent of the Royal Forests, a Law was made at that time for ascertaining the same. An Act was also passed, for regulating the Office of Clerk of the Market, which had been grievous in some Cases to the Subject. Another Law was made, for preventing all vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood; by which the Inconveniencies arising from an old Law, by which all Persons of such an Estate were obliged to receive Knighthood from the King, were taken away. Two other remarkable Acts were passed, of which one is expired, the other repealed: The first, for continuing the Parliament 'till they should dissolve themselves; the other, for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. These were the principal Laws made in this Reign; the others of less general Concern, being not of Importance enough to be particularly recited.

#### AFFAIRS of the CHURCH in his Time.

AT the beginning of his Reign the Division occasioned by *Arminius's* Doctrines, in *Holland*, crossed the Seas hither, and continued with great Heat on both Sides; though the Doctrines themselves were so obscure, and therefore so frivolous, that the great Use that can be drawn from them is, that nothing is so trivial, that may not be made a Ground of Quarrel. This Controversy was succeeded by another of a little more Weight and Import concerning the Observation of the Lord's Day; which some were for keeping with a *Judaical* Strictness; while others ran into another Extreme, and were for allowing of Liberties rather too light and extravagant for so solemn a Day. Archbishop *Laud* closed in with the latter Party, and persuaded the King to issue out a Declaration for tolerating certain Sports, after divine Service of that Day; as Dancing, *Whitsun-Ales*, setting up May-Poles, &c. But this Declaration produced great Inconveniencies; some Ministers refused to publish it, and upon that Account were suspended by the High-Commission-Court, which furnished Matter of Complaint at that Day of Account, which arrived at the Meeting of the Parliament, in 1641. Many pious Persons of the Laity were also offended at it, and thought an Innovation of this kind, made with so little Reason, might be the Forerunner of others of the like Nature. And the natural Seriousness of the *English* Temper produced so general a Dislike to it, that in no long time it grew antiquated and dis-used. When the Parliament met, in 1639, the Convocation met at the same time; which was continued after the Parliament was dissolved. They composed seventeen Canons, but of no great Importance, and scarce any time in Use: One thing was done by them, which gave great Exception;



1648. on; the framing an Oath to prevent Innovations in Doctrine and Government; which Oath had an *Ec.* in it: It began thus; *I A. B. do swear, that I approve the Doctrine of the Church of England; and afterwards it went on, nor will I ever give my Consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established.* For this and other Reasons; these Cannons were so much opposed, that little was heard of them afterwards.

*Works of PIETY done by this KING and others in his Reign.*

Pembroke College in Oxford built and endowed.

**P**embroke College in Oxford was erected and built in the Place where formerly *Broadgates-Hall* stood, at the Charge of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glympton* in the County of Oxford, who gave five thousand Pounds thereunto; and *Richard Wightwick* Rector of *East Isle* in *Berkshire* gave to it Lands of the yearly Value of an hundred Pounds, and hereupon King *James* in the latter end of his Reign gave his Licence for the building the College, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred Pounds a Year; but the College was not built 'till the first Year of this King's Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of the Church of *St. Aldates* near adjoining. *Sir Foulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, founded a History Professorship in the University of *Cambridge*, and gave a hundred Pounds a Year thereunto for ever; and *Sir Thomas Adams* a competently learned and worthy Citizen, and sometime Lord Mayor of *London*, erected and endowed an *Arabick* Professorship in the same University.

An Arabick Professorship erected and endowed there.

Oriel College in Oxford new built.

*Anthony Blencow* sometime Provost of *Oriel* College in *Oxford*, gave twelve hundred Pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that College, and by his Example some other Benefactors did so largely contribute, as to new build the whole College, which from a very old and decayed Building, is now as handsome a uniform Pile as any in that, or any other University in *Europe*.

The King and Queen great Benefactors to Jesus and Queen's College in Oxford.

The Queen *Henrietta Maria*, Wife to this King, of her great Goodness and Love to Learning, procured of the King her Husband the perpetual Patronage of several good Parsonages in *Hantsire* to be granted to Queen's College in *Oxford*; and the King out of his Care to have the Inhabitants of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* well educated, gave some Fellowships in *Jesus* College and *Pembroke* College in *Oxford*, to the Natives of those Islands.

A new Court in St. John's Oxford built by Archbishop Laud.

*Sir William Paddy*, Knight, Doctor of Physick, gave two perpetual Parsonages to *St. John's* College in *Oxford*, and beautified the Chappel thereof, and endowed some Singing Men and Choristers to make a Choir therein; and *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, built a new Court in the same College, a very elegant Fa-brick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereunto; he also enlarged the publick University Library, and purchased to it at a great Price many Manuscripts of the Eastern Languages; and by that Example, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, a valiant and learned Knight, gave a nume-

rous Collection of choice and excellent Books to it.

The antient Hall of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and many Lodgings there were built at the Charge of *Barnaby Oke*, Proctor of the University, and Fellow thereof, and some other Benefactors (procured chiefly by his Sollicitation,) which is for so much of it, as handsome a Building as any in *England*.

The King was very sollicitous to repair the antient Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, which was much decayed with Age, and advised with Archbishop *Laud*; and some others of his Council, how to effect so pious and so noble a Purpose, which was after some time resolv'd on, and he himself at his own Charge repaired some Part thereof, and by his Inducement, *Sir Paul Pindar*, a wealthy and worthy Citizen, and many others, contributed largely thereunto, so that the Work went on very fast, and had not the Civil Wars made an Interruption to it, in few Years *St. Paul's* Church would have been made the most magnificent Structure of *Europe*.

*Mr. John Eggor* erected and endowed a Free-School in the Parish of *Alton* in *Hantsire*, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

The King also, by his Letters Patents, gave Power to the Town of *Plymouth* to erect a new Church there. The Citizens of *Edinburgh* in *Scotland* also built a new Church in that City called the *Fronekirk*, and covered it with Plates of Copper, and one *Heriat*, a Citizen of that City founded an Hospital there, which is one of the most beautiful Buildings of that Kingdom. There were many Free-Schools besides those here mentioned, and many Alm-houses erected in several Parts of *England*; and some Hospitals; but we have not now so particular Information thereof, as to make mention of them in this Place, but by what has been here expressed, we may see the pious and charitable Effects of the just Security and Peace of the first fifteen Years of the King's Government, which is all the time he reigned freely, and without Opposition.

A new Church built at Plymouth. The like at Edinburgh.

*Of Casualties happening in his Time.*

**I**N his first Year, the Plague broke out in *London* more dangerously than in the Beginning of his Father's Reign, insomuch that the King was fain to adjourn the Parliament, because of the thin Appearance of the Members by Reason of the Contagion.

In his second Year, were great Earthquakes in many Parts of the Kingdom.

In his seventh Year, *May* the 29th, a Star appeared visible at Noon, the Sun shining clear at what time the King rode to *St. Paul's* Church to give Thanks for the Queen's safe Delivery of her second Son Prince *Charles*.

In his eighth Year, a Fire broke out on *London-Bridge*, by which most of the Houses which were built upon it (which when they were all standing, made up a very beautiful Street) were burnt down to the Ground.

In his sixteenth Year, the Earl of *Haddington* in *Scotland*, having recovered some Pieces of Ordnance which the Garrison of *Berwick* had seized at *Dunee*, return'd back to *Douglafs*, where sitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty

6 Q

Knights

The Plague breaks out in London.

Earthquakes.

A Star appears at Noon a little after Prince Charles's Birth.

The great Fire at London Bridge.



A sad Accident at Douglas in Scotland. Knights and Gentlemen, on a sudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by Accident, whereby the Earl and his company were blown up.

A Pond in Cambridge became red as Blood, the Water whereof being taken up in Basons, retained still the same Colour. Many Sights also were seen in the Air, as Armies fighting one against the other, which were looked upon as the sad Prefages of the ensuing Wars: Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightening unworthy of mention which happened at *Witbecombe* in the County of *Devon* in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, where a Ball of Fire was seen to come into the Church in the time of divine Service, whereby three Persons were killed, and threescore and two hurt, divers of whom had the Linings of their Cloaths burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as singed, and most of the Seats were turned up-side down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more endamaged than the Expence of three hundred Pounds could repair.

Strange Thunder at Witbecombe.

#### Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* the fourth King of *France*, whose Marriage was solemnized in the Year 1625, being the first Year of his Reign; he had Issue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldest Son born before the time, was baptized *Charles*, and lived not above two Hours: His second Son born May the 29th, 1630. was also named *Charles*, and afterwards created Prince of *Wales*: And in the Year 1660, restor'd (after many Years Seclusion in foreign Countries) with the universal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Father's Throne: His third Son was born October the 13th, 1633. and was baptized *James*, and created Duke of *York*: His fourth and last Son was born the 20th of July, 1640. and christened *Henry*, afterwards created Duke of *Gloucester*: His eldest Daughter *Mary*, was born November the 4th, 1631. and afterwards married to *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom he had one Son named *William*, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities; she quickly followed her Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, viz. the 24th of December, 1660: His second Daughter *Elizabeth*, was born the 28th of December, 1635. She died at *Carisbrook* in the *Isle of Wight*, September the 8th, 1650. for Grief (as it is believed) of her Father's unfortunate Death: His third Daughter *Anne*, was born the 17th of March, 1636. who died very young: His fourth and last Daughter *Henrietta*, was born June the 16th, 1644. at *Exeter*, from whence she was brought up to St. *James's*, but afterwards conveyed into *France* by her Governess the Lady *Dalkeith*; she was married to the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewis* the fourteenth, the present King of *France*.

#### Of his Death and Burial.

WE are now come to recite as mournful a Story as the *English* History affords: If we consider both the Greatness and Innocence of the Sufferer, and the barbarous Usage he under-

went. The Leaders in the Army and Parliament (if this last might be called so, where so many Members had been outrageously driven away) had, after many Consultations agreed to bring the King to a publick Trial. This was done to avoid the Odium of a private Assassination; for they were resolved to put him out of the Way. And though it was a thing without Precedent in the Times past, and so incredible to the present, that none could believe it would be attempted 'till they saw it done; yet the Authors of it had that wicked Forecast, as to consider well the Consequences of it, and to know that it suited their Ends: For if the King should plead to such an illegal Court, it would be such a Submission to their Authority, as was next to a Confirmation of it; if he did not, it would give them an Opportunity of putting him to Death with some Form of Law, for standing mute.

To effect this, an unheard of Court, called an High Court of Justice, was erected, consisting of about 150 Persons, of whom the major Part might proceed. These Judges were partly composed of those Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army who had been most notorious for their Enmity to the King; and partly of some Citizens and Country Gentlemen remarkable on the same Account, but otherwise of very ordinary Figure and Condition. Besides these, there was one chosen to be the Speaker, or Prolocutor to this wicked Assembly, under the Name of a President, who was named *John Bradshaw*, a Lawyer of *Gray's-Inn*, a Person little known in *Westminster-Hall*, but of good Chamber Practice. Scaffolds were erected in *Westminster-Hall*, as is done usually upon Impeachments, for the Trial of a great King by some of the meanest of his Subjects.

These Preparations being made, the King was brought to St. *James's*, as was said above: And the next Day after his Arrival there, he was made to appear before this Tribunal. A Chair was set for him within the Bar, to which he was conducted by the Mace of the Court. The King entered the Place with great Unconcern in his Countenance, and sat down, and looked resolutely about him, without stirring his Hat; which *Bradshaw* the President had the Insolence to reprehend, then spoke to him, and told him, that he was brought thither to hear the Charge against him by the Commons of *England*. The Charge was then read, importing, That he had been admitted King of *England*, and trusted with a limited Power to use the Government according to Law, and by his Oath and Office, was obliged to use the Power committed to him for the Good of his People; but that out of a wicked Design, to erect to himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, he had traiterously levied a War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented. Then were mentioned his first Appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverly*, then his setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the Day of the Month and Year in which the Battle of *Edgehill* was fought, and all the other several Battles that were fought in his Presence; in which it was laid to his Charge, that he had caused many



many Thousands of his People to be slain; that after he was a Prisoner, he had caused many Insurrections to be made; that he had been the Author and Contriver of those unnatural and bloody Wars, and was guilty of all the Murders, Rapines, and other Mischiefs committed therein; that therefore he was impeached for those Crimes, on the Behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer; and it was prayed that he might answer to all the Particulars alledged against him.

*Bradshaw*, with great Impudence, told the King he had heard his Charge, and that the Court expected his Answer to it. The King replied with great Resolution, That he first desired to know by what Authority they called him thither, and who gave them Power to judge of his Actions; though they were such as he had no Reason to be ashamed to own. He told them he was their King, they his Subjects, who owed him Duty and Obedience; that no Parliament had Authority to call him before them, nor were they the Parliament. And after having proved this by such lively and cogent Reasons, as admitted no Answer, he told them, he should betray his Royal Dignity, and the Liberties of his People, if by answering any thing there alledged against him, he should acknowledge their unlawful Authority.

This was the Substance of what he said for three successive Days together, when he was brought before this illegal and traitorous Court, which he insisted on with those convincing Arguments, and that admirable Courage, Steadiness and Magnanimity, as must have overcome and melted any Hearts, on which Reason, Shame, or Sense of Vertue could make any Impression. In his Passage thither and back again, on those Days, the Soldiers were ordered by their Officers to cry out, *Justice, Justice, Execution, Execution*, as he went along, some of them being beaten for not joining in the Cry; while others of a more barbarous Nature, treated him with many other Scoffs and Indignities; some of them blowing the Smoke of their Tobacco in his Face (a thing very grievous and distasteful to him) and one of them arriving to that Pitch of Insolence and Barbarity, as to spit upon his Cheek. All which this Royal Sufferer underwent with an invincible Fortitude, and a patient and Christian Submission to the unsearchable Decrees of the Almighty.

The Authors of this wicked Judicature, were much confounded that the King refused to submit to its Authority; and it was the Hopes that he would alter his Mind, and not a Sense of Justice or Mercy, (of which they were equally incapable) that induced them to bring him so many times before them. But when they found his Constancy invincible, they resolved to revenge it, by deferring no longer their last and impious Blow. Two Days were spent by them in Consultations, about the Circumstances and Manner of putting him to Death; in which several cruel and horrible Proposals were made. At last it was agreed, that he should be beheaded at the Gate of his own Palace at *Whitehall*, over against the *Banqueting House*.

Then on the following Day, the King was brought again before the *High Court of Justice*,

*Bradshaw* the President being in a scarlet Gown, to shew the King what he was now to expect. *Bradshaw* began, addressing himself to the Spectators, and telling them, that the Prisoner having been several times brought before the Court, had stood contumacious, and declined the Authority of the same: Upon which they had agreed to pass Sentence upon him; but that he having desired to be heard a few Words first, they had consented to it. The King then told him, that if he had refused to plead to his Charge, and acknowledge their Jurisdiction, it might from thence appear, that the Interest and Liberties of his People were dearer to him, than his own Safety; for had he loved his Life as well, he might still have prolonged it, by pleading to the Charge, and making his Defence, but he could not resolve to do that. He then desired, that before Sentence were given, he might be heard in the Painted-Chamber, before the Lords and Commons; that he would then make some Proposals that might tend to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. It is thought that his Intention was to offer to resign his Crown to the Prince of *Wales*; but whether his Enemies had a Suspicion of this, or whether they were resolved on his Death is uncertain: But after having withdrawn half an Hour, they returned; and the President told him, that Judges could no more delay Justice, than they could not deny it, and therefore they had unanimously agreed to proceed to Sentence and Judgment. The King pressed them again and again to hear him, but was so stiffly denied, that he said no more. After a long Speech by *Bradshaw*, the Sentence was read, importing, That he having refused to give his Answer to the Charge against him, the Court adjudged, that as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer, he should be put to death, by severing his Head from his Body. This monstrous Sentence being pronounced, the King was taken away.

Only two Days were allowed him before Execution, which he spent in a devout Preparation for his approaching Change; in which he was assisted by Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, whose Attendance was granted him. He was visited by those of his Children who were then in *England*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*; but he refused to see any other Persons, though several Noblemen, who had been formerly in his Service, came to take their last Farewel of him. He received his Children with great Joy and Pleasure. The Duke of *Gloucester* was not eight Years old, and not capable of understanding the Misfortunes of his Father; but the Lady *Elizabeth* being above Thirteen, and of a Maturity of Understanding above her Years, the King addressed himself chiefly to her: Seeing her Face all covered with Tears, he exhorted her to comfort herself, since the Death he should die was glorious; being for the Laws and Liberties of his People: He then advised her to read Bishop *Andrews's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Archbishop *Laud* against *Fisher*, to establish in her a Sense of Piety and Devotion, and a Knowledge and Love of that Religion she professed. He ordered her to remember him to the Queen her Mother, and to assure her, that she had ever been present



sent to his Mind, and that to the last Hour of his Life his Thoughts would never wander from her: He charged her with his Blessing, to order her Brothers and Sisters to love one another, to be obedient to their Mother, and to forgive their Father's Enemies. Then taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, he said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head, (upon which Words the Child looked very wishfully on him) mark Child what I say, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps, make thee a King; but mark what I say, you must not be a King as long as your Brothers Charles and James are alive; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads, if they can catch them, and cut off your Head too at last; and therefore I charge you, don't be made a King by them. At this the young Prince said, sighing, I will be torn to Pieces first; which Saying, expressed with so much Spirit, rejoiced the King extremely: Then in Kisses and Embraces, he took his last Farewel of them, and commended them to the Blessing and Mercy of God.

On the Morning of the Day on which he was to be put to Death, he rose from a sound Sleep of four Hours, earlier than usual; and gave it as his Reason, that he had a great Work to do that Day. Bishop Juxon attended him, and performed divine Service before him; and it happened that the History of our Saviour's Passion came to be read in Course for the second Lesson, which comforted and delighted the King exceedingly. He then received the Holy Sacrament from the Bishop's Hands, and having spent some time in religious Exercises, he left St. James's about Ten of the Clock. He went on Foot through the Park, attended by the Bishop on one Hand of him, and Colonel Tomlinson, who was his Guard, on the other; a Regiment of Foot surrounding him. The Soldiers marching slow, according to the Custom of Military Order, he spoke to them to go faster, telling them that he now went to strive for a heavenly Crown with more Eagerness, than he had before encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.

The Scaffold on which this odious Act was to be perpetrated, not being ready, an Hour or two extraordinary were added to the King's Life, which he spent in Acts of Devotion. A Dinner had been prepared for him, but he refused to eat any thing, 'till the Bishop persuaded him to drink one Glass of Wine, and eat a Piece of Bread: Then, at One of the Clock, he rose up, and came out upon the Scaffold, with that Intrepidity, which Death itself, when duly prepared for, cannot daunt or dismay. The Scaffold was hung with Black; and two Executioners attended there dressed in Frocks, with Vizards on; and that no shew of Cruelty might be wanting, there were Ropes, with Hooks and Staples provided, by which he was to be drawn down to the Block by Force, if he shewed any Reluctance: But the divine Goodness so assisted him, that he was not shocked or affrighted at so strange and unexpected an Instance of their Barbarity. The Scaffold was surrounded by so numerous a Guard, both of Horse and Foot, that the other Spectators, who, with bleeding Hearts stood to behold this

mournful Sight, were far removed out of hearing. Upon this the King addressed himself to Colonel Tomlinson, and Dr. Juxon, in a long Speech, in which he cleared himself of the Imputation of having begun the War, and of the Blood-shed consequent upon it: He declared his Forgiveness of his Enemies; and his Profession of the Protestant Faith according to the Church of England: He then prepared himself for the fatal Stroke, and put his Hair under his Cap: He gave the Executioner the Sign, by which he should know when to strike; which was by stretching out his Hands: He then said a few Words to himself as he stood, and immediately after laid his Neck upon the Block: The Executioner put his Hair farther under his Cap, which made the King believe he was going to strike; upon which he called to him to stay for the Sign. Then after a little Pause, he stretched out his Hands, and the Executioner, with one Blow, severed his Head from his Body; which ended at once his long Warfare and Afflictions, and conveyed his Soul to those bright Realms, where an immortal Crown was waiting for him.

His Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the People; which done, it was, with the Body, put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that Purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at Whitehall; and from thence it was carried to his House at St. James's, where his Body was embalmed, and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a Fortnight, to be seen by the People: And on Wednesday Seven-night after, his Corps embalmed, and coffin'd in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the Care of four of his Servants, viz. Master Herbert, Captain Anthony Mildmay, his Sewers, Captain Preston, and John Joyner, formerly Cook to his Majesty, who (with others) cloathed in Mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Hearse that Night to Windsor, and placed it in that which was formerly the King's Bed-Chamber: Next Day it was removed into the Dean's Hall, which Room was hanged with black, and made dark, with Lights burning round the Hearse, in which it remained 'till Three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Marquess of Dorchester, and the Earl of Lyndsey, having obtained an Order from the Parliament, for the decent Interment of the King, their Royal Master, provided the Expence thereof did not exceed five hundred Pounds: At their coming into the Castle, they shewed their Order of Parliament to Colonel Whitcomb, Governour of the Castle, desiring the Interment might be in St. George's Chapel, and by the Form in the Common Prayer Book; but this last was denied by the Governour: They then went to seek a convenient Place for the Burial of the Corps; and after some Search, they discovered a Vault in the Middle of the Choir, wherein, as it is probably conjectured, lieth the Body of King Henry the VIIIth, and his beloved Wife, the Lady Jane Seymour, both in Coffins of Lead. In this Vault (there being Room for one more) they interred the Body of the King, with only the following Inscription on the Coffin:

CHARLES



CHARLES KING OF ENGLAND,  
M.DC.XLVIII.

Princeps, ne prisco Natus ab Inacho; nil Interest,  
an Pauper, & infima de gente: sub dio  
jacebit, victima nil miserentis Orci.

Of his PERSONAGE and CONDITIONS.

His Character.

HE was of a comely Stature, straight, and well timbered, and very active and indefatigable in all Exercises; his Hair was of a darkish brown; one Imperfection he had, viz. a little Hesitation in his Utterance, which he so ordered by Custom, that whereas the like in others subtracted from their Eloquence, it was a kind of Grace and Ornament to his Speech. He was a Prince of great Wisdom, and all Princely Vertues, but so modest in the Exercise of them, that they appeared not in their full Splendor, 'till his Afflictions made them almost useless to any but himself; his Religion was in a Degree even to Perfection, both in the Theory and Practice of it: In the first, (especially in those Points in Controversy, concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church,) few of his Clergy (though the most Learned in Europe) were more knowing; and in the Practice and Exercise of Holy Life, he was both an Example and Precept to them and all others in his Court and Kingdoms; Temperance, Sobriety, and all other moral Vertues, were almost inimitable in him; nor was his Courage less conspicuous, which sufficiently appeared in all Actions where he was present, and had more, if the great Care of his Safety in those about him, had not thereby given him less Occasion to shew it.

His Sufferings were such, as nothing but their Story at large can in any Measure express; such was his Fortitude, that in the greatest of his Prosperity and Misery, he retained an equal Temper of Mind: And although his Indulgence to his People induced him to condescend to divest himself of some Part of his Prerogative for his own time, to satisfy the causeless Jealousies of his Enemies, yet he would not consent to diminish the Regal Power of his Successor; and in what concern'd Religion, where he believ'd his Conscience unsatisfied, no human Consideration could alter him: His Clemency was very transcendent; for although no King ever received more Reproaches and Indignities from seditious Subjects, he never was heard to revile any of them, but rather to pray for the Conversion of the most, and commiserate such others whom the malicious Arts of his Enemies had perverted.

In several Battles in our unnatural War, where the Success was to his Party, he always lamented his Victory, and never had any signal Conquest, but he used it rather to invite his Enemies to receive his Mercy and Pardon, by offering Treaties of Accommodation, than by improving those Advantages to their Ruin, which Lenity was imputed by many to him, as one of the main Causes of his Misfortunes.

In Council he was quick and discerning, but somewhat too deliberate in Execution, and tho' none of his Counsellors equalled him in Parts, yet was he so diffident of his own Judgment, that he frequently declined that to follow the Advice of others (most commonly to the worse) as was in two things remarkably observed: In being persuaded to assent to the Act for perpetuating his last Parliament; and to the Earl of Strafford's Death; of the first indeed he never openly complained, because he did it to shew his Confidence in his People, (though ungratefully deceived in it) but of the latter he often repented.

To his Domesticks he was more like a familiar Friend than a Master, but did so temper his Affability with a Majesty of Port, that it begot in most of them a Reverence and Love; yet such was the Ingratitude even of some of these, that they mingled and joined in the Cry with the most virulent of his Enemies. To conclude, Though his Death was horrid and ignominious, and acted in the most immense Degree of Annoyance, by a wicked, mean, and inconsiderable Part of his People; never died Prince more lamented by the Generality of them.

Of Men of Note in his Time.

THE first fifteen Years of his Reign (following the many Years of Peace that went before in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James,) gave small Encouragement to Martial Men, yet many of the King's Subjects of Spirits addicted thereunto, lifted themselves in the Service of Foreign Princes and States, and gave signal Proofs of their Courage; amongst which, those of most Remark that have come to our Knowledge, we shall mention in this Place: In this Number, Sir Charles Morgan bred in the Wars of the States of the United Netherlands, against the Spaniards, deserves a famous Memory, who being employed in Germany with six thousand English, more disquieted Count Tilly, the Emperor's General, than the King of Denmark could do with a far greater Army. Sir John Burroughs also at Cadix and the Isle of Rhe, perform'd Services never to be forgotten, and was a great Captain; and Sir Simon Harcourt also in Ireland, as before in many other Parts, gave such Proof of his Excellency in Arms, as made his \* Loss much lamented by all good Men. In the Wars of Germany, the Names of Ruthin, Lesley, Fleetwood, Douglass, and Hamilton are recorded to Posterity. Lesley arrived to great Honours in the Emperor's Court, and was made a Count of the Empire; but of all the others, Ruthin only served in our unhappy Wars, and deservedly had the Title of Earl of Brainford and Forth, conferred on him: Many others brave and expert Commanders there were, whose Eminences appeared not, 'till the King's Service called them to the Defence of his Crown and Dignity; of all which, if we should here make mention, they would fill a Volume. Those of most Note were, the Marquess of Montross, the Earls of Lindsey, Rochester, and Carnarvon; the Lords Jacob Ashley, Arthur Capel, George Goring, and

\* He was killed at the taking a Castle from the Irish.



Ralph Hopton; Sir Henry Gage, Sir Richard Greenvil, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Major-General Hurrey; each of which were able for Skill, Courage and Conduct, to command Armies. We may name amongst these, the Earl of Strafford, from the little time of whose Employment in War, great Signs appeared of rising Glory, and more had been, if an untimely and unmerited Death had not cropt his springing Laurels.

The most famous Men of Learning in his Time were of the Clergy, whereof Davenant Bishop of Salisbury, Andrews Bishop of Winchester, Morton Bishop of Durham, Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, Hall Bishop of Norwich, Prideaux Bishop of Worcester, Usher Archbishop of Armagh, and his Successor Bramhall; Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Chillingworth of Trinity College in Oxford, and Dr. Hammond, one of the Canons of Christ-Church, in the same University; and Mr. Mead of Christ's College in

Cambridge, and Mr. Hales of Eaton, are most celebrated: But others there were of great Learning, as Lucius Lord Faulkland, Secretary of State, a great Master of all Sorts of Learning; Sir Edward Cook likewise, that famous Common Lawyer, and Mr. John Seldon of the same Profession, a most renowned Antiquary, and Thomas Hobbs of Malmesbury, that excellent Mathematician and Philosopher, all flourished in his Reign. Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excelled or equalled all that went before, and shall come after; such as were Mr. Benjamin Jonson, Mr. Edmund Waller, Mr. Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling, Mr. Thomas Randolph, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, Mr. Abraham Cowley, and Sir William Davenant; the First whereof, by his profound Learning and Judgment, shewed a Poet was to be as well made as born; and the Latter, though he wanted Learning, made as high and noble Flights as Fancy could advance without it.





# The First Thirteen YEARS OF THE REIGN OF King CHARLES II.

1648.

**K**ING CHARLES the First being deprived of Life on the Thirtieth of January, One Thousand six Hundred Forty and Eight, in the Manner before-mentioned, his eldest Son Prince CHARLES, by unquestionable Right succeeded to the Crowns of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation, the usual Ceremonies attending Royal Successions, could not now have their due Course, nor are they in this Kingdom necessary Circumstances of our Monarchy; for by our Law (which admits of no *Interregnum*), the Successor to the Crown has all the Rights thereof, from the first Moment after the Death of his Predecessor. The ruling Part of the House of Commons, who Usurped the Government with Violence on the Person of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be secure if they rested there; so that immediately thereupon they published an Act even against Kingly Government it self, expressing therein;

An Act against proclaiming the King.

*That whereas several Pretences might be made to this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office set on Foot, to the apparent Hazard of the publick Peace. Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no Person whatsoever do presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways to promote Charles Stuart, (Son of the late King Charles) commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other Person to be King, or chief Magistrate of England or Ireland, or of any Dominions belonging to them, by Colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Claim whatsoever, without the free Consent of the People in Parliament, first had and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that Purpose, any Law,*

*Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: And whosoever shall, contrary to this Act, proclaim, &c. the said Charles Stuart, shall be deemed and judged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.*

1648.

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the second of February this Year, the following Proclamation was printed and scattered about the Streets of London.

*We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, A Proclamation  
Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, do, proclaim-  
according to our Allegiance and Covenant, by these Charles to  
Presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim the illustrious CHARLES be King of  
Prince of WALES, next Heir of the Blood Royal England.  
to his Father King CHARLES (whose late wicked and traiterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Parties and Consenters thereunto) to be by hereditary Birth-right, and lawful Succession, rightful, and undoubted King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and that we will faithfully, constantly, and sincerely in our several Places and Callings, defend and maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity, with our Estates, Lives, and last Drop of our Bloods, against all Opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traytors and Enemies to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In Testimony whereof, we have caused these to be published and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the first Day of February, in the first Year of his Majesty's Reign.*

God save King Charles the Second.

Coronation,



1648. Coronation, which is the next Solemnity, the Exclusion of the King by the Malice of his Enemies, made impossible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled suitable to these Designs of changing the Monarchy of England and Ireland, to a Commonwealth; for neither this Alteration, nor the Death of the late King could have been effected, without a Military Assistance, which was first discovered when Colonel Pride secluded, or terrified from sitting, near two Hundred of the Members of the Commons House of Parliament, being those who had on the fifth of December before, by Vote approved of the late King's Concessions for a Peace at the Isle of Wight, and those that remained after this Violation, complied so far with the Army herein, that after a seeming Dislike of their Proceedings, they resolved and decreed, never to re-admit them; and such others who had given their Negatives to the said Concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, 'till they had entered their Dissent to them.

Monarchy and the House of Lords declared useless by the Commons.

The House of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commissions of the Judges were determined by the King's Death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference, about that and other Matters relating to the Settling of the Government; but they, without returning an Answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and that the Lords House was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the House of Commons, of which afterwards Three of them only accepted, namely, the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and the Lord Howard of Esrick; but the Peers in General very much resented these Indignities put upon them by a small Part of the House of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm;

The Protestation of the House of Lords against the Proceedings of the Commons.

" They asserted their own Privileges, and the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and disclaimed and protested against all Acts, Votes, Orders or Ordinances of the said Members of the Commons House, for erecting of new Courts of Justice, to try or execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the Government, Laws, Great Seal, Antient Forms of Writs, or legal Process, raising new Forces, and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, granting Commissions, or making Officers; as likewise against the traitorous Murdering of the late King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son the Prince of Wales, and particularly against that Insolent and Frantick Vote (as they call'd it) of February the Sixth, concerning their Abolishing the House of Peers as useless and dangerous, all which Acts, Votes, and Orders, they declared to be not only illegal, and therefore void, but likewise detestable and destructive to the Rights and Beings of Parliaments, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the People.

This made little Impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the Assembling of the

Lords, the Army, by their Appointment or Connivance, set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further Prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed *An Act for the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Commonwealth*; which they ordered to be published and proclaimed in all Parts of the Kingdom.

An Act for the Abolishing of Kingly Government.

Alderman Reynardson, the then Lord Mayor of London, a Person of great Integrity and Loyalty, refused to publish this Act in London, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with three of the Aldermen that were of his Judgment, committed Prisoners to the Tower of London, and one Andrews was by a Common-Hall chosen in his Place; who, with Pennington, Atkins, Wollaston, Fowk, Edmonds, and Pack, then Aldermen of London, and some others, proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several Places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amused the Generality of the People, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some Satisfaction, which was endeavoured by a Declaration, to shew the Reasons of their Proceedings; wherein many plausible Pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof imported, *A Promise of Deliverance from the Bondage introduced by the Norman Conquests, and of maintaining the antient Laws* (which they extolled for their Excellency and Equality) adding, *That they might well consist with the present Government of a Republick upon some easy Alterations of Form only, leaving the Substance entire, and reforming the Abuses thereof.* They promised likewise, *The Establishment of a firm and safe Peace, the Advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberal Maintenance of a Godly Ministry; the settling of Treaties and Alliances with Foreign Princes and States, the Encouragement of Manufactures for the Increase and Flourishing of Trade, and the Maintenance of the Poor in all Places of the Land.*

Alderman Reynardson the then Lord Mayor or committed to the Tower.

A Declaration for justifying their Proceedings.

About the time of publishing this Declaration, to compleat the Model of their Government, they abolished all the antient Forms of Sovereignty, in the Style and Teste of Writs, Commissions, and other publick Instruments, and ordered for the Future, all of them to be issued, *In the Names of the Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of Parliament*; and likewise they caused the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one Side a red Cross and Harp, as the Arms of England and Ireland, with this Inscription, **THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND**, and on the other, the Picture of the House of Commons, with these Words, *viz. IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648.* And as another Ensign of their Dominion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coined, should, instead of the King's Impression, bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, **GOD WITH US**: Those Clauses in the First of Queen Elizabeth, and the Third of King James, which enjoined the taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a new Oath was framed to be tendered

The Style of publick Writings, the Great Seal and the Stamp of Coin altered.



1648. dered to all that were to be put into a Place of publick Trust, or made Freemen of Corporations; the antient Judicial and Legislative Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, they assumed to themselves; but the Executive Part of Government, they committed to a Council of State erected by Act of Parliament, which consisted of Forty Persons of the Chiefs of the Army, and others of desperate Fortunes of the most Active in these Alterations.

A Council of State erected.

The Parliament of Scotland did by their Commissioners protest against these Actings in England, and particularly they disclaimed the Proceedings against the late King, but the New English States resolutely answered,

*That they of Scotland were at Liberty to act in their own Affairs, but were not to limit or impose upon others, with many extravagant Expressions to justify their Actings; but in the close they invited them to a Resemblance with themselves, saying, That if Scotland thought fit to vindicate their own Freedom and Liberty, they should be ready to afford them all Neighbourly Assistance.*

Before this Answer could arrive in Scotland, the Scots had taken other Resolutions; for on the third of February in this Year, the King was proclaimed at the Cross at Edenburgh; and the Scotch Commissioners here, were about this time called home: But just at their Departure, they sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in Mind of *all their Vows, Oaths, and Protestations for the Maintenance of the King's Person, and just Rights*; and upbraided to them *their shameful Abjuration and Infringement of them by what they had lately acted.*

The Scots Commissioners send the Parliament an Expostulatory Declaration.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they imprisoned the Messenger that brought it, and voted the Paper scandalous and seditious, and all such Persons Traytors as should join with, or adhere to the Subscribers; they also sent after the Commissioners, and secured them 'till a Copy of the Paper was sent into Scotland, to know if the Parliament and Estates there would own the same: Upon which a Messenger was sent from Scotland to our States, to justify what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of the Imprisonment of them, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations; and thereupon the Commissioners were released and returned home: But these Proceedings on either Side increased the Distrust and Jealousies of each other.

They are stopped in their Journey home, and secured.

They are justified by a Message sent from the Estates of Scotland.

They are released.

In the Summer of this Year, several Loyal Persons unsuccessfully in many Places attempted by Arms to free the late King from great Oppression and imminent Danger, under which he then lay, as was shewed in the History of that time; of which Number the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen were about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March following, tried and condemned by a High Court of Justice erected for that Purpose, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the Destruction of the late King) of which the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel were

Duke Hamilton, Earl of Holland, Lord Capel are tried by a High Court of Justice.

Executed the Ninth of March; but the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were pardoned: The Earl of Norwich, upon an equal Division of the House of Parliament in a Vote for his Life, was saved by the casting Voice of Lenthall the Speaker; but Sir John Owen had on his Behalf the Suffrage of many more Voices than those against him, which was reported to be done at that time in a kind of popular Generosity; for that the Noblemen had all great Intercession made for them by those of their Allies (in Favour with some Grandees in Power;) but Sir John Owen a Commoner, coming from a remote Part, had none that interceded on his Behalf.

Duke Hamilton, who first came upon the Scaffold, in his Speech declared his Affection to this Kingdom, and the Reason of his coming into England with an Army, that is to say, his being commanded thereunto, by the peremptory Command of the Parliament of his own Country, which if he had disobeyed, he had suffered the same Penalty he was to suffer here for obeying. He said many things in Vindication of himself, from the Imputation of having been inconstant in his Religion, or false and unfaithful in his Actions towards the King his Master; he seemed also to intimate a Readiness to serve them in what they so much desired of him; namely, the Discovery of those who were the Inviters of him in, so that his Life might have been spared; with other things which concerned his Condition as a dying Man.

The Next that came after him, was the Earl of Holland, who touched upon the Honour of his Family, and the Nobleness of his Education, professed his sincere and constant Adherence to the true Protestant Religion, justified himself as to the Matter for which he was condemned, alledging his Defection from the Parliament, not to have been out of any ill Design against the State or Kingdom, or any Abjuration from his first Principles, which led him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose Service he should not have deserted, had not the Changes and Alterations among them carried them beyond what was reasonable, or what, perhaps, they themselves at first intended. He prayed God to bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the antient way of Government by the King, Lords and Commons, and wished the present Change might not bring Confusion upon it; he wished that the King's Posterity might be looked upon, and owned by the People, and re-established in their Native Rights without Blood-shed; that his Blood might be the last that might be spilt; and concluded, as he was Chancellor of Cambridge, with his Prayers to God for a Blessing upon that University.

The last of the Three that suffered, was the Lord Capel, who having made a very able and substantial Defence for himself, both from the antient Laws and Privileges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Consults (though all in vain) behaved himself at his Death, like what he had shewed himself all along to be, in his resolute Acting for the King's Service, a Person of a high Spirit, and heroick Fortitude, and delivered what he had to say, with a fearless and undaunted Deportment, wherein after

The Substance of Duke Hamilton's Speech before his Execution.

Of the Earl of Holland.

The Substance of the Lord Capel's Speech.



1648. an ample Account of his Religion, professing his hearty Zeal and Devotion to the true Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of England; he took the Liberty to urge the Unjustness of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the Word given him at his rendering of himself against the Justice of the known Laws of the Land, and for no other Cause, than his maintaining the Fifth Commandment: He expressed much Trouble and Repentance, for having been one of those that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, and manifested to the World the high Opinion, and venerable Remembrance he had of the late King's transcendent Vertue, Nobleness of Mind, and Ability of Parts: Next he prayed heartily for the King that now is, for his happy Restauration, long Life, and continued Prosperity, recommending to the People the Hopes they were to entertain in him of a most accomplished Person, and most excellent Prince, from the several Years Experience he had of the Greatness of his Apprehension and Understanding, the Honour of his Nature, and the Generosity of his Inclinations; and so shut up all with what they all Three generally consented in, viz. a cheerful Readiness to forgive his Enemies, and those that had been the Occasion of bringing him to that Place.

Several others tried and executed.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate those that caused the Effusion of it; for some others were cut off about the same time for the like Offences, though not by the same manner of Tryal, as Lieutenant-Colonel Morrice, and Colonel Blackborne, who was hanged and quartered at York by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the surprizing of Pontfract; one Beaumont a Minister was hanged at Pontfract, by Sentence of a Court Martial; and Major Monday was shot to death at Lancaster by the like Sentence; Colonel Langborn, Poyer and Powel, three worthy Endeavourers in the King's Service in Wales, were also by a Court Marshal sentenced to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal Chance falling on Poyer, he was shot to death in Covent Garden.

Judge Fenkins and Sir J. Stowel tried at the King's Bench Bar. Sir John Stowel, and Mr. David Jenkins (a Judge formerly in Wales) had better Fortune; for being both arraigned at the King's Bench Bar as Traytors against the Government, for their Loyalty to the King, though they never owned the Jurisdiction of the Court, the Judges would not give Sentence against them, nevertheless their Estates were seized, and the latter of the two was long imprisoned.

The Messengers sent from the King at the Hague are driven back by Storm. The Parliament of Scotland had sent two Gentlemen, to acquaint the King, being then at the Hague in Holland, with their Proceedings on his behalf, who, after being long at Sea, were beaten back by contrary Winds, so that he had no publick Notification of what was done there, though he wanted not private Advertisement of it: They resolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were in Preparation of Propositions to be sent to him in order thereunto, but they were so much diverted by several Disorders in the Country, that the Progress in them was very slow.

Middleton and Monroe, two Major-Generals, together with the Lord Rea, the Gordons, and

those of the Clan of Makenzey, being jealous that the Covenanters (for so they called the Scotch Parliament) would impose so much upon the King, that he could not with Honour and Safety yield to them, drew many Forces together in the North of Scotland, and seized on the Town of Inverness in the King's Name, expecting many others to come into them, intending so to moderate the Counsels of the Estates at Edinburgh, that the King might be admitted to his Government without any previous Conditions. This Rising in the North was not so privately managed, but the Scotch Parliament had Advice of it some time before it was put in Execution, and they thereupon made Levies of about six thousand Horse and Foot upon other pretences, so that upon the first Alarm, they dispatch'd a good Part towards them under the Colonels Ker and Straughan, who marched with so much Expedition, that they prevented any considerable Conjunction of Forces, and dispersed those that they had got together.

This Breach in Scotland, and the Suppression of it, made the Governours at Westminster believe it not unreasonable to make some Overtures to the Estates at Edinburgh, to tempt them to a Breach with the King, with an Offer of their utmost Assistance against him and all his Adherents; but they could not prevail.

The King being now at the Hague, had Intelligence from time to time of the Counsels of Scotland, and resolved to go into France, that from thence he might more easily pass to some Part of his own Dominions to receive their Commissioners: In prosecution of which Intentions he left Holland, and came to St. Germain's near Paris, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way as he passed both through the Cities of the United Provinces, and the Spanish Netherlands, he was very splendidly entertained. The Duke of Lorraine met him on the Frontiers of France, and at Compeigne the King of France received him, and accompanied him to Paris, and from thence to St. Germain's, where he staid a few Months together with the Duke of York, who repaired to him out of Holland.

In the midst of this prosperous Fortune of the establish'd new Commonwealth, there was so great a Disturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been suppressed, all their Buildings had been tumbled down. For the better understanding whereof, we shall shew how this Name came to be applied to them, and then briefly set down the Disorders that happened.

They were formed out of those Agitators mentioned in the Reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle which they espoused, to endeavour to obtain such an equal righteous Distribution of Justice in Government to all degrees of People, that it should not be in the Power of the highest to oppress their Inferiors; nor should the meanest of the People be out of Capacity to arrive at the greatest Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleasing to the inferior Officers of the Army and Soldiers, but those that influenced them were a more considerable sort of Persons, who to gain Power and Authority to themselves, found out

Means

A rising for the King in the North of Scotland.

They are suppressed by Ker and Straughan.

The Rising in England tempt the Scots to a Breach with the King.

1649.

The King removes from Holland into France.

The Original of the Levellers dispersion, and with their De- feature.



1649. Means by heightening this Distemper, to arraign and disgrace the Administration of others, and to be pleased with nothing that was done by the Parliament, or the Chiefs of the Army; and now the Infection was spread among some of the superior Rank of Officers, who in a Jealousy of the aspiring Greatness of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* (tho' they appeared not openly themselves) spirited the private Soldiers to begin a Defection in the Army upon these Levelling Principles.

These, to countenance their Proceedings, insinuated, that then appeared a general Self-seeking in the Magistrates, and chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not thoroughly pursued as it ought, either in Spirituals or Civils. *Cromwell* endeavoured to suppress this in the beginning, and caused Orders to be issued to forbid their private Meetings; but not succeeding herein, several of the Soldiers were seized on, and tried and condemn'd at a Court Martial, and one *Lockier* a busy Actor in the Business, was shot to Death, and eleven Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be sent into *Ireland*. But this did rather incense than allay the Heat; for many of the Soldiers were so practised with, as to be much discontented with their being allotted to the *Irish* Service; alledging, *It was a Contrivance to divide them; that they were not Mercenaries, but Persons that took Arms upon righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they saw such a Settlement established as might answer the Ends of their first Engagements they would not divide.* And hereupon many Regiments revolted from their Officers, and if some great Ones that seemed to approve their Actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliament's Authority then, and the following Greatness of *Cromwell* had been subverted and prevented.

At *Burford* five thousand Horse and Foot of these Dissenters were drawn together, and staid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of *Cromwell's* Word, that no Part of the Army should draw nearer to them, than the Distance of ten Miles, whereby they were less vigilant; and in this their Security, Colonel *Reynolds* (one accused by them to have discovered their Counsels) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking nine hundred Horse, and four hundred Foot Prisoners, whereof one *Thompson*, and two or three principal Leaders were immediately shot to Death, and the rest by *Cromwell's* Freeness or Mediation, pardoned. And after this, great Preparations were made to be sent into *Ireland*.

The Mar-  
quess of  
Ormond's  
diligent  
acting for  
the King's  
Service in  
*Ireland*.

But these Commotions gave the Marquess of *Ormond*, and those that acted for the King under his Lieutenancy in that Kingdom, a fair Opportunity of reducing it to the Obedience of the Crown, wherein he was so prosperous, that the King had some Thoughts of going thither, and a Peace was made with the most considerable of the Confederate *Irish*; but contrary to their Faith and Promise, the Pope's Nuncio by the Interpositions of some of the Popish Clergy prevailed with the *Ulster-Irish*, under *Owen Roe O'neal*, to refuse to come under the King's Authority.

Nevertheless, the Lord Lieutenant with the Conjunction of the several Forces under the Mar-

1649. quess of *Clanrickard*, President of *Connaught*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, the Lord *Inchequin*, President of *Munster*, the Lord *Moor*, Colonel *Mark Trevor*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, the Lord *Taaf*, and General *Preston*, had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduced to the King's Authority, all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*; and *Londonderry* was besieged by Sir *Robert Steward*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*, with a good Brigade; and *Owen Roe*, likewise was by Colonel *Trevor* with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord Lieutenant being thus strengthened, determined with the whole or the greatest Part of his Army to march before *Dublin*, and came before the middle of *June*, to a Village called *Finglafs*, about two Miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Colonel *Michael Jones* was Governour of this City of *Dublin*, a Man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a Person of great Capacity, (by the Experience he had gained in the active Wars of *Ireland*), he acquired a very good Knowledge and Conduct in matters of War. The Lord Lieutenant attempted by all fair Means he could to gain him to a Compliance with the King's Affairs, but could not effect it. After a Day or two, Skirmishes were very frequent between the *Dublin* Horse, and those of the Army; in which those of the City always prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those Skirmishes Sir *Walter Dungar* a valiant Commander of the Army was taken Prisoner, whilst they lay at *Finglafs*: But the Lord Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close Siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a Place called *Ramines*, and whilst he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War, to raise some Fortifications at a Place called *Baginbath*, near the College of *Dublin* (where there was an old Castle moated) thereby to prevent any Relief to the besieged by Sea. This Design much alarm'd those in the City, and the Governour was resolved to do what he could to hinder the Fortification, and for that Purpose he resolved to give Orders for some Companies to sally out to beat them from the Place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse under Colonel *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot, under the Colonels *Venables* and *Hunks*, and many other Parties of Horse and Foot, from the Garrisons that surrendered in several Parts of the Realm, which additional Forces, were to the Number in all of three thousand or thereabouts; besides that, with those from *England*, good store of Provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Soldiers were in good Heart. The Governour was very private in his Design of the Sally, which was in this manner performed.

The Night before, he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were employed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the Number of five thousand) to be drawn together very early in the Morning, in the College-Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Co-

lours



1649. lours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened, till the Forces were all at their Rendezvous, and Centinels were set all along the Line to prevent the going over of any to give Intelligence. After all things were thus set in Order, about Eight in the Morning, the Forlorn-Hope march'd out to *Baggetrath*, consisting of an hundred Firelocks, and after these, a Party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel *Theophilus Jones* (the Governour's Brother) and Major *Meredeth*, and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after, as fast as they could march with Order and Convenience. There was a Ditch made cross the Highway, betwixt the Town and the Castle to interrupt the Passage to it, which was guarded by a Party of Soldiers, but these were presently dispersed by the Forlorn-Hope of Firelocks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by Storm, putting all that were in it to the Sword. Encouraged by this Success, and some more Force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which, and the Castle at *Baggetrath*, they were met with by Sir *William Vaughan*, with a Party of Horse, who made some considerable Resistance (and indeed all that was made); but he was slain, and all his Party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much Confusion, that they made no Resistance but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* marched only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make a Stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and marched off; some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of *Ramines*, made Conditions for their Lives, and had Quarter.

The Siege raised by Jones, with the utter defeat of the Marquess's Army.

*Cromwell* Lieutenant of Ireland for the Parliament, sent thither with an Army.

This easy Victory was much admired, but the Occasion thereof was said to proceed from the great Animosities amongst the *English* and *Irish* in the Lieutenant's Army, whereby ensued a manifest Carelessness and Indifferency among many of them; and partly by a Consternation among the common Soldiers. Moreover, *Inchiquin* marched from them, a Fortnight after they came before the Place, with a great Body of the *English* to secure the Province of *Munster*, where *Cromwell* (lately made Lieutenant of Ireland by the Parliament) was designed to land with his Army, consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, and four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

The Siege of Londonderry, raised by Sir Cha. Coote, falling out of the Town.

About the time that this happened, or shortly after, in the like manner Sir *Robert Steward* and Colonel *Mervin* were beaten from the Siege of *Londonderry*, by a resolute Sally out of the Town, made by Sir *Charles Coote* the Governour thereof for the Parliament. Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell* with his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, (next to him in chief Command of the *Irish* Army), altered their Purpose of landing in *Munster*, and with all imaginable Haste transported their Forces to *Dublin*, near to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed; and after a little Stay to refresh the Soldiers, *Cromwell* marched the Army to the Town of *Drogheda*, which a little after the Defeat near *Dublin*, had been strengthened with an

1649. Addition of five and twenty hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, with many stout and resolute Officers. Sir *Arthur Aston*, heretofore Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford*, for the late King, was Governour of the Place, a Person in whole Courage and Conduct great Confidence was plac'd. As soon as *Cromwell* came in sight of the Town, he sent a Summons, which being refused, he immediately began his Approaches, and was very active at the Siege, making many furious Onsets on the Town, with great Loss to his Army; but at last he carried it by Storm, and to strike a Terror in the other Towns, and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in Arms were put to the Sword; among which, the Governour himself, and Sir *Edmund Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren*, *Tempest*, and *Finglass*, with many other Commanders of Note, were slain; and though the Orders of *Cromwell* were limited to such as were in Arms, yet the Rage of the Soldiers were so great, that many of the Inhabitants were slain in the Heat of the Fight, without Respect to either Age, Sex, or Condition.

1649.

*Cromwell* takes *Drogheda* by Storm, and puts all in it to the Sword.

After the taking of *Drogheda*, in less than a Year, most of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, and that whole Kingdom in a manner subdued to the Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, and the Marquess of *Ormond*, and all those that opposed their Authority were withdrawn.

The King, with the Duke of *York*, about the beginning of *September*, repaired to the Isle of *Jersey*, where in a few Days they safely landed with about three hundred Persons in their Retinue. Upon his first Arrival, he was very solemnly proclaimed King; and after he had settled the Affairs of that Island, he had an Eye upon the reducing the Island of *Guernsey*, which was then under the Parliament's Power: But *Castle Cornet* the chiefest Fort thereof, was under his Authority.

The King removes from France to the Isle of *Jersey*.

A very gracious Declaration, after several Insinuations, was sent into the Island, but it proved ineffectual; for *Russel*, the Governour for the *English* Commonwealth, had got five hundred fresh Men into it; and with as bad Success, Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Slingsby*, and some others, attempted to raise Forces for the King in the Western Parts, from whence Intelligence came to *Jersey*, that *Dartmouth*, and several other Places would be put into their Hands, and a part of the Army joyned with them; but the Watchfulness of their Adversaries prevented all these Designs, and Sir *John* and the Colonel, as they lay privately in Sir *Charles Trevanion's* House in *Cornwall*, were by a Country Fellow discovered to the Committees of that County, and by their Command apprehended, and sent Prisoners to *Truro*.

Sir John Berkley and Colonel Slingsby apprehended in *Cornwall*.

During these Transactions, the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* had been convened at St. *John's*, and sat some time, where they resolved upon a Message to be sent to *Jersey* to the King, in Preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*; for they were unwilling (in Regard of the Distance and hazard of the Way), to treat in that Island: Mr. *George Windram* of *Liberton*, was on the

Mr. Windram sent with a Message to the King at *Jersey* from the Estates of *Scotland*.



1649. the 25th Day of September dispatched with an Express to him on this Errand. But so long was he on his Journey, and the King not advised of his coming, that he became very doubtful of their Counsels in Scotland, and had given the Marquess of Montross a Commission to make some Levies of Men to land in that Kingdom, with Orders to draw together his Friends, hoping thereby the Committee of Estates would be induced the sooner, and with more Moderation, to a Treaty with him.

Mr. Windram landed not at Jersey in many Weeks after his Departure from Scotland; but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The Substance of his Message was: *That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful, their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly; which being obtained, they offered to treat of the Means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.*

This Overture admitted of great Debate in the King's Council, for as yet the desperate Condition of his Affairs in Ireland, and other Parts, was not known to him; some that had no good Opinion of the Scots, from their Experience of their Dealing with the late King, expected very small Fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather, advised to rely upon the Endeavours of Montross and the other Confederates; but others reasoned, that these in Scotland, now in Power, being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the Conjunction of the Kirk (by which the People of Scotland are always much influenced) were more likely to assist him in the obtaining the Crown of England (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose Designs were full of Hazard and Uncertainty. At last it was agreed to send them an Answer, directing them to send Commissioners to the King at Breda to treat with him.

Montross in the mean time was very busy, soliciting the King of Denmark, the Queen of Sweden, and other Princes, for Money, Arms, and Men, to be employed in the King's Service; but yet he was so generous, as to write to the King, *To make an Agreement with the Estates of Scotland, so that he might be honourably and with Safety restored to his Rights and Dignities; and rather than break off with them, to give consent to have him banished the Kingdom, that so he might receive no Prejudice for his Consideration.*

But the King would by no Means yield to his Requests herein, declaring that he had found him so faithful all along, and to have performed such eminent Services, both to his Father and to himself, that he could not in Justice or in Honour leave him: And by a Letter which he sent to him on the 30th of January, he gave him a full Account of the Address to him from Scotland, and the Progress made towards the Treaty, according to the Tenor of his Letters, by Windram, wherein he informed him:

*That he licensed the Authority of the Committee of Estates for this Treaty only, and that both for their own proper Satisfaction, and to make known to all the World, that he desired to bring back his Subjects to their Duty, rather by way Sweetness and Amity, than by the Rigour of Arms (if their*

*Obstinacy and the injustice of their Demands should constrain him to recover it by Force) adding nevertheless, that he gave him full Power to proceed very vigorously in his Enterprizes, not doubting but all his loyal Subjects of Scotland would join themselves with him, and by that Means, those that were otherwise disposed, would submit themselves to Reason in the Treaty which he now accepted, or should be forced to it by Arms.*

The Parliament of England, not willing to let the King be at quiet in Jersey, sent a considerable Part of the English Fleet at Portsmouth, with store of Provision, in order to the attacking of that Island, which put the King upon a speedy Remove from thence to France; where he resided 'till the time appointed for the Treaty at Breda, drew near, and then he repaired thither.

Sir John Windram made all the Haste he could to Scotland; and as soon as the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk, who sat apart, were met, he delivered his Message and Letters to them from the King.

The Committee of Estates upon perusing the Letter, chose out of themselves a Sub-Committee of nine Lords and Burgeesses, to consider what was most expedient to be done therein, and to present their Opinions thereupon to the Committee of Estates, which was done; and thereupon they prepared a State of the Matter, and reported it to the Parliament at their first Meeting, which was in a while after; and the Parliament upon that Report chose a Committee of the Estates to meet with a Committee of the Kirk, to consider of all Matters in order to the Treaty, and to nominate Commissioners for it; where, after some Consultations, a Report was agreed on to be made by one part to the Committee of Estates, and by the other to the Assembly of the Kirk; and immediately the Commissioners were chosen. Those for the Estates were the Earls of Cassels and Lothian, and the Lord Burley, and Sir John Windram of Liberton; and those from the Kirk were Mr. John Leviston, Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Broady, who were with all convenient Haste dispatched to Breda, where they arrived a Day before the King; and the next Day after, they went to meet him at Berghen op Zoom, and they came thence together to Breda on the sixteenth Day of March, where the Commissioners, after two or three Days Rest to compose themselves, and receive their Visits from their Friends, were conducted to their first Audience in the Presence Chamber. The Earl of Cassels address'd himself to the King, in the Name of the Commissioners of Parliament, in a short Speech to this Effect.

*"That the Kingdom of Scotland upon his late Message, together with the Consideration of all former Overtures with him, have now again sent to him these Propositions, which they humbly tender to His Majesty; not that they have thought to force him to a Compliance, through his Necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by Importunities; but by making their humble Submission, in which their Desires, they hope, will appear so reasonable and just, that he will soon condescend unto them, which they humbly beg at his Hands."*

6 T

And



1649. And as soon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk having presented themselves to him, Mr. *John Leviston* made a Speech, wherein, *He pressed his Majesty to hearken to the joint Desires of the Estates of the Kirk of Scotland, that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and be received by his People in Comfort and Peace to promote the Work of the Lord, and make them happy.*

Mr. Leviston's  
Speech for  
those of  
the Kirk.

After these Speeches, they produced their Commissions, and delivered their Letters, together with the Propositions from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland.

The Propositions were immediately read, which were as followeth;

Propositions from  
the Estates  
and Kirk  
of Scotland  
to the  
King.

1. "That all those who have been, and continue Excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having Access to the Court.

2. "That he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of Scotland, and the solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and that he would prosecute the Ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliaments, enjoining the solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he would give his Royal Assent to the Acts of Parliament, enjoining the same in the rest of his Dominions; and that he would observe the same in his own Practice and Family, and never make Opposition therein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

4. "That he would consent and agree, That all Matters Civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all Matters Ecclesiastical, by the ensuing general Assemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late Father. After the King had heard them, he demanded, Whether these Papers they had delivered to him contained all Particulars which they had to propound or desire? whether they had Power to recede from any Particular proposed, or to be proposed? also if they had any thing to offer for the carrying on of his Service against England?

To which they answered, *That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their Power and Instructions.*

A few Days after, the Treaty began, wherein the King found many Difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had Excommunicated from Access to the Court, would deprive him of the Service and Attendance of the Earl of Montrose, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for that, not doubting when he should have obtained the

Kingdom, he might by Degrees, make them sensible of their mistaken zeal in their Actings towards such Persons, and win them to a Relaxation of their Rigour of that Injunction; but that which most pressed him, was the Cause of Religion expressed in the Severity of those Propositions, which required him by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, to allow the Covenant, and to establish the Presbyterian Government, wherein they insisted so much as to deny him the Use of the Liturgy to his own Person: The King urged, *That there was no Reason why he should relinquish the Religion, for which his Father died a Martyr; and that whilst he was willing to permit to his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended Desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same Privilege which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendered, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to swear to himself; so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland; provided, that he himself might have always three Chaplains with him of his own Election.*

During this Treaty, the Earl of Carnwath, and Mr. Murray arrived at Breda with new Instructions to the Commissioners concerning the Militia, which put a further Demur to the Conclusion of it; and indeed it was said, the King was willing to admit of a little Delay in Expectation of what he might obtain from the Endeavours of the Marquis of Montrose, who was after many Discouragements (of which some mention shall be hereafter made) about this time embarked for Scotland, and about the midst of April landed in the Isles of Orkney, accompanied with the Lord Trenchard, the Master of Pitsfodder, Sir John Urry, Henry Graham (his Natural Brother) Colonel Johnson, George Drummond of Ballach, and other Persons his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships, and a small Frigate of 14 Guns, fifteen hundred Arms, and five hundred German Soldiers; Colonel King had promised to come up to him with some Horse from Sweeden, but did not do it; Colonel Ogleby, and Colonel Cockrain, who were trusted with certain Sums of Money for the raising of Men and Arms, (the one in Amsterdam, and the other in Poland) fail'd in their Duty, and converted the Money to their own Use; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about two hundred German Soldiers, and many Implements of War) were cast away upon the Rocks a little before his Landing; but these Disasters which might have shaken a great Resolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity.

The Estates of Scotland had no Forces in any of these Islands, whereby he had a good Opportunity to raise Men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main: The People were raw and undisciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage, for which the antient Inhabitants of these Isles have been fam'd; but nevertheless, he was forc'd to make as good a Shift as he could with them; and whilst he was busied here in his Levies, the Laird of Pluscardy endeavoured to raise two thousand Men for his Assistance, in the Earl of Seaforth's Territories.

And

The Earl of  
Carnwath  
and Mr.  
Murray ar-  
rive at Bre-  
da, with  
further In-  
structions  
to the Scots  
Commis-  
sioners.

Montrose  
lands with  
Forces in  
Scotland.



1650.

And now, having got together as many Soldiers as he desired of this sort, he left Colonel *Johnson* and *Henry Graham* to keep *Kirkwall* in *Pomena*, the chief Isle of the *Orcades*, and transplanted all the rest of his Men to *Cathness*, which is the utmost Point of Land in the North-West Part of *Scotland*: Here he hoped to meet *Pluscardy* with the two thousand Men he promised to raise, but they came not; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so vigilant, that they sent into most Places where they thought he had any Correspondence to prevent the getting Men together for him; and very suddenly after, the News of his Arrival was known, an Army of seven thousand Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse, was sent to oppose him. The Horse were commanded by *David Lesley*, and the Foot by Major General *Holborn*, of these they sent three hundred in the Van, under the Command of Colonel *Straughan*, consisting of his own Troop, and three Troops more commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Ker*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket*; and indeed there needed no other Army, for all that *Montrose's* was able to do at that time, towards the Strengthening of himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of *Dunbeth-House*, which was soon surrendered to Colonel *Urry* upon demand, the Lord thereof being fled to *Edinburgh*: The Earl of *Sutherland* was a fore *Remora* in his Way; for though he had not Force enough to encounter the *Marquess*, yet the Power and Sway he bore in all those adjacent Parts about where *Montrose's* had to do, both kept back the Country from coming in to him, and hindered several of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their Assistance; so that *Straughan* surprizing the *Montrossians* with the Speed and Unexpectedness of his Appearance, and finding them much disordered and tired with seeking to recover a certain Pass, (which they failed of obtaining,) improved his Advantage, and after some Repulse at first, redoubled with such Fury upon them, that the unseason'd *Orkney* Men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much Resolution shewn in their Resistance) the *Germans* also. Thus was *Montrose's* vigorous and loyal Undertaking for his Sovereign's Service, the Labour of much time, and carried on with incredible Pains, Difficulty, and Danger, dissipated in a Moment by a Party far inferior in Number: So great was the Defeat, that of the whole Body of the *Montrossians* who engaged in this Battle, there escaped not above an Hundred from being either taken or slain: Among the Prisoners were Sir *John Urry*, Major-General of *Montrose's* Army, the Lord *Fendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgety*, Colonel *Hay* of *Noughton*, Colonel *Grey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with other considerable Officers: *Montrose's* himself made a Shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt, and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary *Highlander's* Apparel. In this Fight, the Royal Standard was taken, upon which was portraicted the Head of the late King lying a Bleeding, and severed from the Body, and this following Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause O Lord*.

*Montrose's*  
defeated by  
*Straughan*.

So welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they bestowed as a Reward upon *Straughan* a thousand Pounds *sterling*, and a Chain of Gold; upon Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a thousand Marks *sterling*. But that which crowned this Victory to them with the highest Joy and Satisfaction, was the getting of *Montrose's* Person into their Power; as indeed it was impossible for him to make his Escape, so narrowly was he way-laid all the Country round, and so strict a search and Enquiry was ordered to be sent after him, besides a large Reward promised to whomsoever should be his Apprehender; yet for the Space of three or four Days he kept himself undiscovered, by wandering up and down in the open Fields, with one Associate only in his Misery, 'till being very near famished with Hunger, it was his Fortune in the End to fall into the Hands of the Laird of *Affin*, a Person who had formerly adhered to the *Marquess*, and had been befriended by him, and of whom, upon that Consideration, he doubtless hoped for the Favour of not being discovered by him, if not of Assistance towards his Concealment. But *Affin*, for fear of what he must have suffered if he had been known to have concealed him, or for want of Opportunity in Regard of his Followers that attended him, or setting his Thoughts upon the proposed Reward, was not to be persuaded or induced by any Respect of old Friendship or Relation to suffer him to escape; so that being seized and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for Death by the Hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and delivered up to the Custody of *David Lesley*, and by him hurried away with all Speed to *Edinburgh*, much insulted over in the several Places he came thro', only the People of *Dundee* (though none more endamaged by his Soldiers in the former War) were very civil to him, furnished him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they did very much commiserate his Condition. The chief Favour he obtained in his Journey, was the Permission to call in, as he came along, at the House of his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Southesk*, to see two Children of his that were there. His Enemies having him in their Power, used their Advantage in a most base and ungenerous Manner. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, from whence he was brought with an insolent Pomp, with those of his Followers who were taken with him; himself being set on a vile Cart-horse, to expose him the more to the View and Scorn of the People, while the other Prisoners walked on Foot. When he was come to the Gate of *Edinburgh*, he was placed in a Cart, where was fixed an high Chair, on which he was tied fast by a Cord going round his Shoulders; the Executioner riding by him with his Bonnet on, while the *Marquess* was bare-headed. With this odious Insolence was this Great Man carried through the Streets of *Edinburgh*, 'till he was lodged in the Common Jail, with the ordinary Malefactors: But this unworthy Usage of a Nobleman, whose Actions had resounded throughout *Europe*, served only to shew that his Virtues could triumph over the Malice of his

He is taken  
Prisoner.

Brought to  
*Edinburgh*.



1650. his Enemies, and the Assaults of Fortune. He told some who came to see him the next Day, that God had manifested himself with so many Comforts to his Mind, during that ignominious Entry, that he esteemed it the most glorious and joyful Cavalcade he ever made; and the same undaunted Spirit attended him through what yet remained for him to undergo.

Two Days after he was brought to *Edenburgh*, he was sent for to the Parliament there. The Earl of *Loudoun*, the Lord Chancellor, made a bitter Speech against him; reproaching him his Breach of the Covenant, for his Impenitence, notwithstanding his Excommunication by the Kirk; and telling him, that now God had brought him thither to receive the just Sentence of Condemnation. *Montros* then asked, whether he might have Liberty to speak for himself? which was granted him; upon which he addressed himself to them in a noble Speech, defending his past Actions, and expressing a generous Contempt of Death. He was then commanded to withdraw, and after some Debate, called in again to receive his Sentence; which was, to be hanged on a Gallows thirty Foot high, his Head and Quarters to be cut off, and fixed in different Places of the Kingdom.

After the Denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his Countenance, or seemed in the least Manner to be moved, he was again guarded back to Prison, where being again haunted and importuned by the Ministers, he expressed how much he was beholden to the Parliament, for the Honour they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater Honour to have his Head stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed-Chamber; and lest his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities, to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity, wishing he had had Flesh enough to have sent a Piece to every City in Christendom, to witness his Loyalty to his King and Country.

The next Day being the one and twentieth Day of May, the Day appointed for his Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, so winning was his Deportment, as made a very great Impression upon the Spirits of the People; insomuch as some who observed the Passages of his Death, were of Opinion, That he had drawn away more from the Kirk Party by his manner of Dying, than he could have vanquished in the Field by Force of Arms. When he came to the Place of Execution, he made a pious and excellent Speech; which being concluded, he afterwards spent a good while in private, in pouring forth his Soul to God, and recommending his Spirit into his Hands, who was pleased (as he said) to give him a full Assurance of his Mercy in Jesus Christ. He received from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and History, to hang about his Neck; affirming, That he thought not himself more honoured by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the

Garter, or a Chain of Gold; adding, That if they had any more Dishonour (as they conceived it) to put upon him, he was ready to accept it: And then presently, with a chearful Resignation, submitted himself to the Execution of his Sentence.

Thus was this famous, but unfortunate Man, sacrificed to the Revenge of his Enemies after a most shameful and despicable manner, even at that very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew full well to have a very great Regard and Affection for him. Together with *Montros*, tho' not in so disgraceful a way, were executed Sir *John Urry*, and Colonel *Spotswood* Laird of *Darcy*, (who had both the Favour to be beheaded) with some others of Note that came with the Marquess into Scotland.

The Treaty was now near a Conclusion; for whatever the King's just Repentments were, his Council perswaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his present Condition: And as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the Hands of the Estates for five Years. But whilst Matters were in this nearness of composition, News was brought of the Defeat and Execution of *Montros*, which much surprized the King, considering the time of doing it; and though he omitted not in an Express by Mr. *Murray*, to manifest his great Dislike of the Action (for he was much afflicted at it;) yet he was prevail'd on with much Regret not to urge it so far as to a Rupture: He told them in his Letter,

That he was very sorrowful and grieved to hear a Report which came to him by credible Persons, that notwithstanding those hopeful Overtures lately made between him and them, tending to their Peace; yet that there hath been some Blood shed of his good Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the manner and result thereof, according to the Report he had heard of it, did very much trouble him: But that he might know the Particulars more certainly, he desired to understand the Business fully from themselves of whom he required an Account.

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the Satisfaction of the Estates, they sent a solemn Message to invite him to Scotland, and in Answer to what he writ about *Montros*; they besought him Not to stumble at it, assuring him, that there was nothing in what they did, but to accomplish his Ends, and to serve his Interests to the best Advantage. They likewise requested him, To make all possible speed in coming to them, protesting they would with their Lives and Fortunes assist to establish him in the Throne of his Kingdoms.

The rigorous Prosecution of *Montros* in that violent Manner, was chiefly from the Instigation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did so much influence the People, that it was almost impossible to appease the Storm they raised against him. He had been excommunicated long before, and in that Church, Excommunication is so terrible, that few will have any manner of Conversation with a Person excommunicated; and the generality of the People, when they see a Man whom their Ministers declare to be excluded from Heaven, are easily induced

The King's Letter to the Scots about their severe Proceedings against *Montros*, and others.

The Treaty at *Breda* concluded. A Message of the Scots to invite the King, with their Answer to the King's Letter.



1650. duced to think him unworthy to live on Earth. Many, if not the greater part of those that pursued his Life, were earnest for the Admission of the King; but so much did their Zeal exceed their Discretion, and so strongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and seduced by the Inventors and Assertors of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in Safety whilst he lived.

The King upon this Message sent to him, prepared for his Journey to *Scotland*, and about the beginning of *June* took Shipping at *Scheveling* in *Holland*, and after a happy Evasion of double Danger that threatened him in his Voyage, one from a sudden Storm which arose and cast him upon certain *Danish* Islands, (yet without any Loss or Shipwreck, but on the other side much Respect and civil Usage from the Inhabitants;) the other, from a Fleet of Parliament Vessels, which were sent under *Popham* to intercept his Passage, he landed safe at a Place called the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. The Estates and Parliament of *Scotland* in the mean time employed their Consultations about forming of an Army for the Service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was published for the Rating of every fourth Man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major General, *David Lesly* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major General, the supreme Command of the whole Army being reserved for the King himself, whom at his first Arrival they entertained with high Compliments, and much Acclamation, and seemed to congratulate his coming with great Demonstrations of Joy and Affection. And on the 15th of *July*, they again solemnly proclaim'd him King at *Edinburgh Cross*, and had design'd (had not certain Obstacles come in the way) to have crowned him in the following Month: But he had not been long among them e'er they began to discover their native Rigour, imperiously to take upon them, according to their usual Manner of Kirk-Authority and Discipline, and to obtrude upon the King such curbing Conditions, as but very ill suited with Regal Dignity.

And not long after, when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with five hundred Pounds Sterling, the Committee of Estates seemed displeased thereat; and least other Cities and Towns should in the like manner testify their Duties to him, they declared, That what Money or Plate any had a Purpose to bestow on the King, should be brought into the publick Treasury: And in conformity to this Dealing towards him, they proceeded to reform (as they called it) his Retinue, interdicting all whom they styled Malignants (which were most of his faithfulest Servants) from all Employment both about his Person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of *England* had sufficient Intelligence from the Beginning of all these Occurrences, and of the Engagement of the *Scots* to establish the King in the Thrones of all his Dominions, and that they might not be surprized by them, they drew many Troops and Regiments together, and formed an Army, which they sent to the Borders of *Scotland*.

*Fairfax*, who was to command this Army, refused to accept the Charge, notwithstanding that they offered him a Commission with larger Power than that by which he had formerly commanded their Armies, excusing his Refusal by Reason of great Indisposition of Health occasioned by his Wounds and other Incommodities of the late War. Upon this, *Cromwell*, who was newly returned from *Ireland* (where he had been very victorious), had the chief Command of the Army conferred upon him, which he (after some little formal Shew of Denial) accepted of, and about the latter end of *June* he marched towards *Berwick* in order to his Advance into *Scotland*. The *Scots* whilst this Preparation was making, sent many expostulatory Letters to Sir *Arthur Haslerig* then at *Newcastle*, urging the Breach of Covenant and the Union between the two Nations, which availed nothing; yet they did not neglect the raising an Army for their Defence; for Matters were at this time grown to a greater Height than to be decided by the Pen.

*Cromwell*, upon repair to the Borders, published a Declaration in the Name of the Parliament of *England*, to justify their Proceedings in this manner towards the *Scots*, and to reproach a perverted part of them for that Breach of the Union betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to the *English*, (for they would not lay the Blame of their Imputations on the whole Nation;) but so great was the Affection of the generality of the People of *Scotland* towards the King, that this Declaration made little Impression on them, tho' some privately kept Intelligence with *Cromwell* to the Ruin of themselves and their Country.

About the end of *July*, the *English* Army, to the Number of sixteen hundred effective Officers and Soldiers, marched into *Scotland*, and came after little Resistance (in the Defence of some Passages) to *Mordington*; most of the *Scots* who inhabited the Borders had left their Habitations, which put the Army in more streights for Subsistence than they expected; but a Fleet of *English* Ships waited on their Motions on the Coasts of *Scotland*; yet *Cromwell* pretending to commiserate the Condition of the *Scotch* People, set forth a Declaration, promising Protection of their Persons and Goods to all that would return to their Dwellings, with a strict Prohibition on pain of Death to any of the Soldiers to molest or do them any Harm, or take from them any Victuals or other Necessaries, without full Recompence in Money for the same.

From *Mordington* the *English* Army marched to *Haddington*, and the *Scotch* Army lay encamped betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, consisting of six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen thousand Foot: *Cromwell* marched from *Haddington*, and came in the View of the *Scotch* Army, where he observed them to be too strongly entrenched to be forced; and after he had fac'd them a Day and a Night without being able to draw them from their Entrenchments, he marched away towards *Musleburgh*. The *Scots* upon this Retreat drew out all their Horse, and fell into the Rear of the *English* Army, which was commanded by *Lambert*, and made so brisk a Charge, that *Lambert* himself was wounded, and



1650. like to have been taken Prisoner; but *Cromwell* came to his Relief, and drove them back to their Camp, not without some Loss. The next Day, betwixt three and four in the Morning, fifteen Cornets of the *Scotch* Horse, commanded by Major General *Montgomery*, and Col. *Straughan*, came out of their Line with a Design to beat up the Quarters of the *English* about *Musleburgh*; they surprized the Out-Guards, and routed the first Regiment that appeared to oppose them, and advanced to another Body, which was drawn together to succour the others; but there they met with so great Resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, and the whole Party put to great Disorder and Confusion, and pursued to their Army, and the Camp had been in Danger of Surprizal, had not the King himself (appearing unexpectedly among them) opposed the Hazard of his Person, and the Authority of his Name against their precipitated Flight. Of the *Scots*, in this Engagement, seventy four were taken Prisoners, and many slain; and *Straughan* himself was once taken, but got off again.

The *Scots* routed at *Musleburgh*

The pretended Parliament at *Westminster* were no less active there than *Cromwell* was in *Scotland*, to carry on the Designs and Interest of the Republick, proceeding with all imaginable Rigour against all Persons that they could discover in any manner acting against their tyrannous Usurpation. And about this time one *Levens*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, being apprehended with some Commissions of the King's, which he had Intention to disperse for his Service, was therefore arraigned at a Court Martial, and condemned and executed, by hanging by the Neck 'till he died, on the 13th Day of *July*, over-against the *Royal Exchange* in *London*.

Dr. *Levens* hanged over-against the *Royal Exchange* for his Loyalty.

But in further Manifestation of their Impiety, they were not contented to have inhumanely murdered the King, and seized on, and disposed of all his Goods and Revenues, but they insulted over those Statues which his Vertues had caused to be set up in the *Royal Exchange*, and the West End of *St. Paul's Church*: The first of these they ridiculously (in imitation of their barbarous Cruelty,) decollated, and ordered it to be taken out of the Nich, and under the Basis thereof these Words were written, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restituta primo, Annoque Domini 1648.* which remained many Years a Testimony of their guilt, and a Memorial to Strangers of their bold-fac'd Treason, which gave not only Truth, but even Time itself the Lye: For never was there such a thing as the first year of the People's Liberty under their Anarchical Usurpation. The other Statue of the King being thrown down from the Place where it stood, fell upon its Feet, which was then taken by many as a Prefage that his glorious Memory, Fame, and Posterity should recover and continue, maugre all the Designs and Contrivements of his and their implacable Enemies.

In *Ireland* the King's Affairs prospered very ill, inasmuch that in five or six Weeks time the Parliamentarians had taken *Waterford*, *Duncannon*, *Caterloe* and *Charlemont*, and had great Hopes of a plenary Conquest of that Country.

The *Scotch* and *English* Armies lying near one another without Engagement (because of the ad-

vantageous Posture in which the *Scots* were placed, having a great Hill for their Security on one side, and a River and the City of *Edenburgh* on the other) *Cromwell's* Army began to be distressed by scarcity of Provisions, which made him retreat to *Pentland Hills*, and thence with some Difficulty (by reason of bad Weather) to *Musleburgh*, to be near the Sea to have supply of Victuals from the *English* Fleet that attended him: And after a few Days stay there, he marched to *Dunbar* on Sunday the first of *September*, with Intention to ship his Foot much wearied by Sickness and long marches, and march with his Horse into *England*; but the *Scotch* having Intelligence thereof, pressed so hard upon him with their Army that he could not effect his Purpose; and the same Day at Night that he arrived at *Dunbar*, the *Scots* being close at his Heels, drew up their whole Army (consisting of between twenty and four and twenty thousand Men) upon a high Hill, within a Mile of the Town; the *English* not exceeding the Number of twelve thousand, drew out in Battalia in a Cornfield near adjoining, having a Neck of Land to encamp on, whose Breadth was not a Mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next Morning being the second of *September*, early in the Morning, *David Leslie* Lieutenant General of the *Scotch* Army drew down his Men to the Foot of the Hill, and about four in the Afternoon his Train of Artillery followed to the side of a great Ditch, which divided the two Armies. The *English* that Evening ranged themselves close to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces in the most useful manner they could, to be ready to secure their Regiments, and annoy the Enemy if they should assail them in the Night, and finding the Pass at *Copperspeth* between *Dunbar* and *Berwick* very necessary to them, both for the Security of their march homeward, and their more easy Advance to the *Scotch*; on *Tuesday* at four in the Morning, they attempted with three Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, to possess themselves thereof; this gave the *Scots* an hot Alarm, and a fierce Dispute happened, so that both Armies became engaged. The *English* Word was, *The Lord of Hosts*; Theirs, the *Covenant*.

The *Scotch* Right Wing of Horse which were most of them *Launcers*, made a very bold Charge and put the *English* Horse to a little Confusion, but they immediately rallied, and were so seconded by their Foot, that by six in the Morning the Right Wing of the *Scotch* Horse was routed, and the Left without striking a Stroke ran away, and the Foot seeing this Rout and flight of their Horse, and not able in any Order by reason thereof to engage (without any Resistance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the *English* the full pursuit of them eight Miles beyond *Haddington*. The *Scots* were so presumptuous the Day before as to send to *Edenburgh* to assure their Friends of a certain Victory over the *English*, and it was reported that some of the Ministers declared it in their Sermons as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their Hands; but in the midst of this Confidence they found themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing and despised Enemy a Conqueror. The Number of *Scotch* slain in the Battle were reckoned to be four thousand, and nine thousand were taken

The Battle at *Dunbar*.

The *Scots* Army defeated by *Cromwell*.



1650. taken Prisoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thousand Arms. The Officers and Prisoners of most note were Sir *James Lumisdale*, next Commander in Quality to *David Lesly*, the Laird of *Liberton*, Adjutant General *Bicherton*, Scout-Master-General *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglas*, and Colonel *Gourdon*, twelve Lieutenant Colonels, six Majors, forty two Captains, seventy five Lieutenants, seventeen Cornets, two Quarter-Masters, an hundred and ten Ensign-bearers, and two hundred Horse and Foot Colours, with seven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the Loss of not above three hundred *English* Soldiers, and one Officer (Major *Rookesby*) who survived the Battle, but died afterwards of his Wounds.

The Scots, after this Day's Loss, quitted *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, whereof the next Day *Cromwell* took Possession, and the King retired to *St. Johnston's*, where the Committee of Estates were assembled. The Defeat of the *Scotch* Army produced not those Effects as the King expected upon the ruling Part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for instead of enlarging their Interest, by taking into their Conjunction those whose help they had before rejected for their Affection to their King, they ascribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into *Scotland*, before he had given full Satisfaction to the Kirk in what they required of him; and in Prosecution of these Counsels, they began very much to impose upon him, and remove from his Person the most faithful and Loyal of his Servants.

The King could not brook this insolent Carriage towards him, and therefore resolved at any Hazard to free himself from the trouble of it, and by Advice of some few of his best and most trusty Friends, he took Horse one Morning, with three of them in his Company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking, and rode directly to the Lord *Dedup's* House near *Dundee*, where he was received by some of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept Intelligence, and from hence he intended to have gone further North, where he heard the Marquess of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, and the Lord *Ogleby* and *Newburgh*, and Major-General *Middleton*, with the *Gordons*, and the Men of *Athol*, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible Force; but he staid 'till by an Express sent to them, he should be informed of the Certainty of their Condition.

This secret and sudden Departure of the King, did much perplex the Committee of Estates, who were very apprehensive of the Consequence of his joyning with the *Gordons* and the *Athol* Men; and hearing he was gone to the Lord *Dedup's* House, they resolved to send Major-General *Montgomery* with a Party of Horse to perswade his Return to them; many of the Chiefs of the Noblemen and Ministers being by this time sensible that these Breaches and Divisions would but give the *English* (then in the Bowels of their Country) greater Advantage against them; and that nothing could save the whole from Ruin, but a general Uniting of all Parties under the King, against the common Enemy. *Montgomery* arriving at the House, sent in to the King, to acquaint him, that he came

thither by order of the Committee of Estates, 1650. humbly to entreat him to come back to *St. Johnston's*, and being admitted to his Presence, he fell at his Feet, beseeching him to forget whatever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority; assuring him, that he should hereafter be observed with all imaginable Duty and Respect. The King having heard this Message, considered with his Friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not easily forget the Impositions and Restraints he had so lately endured, being perswaded by their Advice, that his Return might be a Means to unite all Interests to him; and being assured by *Montgomery* of the Reality of those at *St. Johnston's* to his Service, he condescended to return with him thither, to the general Joy of the Moderate of all Parties as well Covenanters as Royalists; yet he wanted not at the same time an Assurance from the *Gordons* and the rest in the North, to secure him against the Kirk and all their Adherents that should oppose his Authority.

The Committee of Estates were much more compliant with the King at his Return than before, and having summoned a general Meeting to be held at *St. Johnston's*, consisting of the King, Lords, Barons, and Burgeses, to consult for the good of the Kirk, King, and Kingdom; together with the Commissioners of the Kirk then at *Sterlin* to adjourn their Sitting thither: They applied themselves to compose all Differences amongst Dissenters, of which the most formidable were, *Huntley*, *Middleton*, and those in the North; but after a while, by the Prudence of this Assembly, and the good Advice of the moderate Clergy, all was concluded; and the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marquess of *Huntley*, and the Earls of *Lythgow*, *Lauderdale*, *Calendar*, and *Craford*, *Lyndsey*, and the Lords *Buchern*, *Dedup*, and *Middleton* of the Scots, with many others were received into Favour, and Promise of Employment in the Army; and of the *English*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and some few other Royalists were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Massey*, *Graves*, and *Titus*, were permitted near his Person.

Whilst these Matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Estates at *St. Johnston's*, *Cromwell* was not idle, he had begun to fortify *Leith*, and laid a close Siege to *Edinburgh* Castle, and on the fourteenth of September he marched to *Lithgow*, and from thence to *Falkirk* within a Mile of *Sterlin*, (near which Place the main of the King's Army lay) and sent a Summons to the Town, but was resolutely denied by the Governour, and he returned back to *Lithgow*, where General *Deane* came to him from *England* with Recruits of Men, and Supplies of all sorts of Provisions: But since he could not effect any thing against *Sterlin*, he resolved to try what might be done in the West of *Scotland*, and in October he marched to *Glasgow*, upon Intelligence that Major-General *Montgomery* was ordered by the King to march into those Parts, to secure that County which was then wavering in their Allegiance. In this Expedition he hoped to prevail very much, either

The King returns back with *Montgomery* to *St. Johnston's*.

A grand Convention held at *St. Johnston's*.

Divers of the Royal Nobility receiv'd in- to the Favour of this Assembly.

The King departs from *St. Johnston's* in discontent.

The Estates at *St. Johnston's* send Major-General *Montgomery* to fetch the King back.



1650. either by subduing *Ker* and *Straughan* (who lay in those Parts) to his Power, or gaining them to his Party; which was a Design he had long before projected, and so far by his Insinuations proceeded in it, that Mr. *John Guthry*, Mr. *Patrick Gillespy*, and Mr. *Rutherford*, Ministers, with many others of that Order withdrew from the Assembly at *St. Johnston's*, and in print remonstrated in the Name of themselves and the Western Churches against the present Proceedings, and the Admission of Malignants (such they call'd the King's best Subjects) to Power and Employment; and with these *Ker*, *Straughan*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Sir *John Chiesly*, and Sir *James Stuart*, and others confederated.

The dissatisfied Ministers remonstrate against the Proceedings of the Estates at *St. Johnston's*.

The Estates and Commissioners of the Kirk at *St. Johnston's*, resented much this Remonstrance and the Defection of the Ministers, but no Means they could then use was of Force to reconcile them; insomuch, that the Division of publick Resolutioners and Remonstrators (for by those Names they were distinguished) continued in that Kingdom with much Animosity 'till the Year 1660, that the King was restored to the full Exercise of his Authority, though the Cause thereof (which was the joining all Interest to oppose the Invasion of a Foreign Army) had long ceased; but by that Occasion *Cromwell's* Conquest was made very easy, and his fomenting that Rent in their Church, made their Subjection to his Authority more lasting than otherwise it would have been.

The King was desirous to compose their Disorder, or at least to prevent the dividing so great a Force as was under *Ker* and *Straughan* from his Service; and to that End, the Earl of *Cassels*, and the Lord *Broody*, and Mr. *Robert Douglas* the Minister, were sent to treat with them; but they were somewhat averse to a Composure, yet they declared against any Conjunction with *Cromwell*, professing equalling against Malignants and Sectaries: Nevertheless, *Ker*, upon Information that *Straughan* held Intelligence with *Cromwell*, was at length so far induced to comply, that he took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Dunbarton* Castle, from whence he was afterwards removed to *Cathness*; but after a while, by the Negligence or Connivance of his Keepers, he escaped to *Edinburgh* to the English.

*Cromwell*, whilst he was at *Glasgow*, had Intelligence that the King's Army intended to relieve *Edinburgh* Castle, which made him return thither, and leave Major-General *Lambert* with a good Brigade, to make Impression in the Western Parts. He after some Enquiry, discovered a Ford over *Hamilton* River, over which, on the last of *November*, he marched his Soldiers; *Ker* had Intelligence of this; and, at a Town of that Name, he resolutely fell into *Lambert's* Quarters, but the English Horse had so soon the Alarm, that they drew together, and so well receiv'd his Charge, that an Hundred of the Scots were killed, and the rest routed and pursued as far as *Ayr*, and *Ker* himself (having his Right-hand almost cut off) was taken Prisoner.

Col. *Ker* defeated and taken Prisoner by Major-General *Lambert*.

*Lambert* left Colonel *Whally* with some Troops at *Ayr*, to Command in those Western Parts, and return'd himself to the Gros of the Army.

In *England* some Attempts were made for the King's Service, but without Success, and par-

ticularly in *Norfolk*, many Gentlemen and others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surprized and surpressed by two Troops from *Lynn*, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joined with them, and twenty of them being afterwards found guilty by an illegal High Court of Justice, were sentenced to Death, and executed thereupon.

The Rising in *Norfolk* for the King suppressed.

*Edinburgh* Castle had been besieged some Months, with little Loss on either Side, and *Derbyshire* Miners were brought out of *England* to undermine it, who carried on the Work sixty Foot, but the Rock was so hard, they could work no further. But at last the Governour, who was one *Dundas*, a Son-in-Law of old *Leven*, was so practis'd on by *Cromwell*, that he surrendered the Castle on the 24th of *December*.

After the Loss of *Edinburgh* Castle, all the Forts on this Side of *Sterlin* were taken by the English, so that those of the Scots that were Loyal to the King, applied themselves with all Diligence to raise what Forces they could to compleat an Army; and that his Authority might have the greater Strength and Reverence of the People, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation; which was on the first of *January* solemnized at *Scoon*, a few Miles distant from *St. Johnston's* (the accustomed Place for Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*) the King being the forty Eighth Monarch of that Kingdom there crowned.

The King solemnly crowned at *Scoon*.

After the Coronation, the King intended to march Northwards, to hasten the Levies there made by his Presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the Highlands promising to compleat their Numbers with all Expedition, he went no farther than *Aberdeen*; in the mean time, that those Scots that opposed his Authority might be less able to seduce others, *Straughan*, *Swinnton*, Colonel *Dundas*, (the late Governour of *Edinburgh*) Major *Abernetby*, Captain *Giffan*, and *Andrews*, were on the fourteenth Day of *January* Excommunicated for complying with the English.

The King having visited *Aberdeen*, *Dundee*, and several other good Towns, returned to *St. Johnston's*, to be present at the Assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the second of *March*, and the Duke of *Hamilton*, and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the Kirk, were admitted to their Seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable Care for the raising of Soldiers, and proscribed and sequestred the Persons and Estates of all that held Correspondence with the English; and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the seventeenth of *April*, and sent *Middleton* into the North to raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other Parts, to imploy their Interests to draw Soldiers together, and 'till they should be again convened, a Council of State, and Committee of War were appointed, of select Persons, out of each of the three Estates.

Great Care was taken for the Fortifying of the Town of *Sterlin*, the King himself going often to view the Works, and encourage the Expediting thereof. In the mean time, on the fifteenth of *April*,

1651.



1651. April, in a Mist, the Lord Montgomery, Son to the Earl of Eglinton, and the Lord Cranston, with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, marched from Sterlin, and resolutely fell into Lithgow, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in haste meet with, they retreated; yet before they could get to Sterlin, Major Sydenham, the Governour of Lithgow, with a good Party, pursued, overtook, and charged them, but were so well received by the Scots, that Sixty of the English were slain, and Sydenham himself so wounded, that he died shortly after. This good Fortune of the Scotch did not long continue; for a while after, the Earl of Eglinton, the Father of this Lord Montgomery, with one of his Brothers, were taken at Dunbarton by one Captain Crook, of Colonel Berry's Regiment.

Major Sydenham  
worsted by  
the Lord  
Montgomery.

The Earl  
of Eglinton  
taken  
by Capt.  
Crook.

Cromwell being at Edinburgh, having Notice how the King's Army lay encamped at Sterlin, and that abundance of Provision was brought in daily, in order to an intended March into England; and that he might be in Readiness to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together, and encamped near Edinburgh.

The Parliament of Scotland were about this time again assembled at St. Johnston's, and very busy in Consultation about their Militia, and providing for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. Middleton's Northern Levies amounted to near eight Thousand; and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or join with the Southern Army; but at last a Conjunction of all was agreed: But because there was some Emulation betwixt Lesley and Middleton about the chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it himself to prevent all Discontents therein.

About the beginning of June the Parliament of Scotland ended, having before their Dissolution, given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all Parts of the Kingdom beyond Fife, and in the Western Parts for a new Army, which was to consist of fifteen Thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse and Dragoons.

They concluded in a very calm and admirable Temper, having passed *An Act of Oblivion* for all things done hitherto, inviting thereby all Parties to join in carrying on the Service of the King, and a new Engagement, with the Sacrament, was taken by all the Nobility, and Officers, and Soldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all Faction and Division seemed in a great Measure to be obliterated, and Warreston, and those with him, that were treacherous, or Dissenters, not before summoned, were, on the Penalty of Excommunication, to appear at the Assembly at Sterlin by a limited time.

An Act of  
Oblivion in  
Scotland.

Cromwell was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any Opportunity to draw the Scotch Army to an Engagement, and for that Purpose he marched to Newbridge, and from thence to Lithgow, where from the Battlements of the Castle, he discerned the Tents of the Scotch Army encamped in Torwood, about four Miles on this Side Sterlin, having cast up a regular and well fortified Line, with Bulwarks and Guns mounted for their Defence; and having a River behind them, over which they might at Pleasure pass.

The King did not think the Force he should raise in Scotland able to fight Cromwell and invade England, without some Preparations there for his Assistance, to divide the English Forces at home; to which end he kept Intelligence with several of his Friends in London, Lancashire, and other Parts. And it was contrived, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Wilmot, and Major-General Massey, should, with a Body of Horse, march into England, to join with a Party in Lancashire, who were by a prefixed time to be in Arms: But in the midst of these Endeavours, all their Hopes were blasted, by the taking of a Ship at Ayr in Scotland, which had been bound to the Earl of Derby in the *Isle of Man*, and the seizing of Mr. Berkenhead, an Agent in the Business, by whose Letters all was detected; and thereupon were apprehended, Mr. Thomas Cook of Gray's-Inn, Mr. Gibbons a Taylor, and Mr. Potter an Apothecary, together with Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, and Mr. Drake, and several other Presbyterian Ministers, who were brought before a High Court of Justice, and tried for their Lives, and about the latter end of July, Gibbons, Potter, and Love were sentenced to death, and a while after, Gibbons and Love were executed: For at this time the English Parliament thought it necessary to shew some Severity to the Presbyterian Party, to deter them from joining with the Scots, upon their coming with the King into England, which was daily expected.

The intended Ri-  
sing in Lan-  
cashire un-  
fortunately  
disappoint-  
ed.

Mr. Love  
and others  
tried for  
their Lives.

Love and  
Gibbons  
executed.

Cromwell finding his Provision begin to be scarce, marched on the third of July close to the Scotch Trenches, and drew up his Army in Battalia, to provoke them to Battle; whereupon they in the Night planted most of their Cannon on the Brow of the Hill, and the next Morning saluted the English with fifty great Shot, which made Cromwell draw back, and give over a Resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect any thing here, he made it his next Work to land some of his Forces on Fife Side; and for that Service Colonel Overton was sent with sixteen hundred Foot, and four Troops of Horse, who, at Queen's Ferry, without much Difficulty, forced his Landing, and Cromwell at the same time marched up with his whole Army close to the Scots, with an Intent to have fallen upon their Rear, in case they should have moved that way to disturb the Enterprize: Yet to drive the English out of Fife, four thousand Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them, under the Command of Sir John Brown, which was not done so privately, but Cromwell had notice of it; and he sent Major-General Lambert, and Colonel Okey with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, who were transported over the Water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir John Brown, and gave him an Overthrow, and took himself and Colonel Buchanan, and fourteen hundred more Prisoners, and slew about two thousand; by which Victory the English gained so firm a Footing in Fife, that they were not easily to be repelled; and soon after, Burnt-Island, and a strong Castle upon the River, called Inchgarvy, were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that Course which long since had been designed,

The English  
land Forces  
on Fife side.

Sir John  
Brown de-  
feated by  
Major Ge-  
neral Lam-  
bert.

Burnt I-  
land and  
Inchgarvy  
Castle ta-  
ken by the  
English.



1651. to march directly for *England*. *Cromwell*, that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, resolved first to set upon *St. Johnston's*, which after one Day's Siege was gained: And the King, as soon as he had Knowledge of this Loss, marched with his Army with all haste Southwards: This Departure of the King altered *Cromwell's* Designs upon *Sterlin*, and he drew his Forces back again over the *Frith*, making what Expedition he could to overtake his Majesty; but the *Scots* were many Days March before him. Major-General *Harrison*, with about three thousand Horse and Dragoons that lay nearest *England*, had Orders to march to attend the King's Motions, and Major-General *Lambert*, with about as many more, was appointed, by Advice of a Council of War, to speed after them, and endeavour to fall upon their Rear: And *Cromwell* himself began his March from *Leith* with a thousand Horse and Foot, the very same Day the Royal Army entered upon *English* Ground, by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the sixth of *August*. Upon the Expectation of the King's coming into *England*, a Party in *North Wales* began to rise, intending to have joyned with the Earl of *Derby*, who was to come from the *Ile of Man*; but this Design vanished to nothing.

By that time the King was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard beset, both by the Forces that followed him out of *Scotland*, and those that in a short time were raised in *England* against him. He had in his Rear, General *Cromwell*, (who had left General *Monk* Commander in Chief in his Absence, with a small dis-jointed Force to carry on the Work in *Scotland*:) In his Van were the two Major-Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, who, by long Marches, got before him, unto whom there came up two thousand of the Country Militia out of *Staffordshire*, and four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other Parts: And to flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkshire* appeared in the Field with many Troops. Moreover, the City of *London* poured out a good Part of its Militia, and the adjacent Counties, were, by strict Order of the Parliament, enjoined to set out Men and Horses at their own Charges: Nor (which was the worst Prefage) did the *Scotch* Army itself keep entire, being curtailed of about five thousand Men, which dropped away by Degrees, there remaining not compleat, as was generally supposed, by that time they came to *Worcester*, thirteen thousand Men. The King's Hopes also failed him of the general coming in of the Country; for the most considerable Supply that came to him, was only one Troop of Horse, commanded by Captain *Cecil Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard of Escrick*. Nor is it much wondered at, since the Parliament's Forces had so powerfully over-spread the Country, that none could well have the Opportunity to stir in behalf of the King; so that before the deciding Blow was given, they appeared to be in a very lost and hopeless Posture.

The King is proclaimed at the Head of his Army in *England*.

The King, at his first Entrance upon *English* Ground, was proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, at the Head of the Army, with great Acclamations, and shooting off the Canon, he being then

at *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every Market-Town through which he march'd. He met no considerable Resistance 'till he came to *Warrington* Bridge, where *Lambert* endeavoured to impede his Passage, but the King made his way through with Loss to his Opposer; and the Parliament at *London* began to apprehend the Prosperity of his Fortune: But his wearied Forces could not, it seems, hold out a March of that Length, so that he came on the 22d of *August* to *Worcester*, where, after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept the City, he quickly entered, through the ready Assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not opposed, but also helped to beat the Parliament's Soldiers out of the Town. Advice came to the King of the distracted Condition of those in *London*, which occasion'd a Debate in Council thereupon for his Repair thither; but, upon the Result, it was resolved on, as a thing most agreeable to their present Condition, to stay where they were, and to make good all the Passes that were thereabouts, for their better Security. On the 27th of *August* they kept a solemn Fast, and the next Day had a general Rendezvous, at which the Country came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their Arrival in *England*.

About two or three Days before the King's Arrival at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Weywater* in *Lancashire*, came to him with two hundred and fifty Foot, and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the *Ile of Man*, and immediately returning back into *Lancashire* to raise a more considerable Force, he soon gathered about twelve hundred Men, and so much was he beloved in those Parts, that a little more time had made him formidable; with these he was marching upon a Design to fall upon *Cromwell's* own Regiment then quartered at *Lancaster*, in their March towards him; but News came to him of Colonel *Lilburn's* Approach towards him with ten Troops of Horse (which were ordered out of *Yorkshire*, on Purpose to hinder his Levies) and two Regiments of *Cheshire* Foot: The Earl nothing dismayed at this Force, resolved to engage *Lilburn* and his Party, before the other Troops could come to him; and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an Impression so far into their Body, that they begun to be disorder'd, 'till the Accession of fresh Reserves, both of Horse and Foot so over-powered his Numbers, that they were totally vanquished: Most of the King's Party were Horse, and the Fight was in Lanes, where they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musqueteers. There were taken Prisoners of Quality, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tiderley*, Colonel *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, Major *Trollop*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Richard Legg*, Colonel *Ratliff*, *Gerard*, and some others. The Earl of *Derby* (having lost his *George* and *Garter*) fled with about thirty Horse towards *Worcester*, having sheltered himself one Night in his way in a House called *Boscobel*, which Heaven by this Means had prepared for the King's Retreat and Preservation.

By this time *Cromwell* had surrounded *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a Compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the

1651.

The King comes to Worcester.

The Earl of Derby comes with Forces to the King.

The Earl of Derby routed by Colonel Lilburn.

Cromwell surrounds Worcester.



1651. the King's Army as yet lying out of the Town a Mile in the Fields. The first Pass endeavoured to be taken was *Upton Bridge* on *Fleetwood's* side, which Major-General *Lambert* attempted with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, and after a brisk Dispute, wrested from Col. *Massej*, who in defence thereof, received a Wound in his Hand.

The Pass at Upton taken by Lambert.

The *Scots* having thus abandoned the Place where they were, it was presently possessed by a strong Party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present Advance of the rest of the Army.

The King's Army was drawn up very near to *Worcester*, and made many Excursions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River *Team*, betwixt the Enemy and them, and shewing a well order'd and govern'd Courage; but September the third, that ominous Day being arrived, *Cromwell* resolved to venture the Event upon its former *Auspicia*; and to that Purpose, having his Boats in Readiness, he passed over his Men in the Afternoon of that Day, and drew them all into a Fighting Posture; and having given the Signal to the whole Army to fall on, the Fight was begun in this Manner.

Worcester Fight.

*Cromwell* himself in Person (about four of the Clock) with his Life-Guard, and Colonel *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the entire Regiments of Col. *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Fairfax*, marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* advanced with Colonel *Goff's*, and Major-General *Dean's* Regiments; the King's Forces encountering them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, and disputing every Field with them, in such Order, and with such Gallantry, that those already engaged (lest they should be wholly discouraged with the hotness of this Service) were relieved by Reserves, and they by others, no considerable Progress was yet made, the *Highlanders* proving excellent Fire-men, and coming to the Butt-End of Musquet, 'till wearied with continual Action, and their Ammunition spent, (the King being then upon the Place) commanded them in some haste into the City, and hastened himself to the other Side, where Colonel *Hayns's* Regiment, with *Cobbet's* stood about *Powick Bridge*, and were entertained with no less Manhood and Slaughter, than those on the other Side; and though one Colonel *Matthews* was the Reserve to these two Regiments, yet did the *Scotch* Foot fairly drive them from their Ground, 'till at last being harrassed out, and no Seconds or Supplies to be expected, in a careless Regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did another Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Gibbons* joyned with two others on another Part. The King's Army was drawn very close together, and sent out several Bodies, who charged very briskly on the General's Side, where the Fight was hottest, (he having brought on the Militia Forces to relieve his other Troops). In the Head of one of these Bodies the King himself charged with marvellous Gallantry and Conduct, and pressed so hard upon *Cromwell's* Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much disordered, and the Captain very dangerously wounded; and in

another Charge, Duke *Hamilton* (who behaved himself with undaunted Courage and Resolution) received a Shot on his Thigh, whereof presently after he died.

1651.

Duke Hamilton slain at this Fight.

The Militia Regiments of *Essex*, *Surrey*, and *Cheshire*, were much annoyed by the *Scots*, and many of their Men slain; but *Cromwell* drew on fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, which were in Reserve, of the Veteran Bands, by which the Royalists were so over-power'd, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with such Order, but many of the *Cromwellians* got in with them. *Lesley* with two thousand Horse (upon what Account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve his Party, when the Enemy entered. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and about seven at Night the Enemy gained the Fort-Royal; at which time his Majesty left the City, passing out at *St. Martin's Gate*, accompanied with about sixty Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, (though many more pressed to bear him Company) and it was reported, that *Cobbet* very narrowly mist of him as he left his Lodging.

The King defeated at Worcester, but made his Escape.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and, according to their Order, fell a plundering the Inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any they found in the Streets: And through this their Greediness of Spoil, they kept the Gates shut, and the Horse out, lest they should have shared the better Part; and thereby favoured (as God would have it) the King's Escape. Some *Scots* who had got into one of the Churches, held out 'till next Morning, when they obtained Quarter for Life; by which time there was scarce an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, Friend or Foe, left worth a Shilling of what they had in the Town; but the Royal Inhabitants lost least by the Ravage, being supplied with fresh Wares, to their Desires, by the honest Citizens of *London*, without any Scruple of Credit or Payment, and their Debts were forborn 'till such time as God should enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary Resort to that Market, for all Necessaries, and upon all Occasions. The Mayor (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to Prison; and the Wife of one *Guyes* (whose Husband for betraying the Designs of the King in that Garrison, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and two hundred Pounds in Money.

Worcester miserably plundered.

There were slain in the Field, in the Town, and in Pursuit some 2000, and about 8000 were taken Prisoners in several Places; most of the *English* Common-Men escaping by their *Shibboleth*: But at *Newport*, in the Pursuit were taken the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnwath*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Col. *Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanshawe*, Secretary to the King; many also whose Names we have not, viz. 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, nine Lieutenant-Colonels of Horse, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 of Foot, 37 Captains



1651. Captains Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter Masters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken also some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quarter-Masters, 80 of the King's Servants, with the King's Standard which he had set up when he summoned the Country, the King's Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS's, but the King's Person they had no Power to touch, which recompenced all the other Loss.

He (as was said before) departed in the Dusk, leaving Colonel *Careless*, in the Rear, to keep the Enemy in Dispute, while he was something forward on his way, and the approaching Night might favour his escape. To which end, all Persons about him were commanded to speak *French*, and a present Consultation was held which Course they should steer, and it was resolved by my Lord of *Derby*, that they should make what Speed they could, and recover a place called *Whiteladies* before Morning, which was some twenty five Miles from *Worcester*; and thereupon one Master *Giffard* then in the Company, was called for his Guidance thither; and one *Walker* (that had been formerly a Scout-master in the King's Army) was his Assistant; yet the way was mistaken as they passed a Heath, but by good Providence soon recovered.

The King deliberates whither to fly.

The Lords leave him at *Whiteladies*.

The King personates a Wood-Cutter.

Betwixt three and four a Clock the King reached this Place, and Master *Giffard* (after some knocking at the Door), called up one *George Pendrill*, a Servant in the House, who hearing and knowing his Voice, ran down in his Shirt and opened the Door, and the King and his Retinue entred; where after a little Debate about the Security of his Person, the said Earl having called thither *William Pendrill* the House-Keeper of *Boscobel*, and dispatch'd another towards *Tong* to see if the Coast was yet clear; His Majesty in the mean while had his Hair cut off, and his Buff Doublet and Linnen-Breeches buried, and he was disguised in Country Habit, with Adjuration of the Fidelity of the *Pendrill's* (who were now with their Brother-in-Law *Francis Yates* in Number five) committed and entrusted by the Earl of *Derby* to their Fidelity, which they most solemnly and dutifully promised. Then the Earl and the rest of the Lords, viz. the Duke of *Buckingham* and that Train, with Tears took their Leave (*Derby* would have staid, but there was no Probability of Secrecy for two) and my Lord *Wilmot* with *John Pendrill* withdrew himself from that Company to another Retreat; the rest (except the Duke who lay concealed in other Friends Houses about that Country) were taken as aforesaid at *Newport* by *Lilburn's* Horse, the same who had defeated the Earl of *Derby*, who now rendered himself a Prisoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Launceston*, on Promise for quarter for Life.

As soon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his Hand, he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoining, taking the Name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for Work, and was accordingly instructed in his Tongue and Behaviour: That Day proved very wet, so that *Yates's* Wife brought him a Blanket to cover him, and a dish of Milk and Apples for his Refreshment; and at Night against his coming home (where the Mother of the *Pendrills* at her Son *Richard's*

House most joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Country Supper; which ended, the King with *Richard* his Guide resolved for *Wales*, and went to one Master *Wolfe's* of *Madely*, where for fear of search he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Master *Wolfe* and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majesty understood that the Passes over the Water, and the River *Why*, were so guarded, that it was unreasonable for him to adventure into *Wales*; so that on Friday Night he retreated in his woollen accoutrements about his Legs (in which he had lain in that hard Lodging in great Pain and Soreness) to *Boscobel*, where he found Colonel *Careless* (who had also betaken himself thither for shelter); and by his Direction, that Saturday the King went into the Wood, (from the pleasantness whereof the House took its Name) and ascended into the Top of that most celebrated Oak, which being thick with Branches stretching and shadowing fore-right, was altogether impervious to the Sight: And here the Colonel bore him Company while he laid his Head, and slept upon a Pillow in his Lap. At Night they both descended, and came into the House and refreshed themselves, and the King perceiving the Secrecy of the Place, was not willing to keep longer abroad. He past away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banqueting-house at the end of the Garden, and there *John Pendrill*, came to him from my Lord *Wilmot*, to conduct him to Mr. *Whitgrave's* House at *Moseley*; whither with much Difficulty and Danger he himself had arrived, but the Safety there answered all. The King approved of my Lord *Wilmot's* Advice, and on Monday Night (with the Guard of the five Brethren) and the Help of the Miller's Horse, he came to Mr. *Whitgrave's*, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a secret Place; and there it was considered what Course to take for a further Progression in the King's Escape; and to this Purpose one Colonel *Lane* of *Bentley* was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Mistress *Jane Lane* upon Pretence of assisting at the Child-bed of her Sister, should ride to *Bristol*, and the King as her Servant ride before her, with one Mr. *Lassels* and his Wife behind him, and a Pass for their more Security in travel was procured.

On their way thither, my Lord *Wilmot* (as of Chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his Fist, and so they journeyed together to *Bromsgrove*, where the King's Horse losing a Shoe, he was forc'd to carry his Horse to a Farrier, who enquiring of News of the King, and being answered by his Majesty, that he believed the King was escaped into Scotland, he replied, that no doubt the King was somewhere secretly in England, and wish'd he knew where; for that he could get a thousand Pounds by taking of him. The King departing from thence, comes to *Eversham*, where advising how to avoid Troopers then grazing their Horses in the Meadows adjoining, they lighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them pass on their Way to *Cirencester* to the Crown, where they lodged that Night, and went the next Day towards *Bristol* within three Miles of the City, to the House of Mr. *Norton*

He quarters in a Barn at *Madely*.

Comes to *Boscobel*, where Col. *Careless* directs him to the Oak.

To Master *Whitgrave's* at *Moseley*.

Mrs. *Jane Lane* undertakes to convey him to *Bristol*.



1651. Mr. Norton of Leigh, the designed Journey's end. Here the King feigned himself sick, and took his Chamber by the Order and Care of Mrs. Lane; but the next Morning coming into the Cellar, he was taken Notice of by the Butler, one John Pope, a Soldier formerly in the late King's Army, who upon an intent Look discerned him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such Assurance of Fidelity, that he gained his Majesty's Belief so far, as to be employed by him in getting a Ship for his Transportation: Thence the King was conducted by my Lord Wilmot to one Colonel Windham's House at Trent in Dorsetshire, where he continued almost three Weeks in expectation of a Passage from Lime; soon after his Arrival here, Mrs. Jane Lane with Mr. Lasfells parted, being openly entertained as Kinsfolk, and came in Safety back again to Staffordshire.

The King at Colonel Windham's

My Lord Wilmot and he prevailed with a Merchant to procure a Pass, but were disappointed.

The Occurrences that happened here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a Passage which a Merchant had procured for him at Lime (by my Lord Wilmot and Colonel Windham's Means); and though the Fault was not in the Merchant, but the dejected Spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this Disappointment had like to have proved the King's Ruin, by the shooing of my Lord Wilmot's Horse, (there was one Mr. Henry Peters that attended him for his Guide). The Hostler and the Smith discovered by the Shoes, that they were come somewhere from the Northern Parts by their manner of nailing, and presently raised a rumour of the King's being thereabouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minister of the Matter, my Lord was got away by Providence, and the King came to Bridport, where as 'tis since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hostler, as he was setting up the Horses, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at Exeter, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a proffer of drinking with him when he was more at Leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That Night they touched at Broad-Windsor, where again the King met with some Disturbance by Soldiers then filling those Places, in Order to their shipping for Jersey. But after all these surprizing Adventures, he got again to Colonel Windham's, with the Lord Wilmot, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at Bridport as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that Place) he was sent to Salisbury, to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer to that Purpose with Master Coventry, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. Hide's House at a Village called Heal. The King in his way to Salisbury came to a Town called Mere to the George, an Acquaintance of the Colonel's, where drinking in the Cellar, the Host seeing the King stand off as a Servant, said, *Tbou lookest like an honest Fellow, here's an Health to the King*; who unreadily answering it, made the Man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought. The King from Mere went to the House of Mrs. Hide, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret Place in the House, and here Colonel Robert Philips came to him, and Colonel Windham took his Leave of his Majesty, and returned; and Dr. Hinckman after made Bishop of London, had the Honour to be made acquainted with his Condition; and Philips was present-

He is received by Mrs. Hide, at Heal.

ly dispatch'd to procure some shipping at Southampton, where the Barks being all taken up, and employed by the Parliament, he returned with his Labour lost, but meeting with Colonel Gunter, he (being informed of the Business) undertook to provide a Bark at Brightenstead in Suffex, which he effected, and thither the King (and my Lord Wilmot) having taken Leave of this noble Matron and the Doctor, accompanied with Colonel Philips, (passing by Night near Portsmouth), came in two Days to an Inn at Brightenstead, where Colonel Gunter and one Master Maunsel the Merchant, who at Gunter's Request hired the Ship, and the Ship-matter Tetershal (now a Captain in his Majesty's Navy) met him, and at Supper they sat down together with his Majesty, when the Master presently discovered him, having formerly seen him in the Downs, when he obtained the Release of his Ship laden from Newcastle; whereupon the King conferred with the Master, (who being wrought upon by Promises and Money paid down, and his own Loyalty) agreed to transport him to France, and departed to call up his Mariners then on Shore, (pretending his Ship half laden with Coals was a Drift); but coming home for a Bottle of Aqua-vitæ, his Wife by the Unseasonableness of the Night suspecting the Truth, encouraged him to the Undertaking, not caring (as she said) if she and her little ones begged their Bread, so the King were in Safety. About five of the Clock in the dark of the Morning on the 20th of October the King embarked, with my Lord Wilmot, and keeping the Shore all that Day, in the Evening crossed over, and at dark Night landed near Dieppe in France. In their Passage, the King sitting upon the Deck, and directing the Course, as they call it, conning the Ship, one of the Mariners blowing Tobacco in his Face, the Master bid him go further off the Gentleman, who murmuring, unwittingly replied, *That a Cat might look upon a King*. At Rouen the King had his Cloaths chang'd by two English Merchants residing there, and was there saluted (though at first hardly known) by Dr. Earls late Bishop of Salisbury, and upon Notice of his Arrival, the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Orleans, and that whole Court went out to meet him, and congratulate his wonderful Deliverance: A Providence indeed not parallel'd in History, and able to have convinced his Rebels, if their Rage had not blinded them; but it cheered the Minds and Hopes of his Subjects, by this Pledge of their Deliverance from Thraldom, in this marvellous Protection of God's Anointed (no less than two and fifty Persons being privy to his Escape).

1651.

He is safely transported into France to Tetershal.

He is met by the Queen-Mother and Court of France.

Most of the Scots taken Prisoners.

Very few of the Nobles and Officers that came in with him from Scotland escaped, David Lesley and Lieutenant General Middleton were taken in Lancashire, and carried Prisoners to Chester, from whence with the Earl of Lauderdale, Kelly, Rotbes, and others they were committed to the Tower, from whence my Lord Middleton happily escaped, the rest were not long after sent to Windsor Castle, where they continued 'till the Restitution of the King to his Government.

On the 21st of September, Cromwell came to London, and was met about Aston with the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Mayor of London and Recorder Steel, who



1651. in a set Speech congratulated his great Successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken *Prolepsis* applied to him these Words of the Psalmist, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant Exaltation of his Achievement: Next Day the common Prisoners (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tutuil Fields* (a sadder Spectacle was never seen, except the miserable Place of their Defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken were likewise hanged up in *Westminster-Hall*, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

Cromwell comes with his Prisoners to London.

We have hitherto without any Digression related the Fortune of the King from the Time of his quitting *Scotland* to his safe Arrival in *France*; but we shall now briefly describe the Transactions that passed in *Scotland* at that time: *Cromwell*, when he left the King constituted (as is hinted) General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the *English* Army there; which was an Action that carried great Envy with it from those of his own Party, because *Monk* had but lately engaged with them; and it was objected, that he had been heard to say he would never draw a Sword in *England* against the King or his Interest, and therefore they could not expect faithful Service from him in *Scotland* against the same Party; but it is said, he gave such Assurance to *Cromwell* of his Fidelity in that Station against the People, (who were the first Raisers of those unhappy Storms that overspread our Nation with the Miseries of War and Sedition) that he would not be persuaded to alter his Choice.

The *English* Army left with the General exceeded not six thousand Men, and many of these were sick and weak by long Marches, but they had by several successful Encounters gained a great Reputation, and the *Scots* were much dispirited thereby, so that whilst he found Part of his Forces were in good Heart and his Enemies dejected, he immediately march'd to *Sterlin*, and came thither by that time *Cromwell* got into *England*.

Sterlin with the Castle surrendered to General Monk.

*Sterlin* was at that time governed by Colonel *Cunningham*, who was so surprized at the sudden Approach of the *English* Army, (believing them to be of much greater Number than they really were) that after a short Siege he surrendered the Town and Castle upon Articles on the 14th of *August*; where the King's Royal Robes, the Cloth of State, and all the *Scotch* Records were found and seized, together with five thousand Arms and forty Pieces of Ordnance, and great Store of Ammunition; but all the Goods of private Persons there deposited, were delivered to such as would own them: Over the Door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle this Motto in the time of King *James* was written, *J. C. R. Nobis hac invicta miserunt Centum sex Proavi* 1617. which shews that that Place had remained unconquered during the Reigns of an hundred and six Kings, and so continued all his time and his Sons.

The next place to which the General marched after the taking of *Sterlin* was *Dundee*, to which Town the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* and many other Towns and Places had conveyed the best Part of their Moveables, as a secure Depository, so that there was great Riches in it.

Major *Lumsdale* was Governour of the Town, 1651. who had therein eight hundred Soldiers, besides some Companies of armed Inhabitants, whereby he thought himself in so good a Condition, that when the General drew near the Place, and sent a Summons to him, he returned a very slighting Answer, hereupon he environed the Town with his Army; but as his first coming thither, hearing that old General *Lesly* and several of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Elliot* (about fourteen Miles from *Dundee*) to raise Soldiers, he sent Colonel *Allured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a thousand Horse and Dragoons to disturb the Levies, leaving privately the chief Conduct and Care of the Design to his Confident Col. *Morgan*, the other (though the elder Colonel) being not very competent for such a Service. These, as soon as they had their Orders, marched in the Night and took *Scotch* Guides to shew them the way to the Town, and by the help of some few *Scotch* Soldiers, who had revolted to the *English*, they so dissembled their March, that the Country took them for part of their own Forces going to *Elliot*, so that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about three of the Clock in the Morning, and then they marched into it with little or no Resistance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, with about 70 of their Servants, the one of which was General *Lesly* (who was found hid in a close Cupboard-bed) the Earls *Marshall*, *Crawford*, *Lindsay*, and *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Home* and *Lee*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen of Note; these were all shipp'd for *London*, but old *Lesly* putting in at *Newcastle*, was by the Favour of Sir *Arthur Haslerig* (then Governour thereof) permitted to stay in *Northumberland* with one *De la Val* his Son-in-Law, upon promise to be a true Prisoner.

Old General Lesly and divers other Scotch Nobles surprized at Elliot.

The General by this Means had prevented all possibility of Disturbance in his Siege, and seeing he could not by fair Means prevail with the Governour to yield up the Town, though he knew by the Surprize of *Elliot* all hope of Relief failed, on the first of *September* he took it by Storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour with some few for a while saved themselves in a Steeple, but were smothered out by the burning of wet Straw, and then they yielded on Mercy to one Captain *Kelly* of Colonel *Morgan's* Regiment, who was carrying him to the General with Purpose to intercede for his Life, because of the Gallantry of his Behaviour in defence of the Town, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarously shot him dead. The Soldiers had a very rich Booty in this Garrison, for it was at this time the richest Town in *Scotland*, and there were sixty Sail of Ships in the Harbour. After this taken of *Dundee*, *St. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Castles and strong Places, either voluntarily submitted or surrendered upon Summons.

Dundee taken by Storm.

These Successes did not mitigate the Severity of the Rulers at *Westminster*, who about the End of *September* appointed a Court-Martial to sit at *Chester*, for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby*, and several other Prisoners taken after the Battle at *Worcester*, or some little before.

The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* that took him Prisoner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he

The Earl of Derby beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, was



1651. was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15th of October, that rigorous Sentence was executed on him at Bolton in Lancashire; and for the same cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the same Court, Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Captain Bembow, and Captain Symkins were sentenced to Death, and executed.

Several Royalists taken and imprisoned in the Tower.

This sad Occasion obliges us to a further Account of those English Royalists who were taken in, and after the same Battle of Worcester, among whom were (besides others mentioned) the Lord Grandison, Sir John Packington, Colonel Blague, Colonel Edward Broughton, and Major General Massey; these were all except Massey, presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he being much wounded and tired with Riding, as he endeavoured to escape, delivered himself up to the Countess of Stamford, who secured him in her House 'till he was cured of his Wounds, upon his Engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower, from whence by a Disguise not long after he made his Escape. Colonel Wogan was much sought after by the Pursuers, but he got safe to the Highlands in Scotland, being resolved to prosecute the King's Quarrel where Nature had fix'd her Non Ultra.

The Isles of Man and Jersey, &c. surrendered to the Parliament.

There remained nothing in England of the ancient Dominions and Territories thereof unsubdued to the Power of the Parliament, except the Isle of Man, and the Island of Jersey, and Castle Cornet in the Isle of Guernsey, which were all about this time surrendered to the Authority of the English Commonwealth, and not only these adjacent Islands, but what was in America appertaining to the Crown of England came quickly into their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of Barbadoes (whereof the Lord Willoughby of Parham was Governour for the King) which was yielded up upon Articles to Sir George Ayscough about the beginning of January. The Articles were very favourable both to the Governour and Inhabitants, the first having Liberty of returning to England, with Freedom to his Person and Estate, and the latter being indemnified for whatever they had done in Hostility against the Parliament. It is said, the gaining of this Island was much facilitated by one Colonel Muddeford then in Difference with the Governour, whom Sir George had drawn to his Party, and by whose Power and Influence in the Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the Islands of Nevis and St. Christopher thought it in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir George Ayscough.

Parham and Ireton yielded to Fate.

Towards the End of this Year two eminent Commanders of the English Commonwealth were taken away by Death, viz. General Edward Popham, one of the Generals at Sea; and Ireton, Son-in-Law to Cromwell, and Deputy of Ireland, who died of a contagious Fever contracted at the Siege of the City of Limerick in Ireland, which (after an obstinate Resistance) he had newly gained. His Corps was transported to England, and brought to London, and interred in Henry the Seventh's Chappel in Westminster with a magnificent funeral Pomp and State. He was no doubt a Man of much Dispatch, of dexterous and able Parts, had they been employed in honest Designs; and was thought to have been a greater Contriver and Prompter in the chiefest of his Father-in-Law's Stratagems. For a time after his De-

cease, Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow executed his Office, 'till Colonel Charles Fleetwood who had succeeded him in his Wife, was thereby preferred to succeed him in the Deputiship of Ireland.

Col. Fleetwood succeeds Ireton in the Deputiship of Ireland.

The English Commonwealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and Tranquility, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first related to Scotland, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of Dunbarton Castle, which was delivered up by Sir Charles Ereskine, and Dunnoter Castle which was taken by Colonel Morgan, and the Isles of Orkney, the Hebrides, and even Schetland, which is thought by some to be the same that the Antients called Ultima Thule, could not escape their Conquest, which was the Work of Colonel Overton) they took into Consideration a Project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no Effect, they resolved to go through with; namely, an Union of England and Scotland, and incorporating of both Nations into one Commonwealth. This was mainly opposed and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, tho' in vain; for the Parliament of England, (as they called themselves) had resolved upon an Act for the Union of Scotland, and the abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation; intending that the Sheriffs or Burghs, should chuse their Deputies to represent them in Parliament as they should think fit. And Commissioners were sent from hence in Behalf of the Commonwealth of England, to treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold Entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough Opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were Oliver St. John, Sir Henry Vane, Major General Dean, Major Salway, Colonel Fenwick, and Alderman Tichburn: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make Inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation, Mr. George Smith, Mr. John March, Mr. Edward Mosely, and Mr. William Lockart a Scotchman: But these Judges were several times altered at Pleasure: But to the Commissioners there came in and submitted divers of the Scotch Nobility; as the Marquess of Huntly, the Earls of Weems, Angus, and Calender, and the Lord Belcarris, and others; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marquess of Argyle was he that most complied and adhered to the Commonwealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and Shew he made when the King was in Scotland, and of the Lairds that acted amongst the English, the chief were Swinton and Warrington.

The Parliament's Provision for the Government of Scotland.

The next Act of Grace was to England, and was an Act of Oblivion, wherein they published it to be their Intention to forget all Injuries, and pardon all Hostilities hitherto committed against them, upon Condition of taking an Engagement, which they imposed upon all People, wherein they were to promise, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then established, without King or House of Lords; out of which nevertheless were excepted the Lord Goring and his Sons, Sir John Webster of Amsterdam, the Executors

The Parliament's Act of Oblivion.



1651. ecutors of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the flayers of *Doriffaus* and *Ascham*.

The Occa-  
sion of the  
War with  
Holland.

Scarce were these and some other little Trans-  
actions finish'd at home, when there began to be in  
Preparation new Matter for the Exercise of their  
Arms abroad, in respect of a secret Grudge which  
had lain a pretty while smothering between them  
and their Brother-States of *Holland*, which was  
probably in a great Part occasion'd through the  
flight and indifferent reckoning of *Doriffaus*,  
(whose Assassination they thought, perhaps, not  
sufficiently enquired into;) and afterwards of  
their Embassadors *Oliver St. John*, and *Walter  
Strickland*, who being affronted by the Common  
People in *Holland*, thought themselves not suffi-  
ciently vindicated by the States, nor respected  
according to the Dignity of their Masters, and  
therefore came away in Discontent; and tho' the  
States sent hither afterwards as their Agent,  
*Myn Heer Joachim*, with several Compliments  
and Excuses, with Commission to treat about a  
fair Correspondence and Commerce with *Eng-  
land*; yet our States at *Westminster* were now re-  
solved they should not have their Friendship on  
such easy Terms as before they offered by their  
Embassadors, since they then made no more Ac-  
count of it: So that they dismissed *Joachim* after  
a prefixed time, beyond which he was not to stay,  
and then proceeded to make an Act, *For the En-  
couragement of Navigation*; wherein they prohibi-  
ted the importing of any Foreign Commodities, except  
upon English Bottoms, or such as were of the Coun-  
try whence the Commodities came; beginning with-  
al to stand high upon Claims of Dues and Re-  
parations for the Prejudice done us in our Tra-  
ding: Upon which, Occasion was taken often-  
times to search the *Dutch* Ships, and sometimes  
to make Prize of them. To complain of these  
Damages, but more especially, if it were possi-  
ble, to obtain a Suppression of the said Act so  
prejudicial to their Trade, they sent over into  
*England* their Embassadors, *Myn Heer en Catz*,  
*Van de Peere*, *Sharp* and *Newport*; these Men  
however coming as most zealous Advocates for a  
speedy Pacification, and relying much upon the  
favourable Reception they should meet with here,  
were nevertheless at their very first Audience ac-  
costed with such high Demands about the Her-  
ring fishing, the Business of *Amboyna*, and a free  
Trade in the *Schelde*, from *Middleburgh* to *Ant-  
werp*, that they were able to give but a cold Ac-  
count to their Masters in the Affair they came  
about: And though some Messages for a while  
passed to and fro for the Vindication of each  
other's Actions, the *Dutch* all the while making  
great Protestations of their sincere and real In-  
tentions towards this Commonwealth, yet still  
Preparations for War were privately made on  
both Sides.

Lilburn ban-  
nished.

This Year ended with an Act for the Banish-  
ment of *John Lilburn*, who being a Person of a  
turbulent Nature, had with wrestless Impatience  
opugned all Government, insomuch that it was  
said merrily of him, *If all the World were dispeopled  
to him alone, John will be against Lilburn, and  
Lilburn against John*. It was provided in this  
Act, that if ever he returned without Leave from  
the State, he should suffer as a Felon. That  
which caused this Severity against him at this  
time, was his violent Opposition of Sir *Arthur*

*Hasterig*, a leading Member of the Parliament,  
about a Coal Pit in his Possession, claimed by one  
*Primate*; wherein he did not only lay many Op-  
pressions and Scandals to the Charge of *Hasterig*,  
but in the Publication thereof, arraigned the Ju-  
stice of the whole Commonwealth.

The States of *Holland* set out a very great Fleet 1652.  
for the Security of their Trade for this Year, and  
in their Instructions to *Martin Harpez Van Trump*  
their Admiral, they directed him not to strike his  
Flag to the *English* Admiral; and the same Or-  
ders were given to every of the Ships of War,  
if occasionally they met any single Ships of *Eng-  
land*, or others, that were not too numerous for  
their Opposition.

The *English* on the other side they knew would  
not easily lose the Dominion of the Sea, which, in  
all Ages they exercised without Controul; so that  
*Van Trump* coming into *Dover* Road on the 17th  
of May, with two and forty Sail, lay there at An-  
chor, as to dare them to Opposition; and Notice  
thereof being given to *Blake* the *English* Admiral,  
he made hast to play up towards him with about  
15 Ships and Frigates; but when *Trump* descried  
the *English* Fleet, he weighed his Anchor, and  
stood away by a Wind Eastward, intending (as  
*Blake* supposed) to leave them to avoid the Dis-  
pute of the Flag; but about two Hours after,  
they alter'd their Course, and bore directly with  
the *English* Fleet, and *Van Trump* was head-mo-  
st, whereupon the *English* lay by, and put them-  
selves into a fighting Posture, judging the *Dutch*  
had a Resolution to engage. Being come within  
Musquet-shot, *Blake* gave Order to fire at his  
Flag, which was done thrice; and after the third  
Shot, *Trump* let fly a Broad-side, and it was well  
returned by the *English* Admiral; and after the  
Exchange of Broad-sides, Major *Bourn* came in  
to *Blake*'s Assistance with eight good Ships, and  
then both the Fleets engaged from four in the  
Afternoon, till it was dark; and though there  
were not less than 2000 Shot of Cannon exchanged  
on one side and the other, the Loss of Men was  
not great; and the greatest was of the *Hollan-  
ders*, of whom one Ship was sunk, and another  
taken, and about an hundred and fifty Men slain;  
the *English* had not any Ship disabled, and very  
few Men killed. *Van Trump* drew his Fleet in  
the Night to the Back of *Goodwin* Sands, and the  
next Morning sailed away for *Zealand*.

The *Holland* Embassadors at *London*, by their  
Memorials, endeavour'd all they could to per-  
swade the Parliament, that this Action of *Trump*'s  
was without the Privy or Consent of their Ma-  
sters, and thereupon demanded a Restitution of  
the Ship taken by *Blake* in the Fight; but the  
People at *London* were so inflamed with the News  
of the Fight, and *Trump*'s Carriage in it, that  
they insisted not on that Demand; and the Par-  
liament was necessitated to appoint a Troop of  
Horse to guard the Embassadors from the Rage  
and Fury of the Multitude.

The States apprehended this Business might  
cause a Rupture betwixt them and the *English*,  
and therefore they dispatched the *Heer Paw* to  
*England* in the Quality of an Embassador Extra-  
ordinary, who was so very well received at his  
Arrival at *London*, that he believed he should  
not only extinguish the Flame already kindled,  
but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on  
by

The first  
Sea-fight  
between  
the *Dutch*  
and *Eng-  
lish*.  
The *Dutch*  
came off  
with loss.



1652. by the other Embassadors: But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had jointly presented a Paper to the Parliament, to excuse the late Enterprize of *Trump*, they returned an Answer that did not at all content them; for they peremptorily required, *To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and Damages they had been put to and sustained by the Preparations of the States-General, and other Attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other Propofition.* The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this Proceeding, immediately recalled their Embassadors, and thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both Parts, and in a very little time, *Van Trump* was again at Sea with 120 Sail of Men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General *Blake's* sailing Northward with 70 Sail of Ships of War, to interrupt the *Dutch* Fishing-Trade, and look for five *Dutch East-India* Ships, which were at that time expected to return home that way.

*Trump* out again at Sea with an hundred and twenty Sail.

In the mean time, about the 6th of *June*, *Sir George Ascough* arrived in the *Downs* with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way 10 *Dutch* Merchant-Ships, and four Men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give Notice to their Merchant-Ships of their present Differences.

The Parliament, upon his Arrival, sent Orders to him to stay there, 'till a Fleet then providing in the *Thames* should be made ready to join with him.

*Trump* having Intelligence thereof, about the beginning of *July* clapped in with a Part of his Fleet between *Sir George* and the River, and sent the other Part *Westward* to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink and disperse those with *Sir George Ascough*; but the Governour of *Dover* gave so speedy Advice of the Posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then *Trump*, on the eighth of *July* made towards *Sir George* to assail the Fleet, but the Wind failing, they came to an Anchor a League off, and before the next Ebb, the Militia of that Country was ready upon the Coast, and *Sir George's* Ships well re-inforced with Men, and a Platform was cast up betwixt the Castles of *Deal* and *Sandown*, whereon good Store of Cannon were planted to receive them; but at the next Ebb, whilst they were under Sail, the Wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their Teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them.

*Trump*, upon this Disappointment, returned to *Holland*, to convoy several Merchant-Men for the *Northern* and *Eastern* Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he failed toward the *Sound*, and in his way he receiv'd Advice, that *Blake* had spoil'd and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken 12 Men of War that guarded them, and was with his Fleet in Harbour about the *Isles of Orkney*, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-Men on their Voyage, and with the rest he failed to find out *Blake*, having met in his way the five *East India* Ships, but when he came near those *Northern* Islands, such a Storm arose, that he was forc'd to put to Sea, and his Fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with 42 Sail, and three of the *East India* Ships,

but shortly after, the other two *East India* Ships and all the Fleet, except six, came home in safety; and *Blake* came safe to *Yarmouth* with all his Fleet, and six of *Trump's* Frigates which he had met with, and nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time *Sir George Ascough* had got a Fleet together of about 40 Sail, with which he failed to *Plymouth*, to secure our Merchant-Ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived 5 Ships from the *East Indies*, and two from the *Streights*: Whilst *Sir George* lay there, *De Ruyter* was passing that way with a Fleet of 50 Men of War, to convoy about the like Number of Merchant-Ships, that way: About two in the Afternoon, on the 16th of *August*, the *English* Fleet got sight of the Enemy, and *De Ruyter* sent away his Merchant-Ships, and made ready for the Fight; and about Four, *Sir George*, with 9 of his head-moost Ships, charged thro' the *Dutch* Fleet, and got the Weather Gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his Fleet being Merchantmen, and not coming up, and the Night being already entred, both Fleets drew off from each other; the *Dutch* into one of the *French* Ports, and *Sir George* to *Plymouth*, to mend and repair the Damages of the Fleet; *Capt. Peck* his Rear-Admiral, lost his Leg, and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one Ship lost; what Loss of Men the *Dutch* sustained, was not known, but none of their Ships were disabled.

*Van Trump* was at this time very much discontented, upon some Rumours spread of his Failure of Conduct in the last Expedition, so that he desired the States that he might leave his Charge and retire; the States seem'd very unwilling to comply with his Request, but at last they consented to it, and *Wit Wittens* was appointed in his Place, to whom *De Ruyter* was joined in Commission. These two Commanders made what Speed they could to get the Fleet to Sea, and in *October* they made their Stations on the side of the *North-Foreland*: *Blake* as soon as he had notice thereof, hastened with his Fleet towards them, having been on the *Western* Coast to convoy some Merchant-Ships homewards, and taken in his way five *Dutch West India* Ships of great Value, and six *Streights-Men*, valued at 200000*l*.

He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, the other by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, and the 28th of *October* the Fight was begun by *Bourn*, and seconded immediately by the whole Fleet, wherein great Courage was shown on both sides, the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch* was boarded and taken, and two more of their Ships were sunk, and one blown up, so that *Wit Wittens* was glad to give over the Conflict, and to ply his Sails to get off, being pursued by the *English* Fleet within twelve Leagues E. S. E. of the *Maze*, and he with the remainder of his torn and much shattered Ships, came into *Goree*. The *English* preserved all their Ships, though many of them were much battered, and *Blake* came in Triumph into the *Downs*.

The *Dutch* were much troubled at the Loss of this Combat, which was by *Wittens* imputed to the Cowardice of some of his Commanders, and the Advantage of the *English* Ships over them in Number and Strength.

*Sir George Ascough* and *De Ruyter's* Engagement at *Plymouth*, being the second Combat with the *Dutch*.

*De Wit* worsted by *Blake*, being the third Engagement with the *Dutch*.



1652. But nevertheless the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat, 'till they had a more sufficient Fleet than before, both in the Goodness and Strength of their Ships, and the Number also.

Both they and the *English* in the first beginning of the War, had sent to the *Sweeds* and *Danes* to invite them to their Party, because the Materials for Shipping came from the Seas where these Princes had the chief Dominion; the *Sweeds* were very favourable to us, and at last would be Neuters, if not Partakers with us, and the Queen sent hither Monsieur *Spiering* her Embassador, who died shortly after his Arrival at *London*, and after his Death Monsieur *Appleboom* succeeded: But the *Danes* declared for the States of the *United Provinces* against us. And about this time their King sent a Message to them, that he was ready to succour them with twenty good Ships of War, provided they would re-establish *Trump* in his late Employment as Admiral. The States were very willing to comply with this Proposition, and *Trump* was again prevailed to re-assume his former Charge.

The *Dane* sides with the *Dutch*.

In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* with four or five *English* Frigates was set upon by *Van Galen*, who commanded a Fleet of sixteen Sail of *Dutch* Men of War in those Seas, in which Encounter the *Phoenix* was taken by the *Dutch*, and the rest of our Ships were forc'd to retire under the Protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Van Galen* bought his Victory with the loss of his Life, and the *Phoenix* was on the 20th of *November* regain'd by the Valour of Captain *Cox* a former Lieutenant to the same Ship.

The *English* come off with loss in the *Levant*.

*Van Trump* being restored to the Office of Admiral, was very industrious to give a Proof of his Courage in some valiant Enterprize; and to that Purpose, having got together 80 Men of War, and 10 Fire-ships, he sailed directly to the backside of the *Goodwin*, near the Place where the former Battle was fought. *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than 40 Sail, but was nevertheless resolved not to refuse an Engagement, and for that Purpose he hoisted his Sails to find out *Trump*, and sent out 7 Ships to discover his Fleet, which were met by 9 of the *Dutch* Ships, sent out on the same Errand. These began the Fight with their Cannon, and immediately the two Admirals advanced at the Head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and lasted from two in the Morning on the 29th of *November*, Old Style, 'till six in the Evening. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himself was, with the *Victory* and *Vanguard*, bore most of the Stress, being engaged at one time with twenty of the best *Dutch* Ships, and tho' it was long doubted on which side the Fortune of the Day would turn, yet at last the Numbers of the *Dutch* drew it to that side, with the loss of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three sunk; and indeed had not the Night been favourable to our Retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much Danger. But the *Dutch* could not much boast of this Victory; for they lost many Men, and one of their Flag-ships was blown up, and all the Mariners and Soldiers therein lost, except two; and the Ships of *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter* were much damaged.

The fourth Combat with the *Dutch*.

*Blake* defeated in the *Downs*.

*Blake*, after this Defeat, drew his shattered Fleet into the River of *Thames* to be repaired, and it is said, *Trump* triumphantly sailed through the Channel with a Broom on his Main-Topmast, pretending to sweep the Channel of all *English* Shipping; and having sent home all his disabled Ships, after some little stay about *Guernsey* and the Western Parts, he arrived at the Isle of *Rhe*, to stay there for a Fleet of Merchant Ships, which were to be convoy'd homewards. In the mean time, all possible Care was used by the *English* States to equip a Fleet to meet him as he returned, and General *Monk* was added to the Number of the Generals at Sea; and General *Dean* being newly arrived from *Scotland*, was ordered to go to Sea with *Blake* and *Monk*; so that under the joint Command and Conduct of these three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

1652.

The Expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their Treasure, and because they thought the Entertainment of the Duke of *Gloucester* (whom since the Murder of the late King they had kept at the Isle of *Wight*) too great an Expence, they resolved to send him abroad, and about the beginning of *February* they sent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promising to allow him a small Exhibition for his Maintenance, if he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations.

The Duke of *Gloucester* sent away to *Dunkirk*.

But as soon as he came on that side of the Water, he was receiv'd according to his Birth and Quality, and from *Brussels* he was attended to the Princess of *Orange* at *Breda*, where he safely arrived, to the great Joy of her and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual Fear, that his Life would be taken away by those that spared not the Life of his Royal Father.

He is conveyed to *Breda*.

After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted from thence by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to *Paris*, to the King his Brother, to whom as also to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, he was welcomed as one risen from the Dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*, and that whole Court.

From whence he is conducted to the King his Brother.

The King of *Denmark's* Confederacy with the States of *Holland*, made the Parliament very solicitous to draw the Queen of *Sweeden* to their Interest, but she continued in a Resolution of Neutrality, and offered her Mediation for a Peace betwixt the two States, which yet took no Effect; but the *Dutch*, to strengthen their Party, were very earnest with the *French*, by their Embassador *Boreel* at *Paris*, to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with that Crown; and herein they doubted not to succeed, because the *English* were in a kind of Hostility at this time with the *French*: For, about the latter end of *August* in this Year, some of the Parliament's Frigates had taken seven of the King of *France's* Ships, which were going to the Relief of *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the Arms of *Spain*, by which means that Town came into the Hands of the *Spaniards*: But the Reputation of the *English* Commonwealth was at this time so great, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who then managed the Affairs of *France*, endeavoured rather an Accommodation with them than otherwise; so that the *Dutch* missed of their Purposes in that Negotiation,

The Parliament solicits the Queen of *Sweeden* to espouse their Interest.



1652. gotiation, and about the Month of December, Monsieur De Bourdeaux was dispatched as Agent from the King of France, to acknowledge the English State.

Monsieur Bourdeaux sent Agent from the French King to the English States.

The English Fleet out at Sea again.

The States of Holland having Advice that the Parliament was equipping a Fleet to be put to Sea under their three Generals, sent an Express to Trump (then at Rhe) to hasten away with what Merchant-Men were ready, and to block up the River of Thames to prevent their going out: Trump, upon receiving this Order, made what haste he could; but contrary to the Expectation of the States, and even to their Amazement, on the 8th of February, the English Generals set sail from Queenborough with 60 Sail of Men of War, to which, on the 11th of the same Month, 20 Sail more joined from Portsmouth, and with this Fleet they failed over against Portland, where they lay cross the Channel, half Seas over, to discover the Dutch Fleet; on Friday the 18th of February, by Break of Day, the Southermost Ships of the English descried the Dutch, consisting (as their own Prints reported) of 76 Men of War, who had the Charge of 300 Merchant-Ships to convoy homewards.

The English Fleet made what Sail they could towards the Enemy, and Van Trump having recollected his Ships of War, prepared to receive them; and about 8 in the Morning, the Triumph, wherein Blake and Dean were, with 12 Ships more (for the rest of the Fleet could not get up) engaged Board and Board with the Grosse of the Dutch Fleet; and the Triumph was hardly put to it, having received 700 Cannon-shot in her Hull, but was gallantly relieved by Lawson, Commander of the Fairfax. By this time the whole English Navy came up, and a furious Fight ensued betwixt the two Fleets, which continued 'till the Night parted them.

The two Fleets engage near Portland. The fifth time.

The Ship wherein General Monk commanded, being a flow Sailor, could not perform so much as he desired, but she lost many Men, and had as great a Share in the Fight as any of her Condition. The Triumph and Fairfax being enclosed by the greatest of the Holland Ships, had in each an hundred killed and wounded, and Blake received a hurt in his Thigh with a Piece of Iron which a Shot had driven out, and Ball the Captain thereof was slain, together with Sparrow the Secretary. The Prosperous, a Ship of 44 Guns, was boarded by the Dutch, but recovered by the Merlin Frigate; Capt. Mildmay of the Vanguard was killed; the English lost not a Ship in this Fight, but had many disabled: But 6 Men of War of the Dutch were taken and sunk, whereof one was a Flag-ship; and it is said, that most of the Officers in Trump's Ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Mariners. Such of the English Fleet as were disabled got into Portsmouth, and the wounded Men were set on Shoar; and on Saturday Morning the Dutch Fleet were again discerned 7 Leagues off Weymouth, and over against Dungeness, whither the English plied; and in the Afternoon both Fleets engaged with so much Fury, that they were quickly environed with Flame and Smoke. Trump had put his Merchant-Men before him, and after the first Shock, he drew off, and fought retreating towards Bulloign, and in his way thither the English Frigates at large took many of his Mer-

chant-Ships, and Lawson boarded a Dutch Man of War, and brought her off. The next Day, early in the Morning, the Fight was renewed, which continued very fierce 'till 4 in the Afternoon, but the Wind being cross to the English at N.N.E. Trump got to Calice Sands, and there anchored, and thence tided it home.

The Dutch lost in these three Days Fight, 11 Men of War, and 30 Merchant-Ships, and by the Calculation of their own Prisoners, they had no less than 1500 Men killed; but of the English, tho' many Ships were shattered, there was but one sunk, named the Sampson, but Capt. Button the Commander thereof (tho' much wounded) and most of the Men were saved. The Number of the English slain is not reported, but by the best Conjecture that could be made, they were not much less than those of their Enemies.

This busy Year ended with the safe Arrival of Prince Rupert with the Swallow, and a Prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigate at Nants in Britany, from the Caribbe Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with 7 or 8 Ships, and his Brother Prince Maurice with him, endeavouring to give what Annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of England in those Parts, 'till some serviceable Occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the said Strokes of adverse Fortune, which yet eclipsed the Royal Throne of England, did even in those distant Parts pursue this illustrious Pair of Princes, and by the Violence of a Hurrican, the Life of one of them (the valiant Prince Maurice) was taken away; a Person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent Proof of as much Courage and Generosity as any one Man could be Master of, than whom Death has left few worthier behind, to dignify the World with Actions of Glory and Renown. Prince Rupert at his first Arrival fell sick, but upon his Recovery he was invited to Paris, and complimented by the King of France, and cordially welcomed by the King our Sovereign, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

Prince Rupert arrives in Britany from the Caribbe Islands.

Prince Maurice drowned in the West Indies.

It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present Posture of Affairs in England, where the New Commonwealth now advanced to as great Prosperity and Security as their ambitious Hopes could aim at, having, together with the Death of the late King, as much as in them lay, even buried and eradicated Monarchy itself, began to sink under its own Weight, and by intestine Divisions at home, to meet that Ruin, which all the Strength and Power of their Enemies abroad, and their Confederates could not reach to.

The Officers of the Army who effected this Change, had met in Council some Months before in meditation of altering the Government; and these being of two Parties, and of different Interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the Design. Harrison, who was one of the Heads of that Party, at this time known by the Name of the Sect of the Fifth Monarchy, had gained a great Part of the inferior Officers, and these were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government, but where (as they said) Christ was to rule, which, as they explained, was a Dominion

1653

The Officers of the Army consult about a Change of Government.



1653. to be exercised by Saints under him. Men of such holy and sanctified Lives, that nothing but Plenty and Happiness could be expected from their Government, and to such all Offices of Trust and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by Nomination a new Representative. Cromwell mingled with these Zealots in this Projection, knowing the Inconsistency of their Intentions, and that the Reins of Power would be by them managed to set all in a Flame, and introduce such Confusion as would necessitate his taking to himself the Government to rescue his Party from Destruction.

The Parliament were very sensible of these actings, but knew not how to prevent their Progress, yet that they might not be wanting to their own Security, they had many Conferences with these Officers, wherein they represented to them the Inconveniences of their Proceedings, telling them, *as the Temper of the Nation now stood, no safety could be administered to the Government, but by filling up the House with Elections by the Country, of Persons qualified, and when they were by that Method arrived to a full Representative of the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater Authority, and by the concurrent Advice of so great a Body of interested Persons, their Cause would be strengthened, and the Good they would do in reforming the Law and all Abuses, and administering Justice impartially, and settling a due Liberty to the People in civil and spiritual things, would make the Government in a few Years so acceptable, that there would be no need of an Army to support it.*

To this, answer was made by the Officers, *That they could not expect any good Fruits to the People of God from this Parliament, wherein there was so great a Party of carnal Men of corrupt Principles, that the Persons by their Authority to be chosen would be of the like Temper and Spirit as they are, and joyn with them in perpetuating themselves in the supreme Government: Concluding, That the People of the Land, who were distinguishable from the People of God, were not yet to be trusted with the Choice of their own Representatives: But they (they said) would take Care to devolve the supreme Authority upon known Persons fearing God, and of approved Integrity.* This reasoning on both sides tended to make the Breach wider, but the Parliament in the mean time went on according to their own Purpose, and prepared an Act for the settling of Qualifications of Members to fill up their House, wherein such Speed was made, that on the 20th of April the Question was ready to be put to pass it into a Law, when Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, and some eight Officers more of the Army, by Intelligence with some of their Members, entered the House, and after a short Speech spoken by Cromwell, shewing some Reasons for the Necessity of their Dissolution, he declared them dissolved, and required them to depart, but the Speaker would not leave the Chair, 'till by Harrison taken out by the Arm; and Cromwell commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not any more to be carried before him, and then they caused the Doors of the Parliament House to be locked, and placed a good Guard thereon to prevent the assembling of the Members.

The manner of Cromwell's dissolving the Parliament.

This Revolution could not but be very pleasing to the King, for now the Stone was rowling, in all Probability it would not fix (as in the Sequel it appeared) 'till that just Government should be attained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as much Happiness for many Centuries of Years, as any Nation in the World.

The first thing done by these Officers after this Change, was to constitute a Council of State consisting of the chief Officers of the Army, and such of the late Parliament as were their Confederates, in whom the supreme Authority was placed, and 'till a Representative should be chosen, all Obedience was required thereunto as fully as when the Parliament was setting, and all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and publick Ministers whatsoever were to proceed in their respective Offices and Places, and Writs were to run in the Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of England as before.

The Dutch thought to profit themselves by this Alteration, and made all possible Haste to get out their Fleet, but our new Governours omitted nothing that might advance their Maritime Preparations. And the first thing they did after their Establishment, was to make an Ordinance for the raising of six Months Assessment from the 24th of June ensuing, which was readily obeyed, because it exacted not so great a Sum as the last Acts of Parliament for Assessments.

Whilst these things were in Action, all Officers and Soldiers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the Officers in the Fleet were practised on to approve of the Army's Proceedings, and did comply therewith, so that no Commotion followed in any Part upon this mutation of Government.

The next considerable Matter that occur'd, was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch Fleet under Trump assisted with De Ruyter, Wit Wittens, and the two Eversons, consisting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and 9 Fireships; and the English Fleet under the Command of General Monk and General Dean (who were both in one Ship) assisted by Penne the Vice-Admiral, and Lawson Rear-Admiral, consisting of 100 Ships of all sorts. It was about 11 of the Clock at Noon on the 2d of June that both Fleets engaged, and so fatal was the Beginning of the Fight, that at the first Broadside of the Enemy, Dean was shot almost off in the middle by a Cannon Bullet, as he stood by General Monk; but he without any Disturbance was so present to himself, that he caused him to be removed, and prosecuted the Battle with great Resolution, without any further Notice of the Accident. The Noise and Thunder of the Cannon was very great, and had been very deplorable to both Parties, if a sudden Calm had not abated the Fury of the Fight for some time after it began; but after two Hours such a fresh Gale of Wind arose, that the Fight was renewed in so violent a manner, that it continued with very little Intermision whilst there was any Light; Lawson pressed so hard upon De Ruyter with his Squadron that he had carried him, if Trump had not come into his Relief, but he could not prevent Lawson's sinking a Ship of Holme of 42 Guns, that had in her 140 Men; the General with his Squadron was in the thickest of them, and greater Execution had been done, but that the Wind blew

1653.

A Council of State constituted

A six Months Tax settled

Trump engaged by Gen. Monk and Dean which was the fifth Sea Fight.

Gen. Dean slain in the Fight.



1653. blew cross to the *English*, and so favoured their Enemies, that they bore away before it. The next Morning early Gen. *Monk* found himself near them, but the Wind was so slack, he could not come up 'till Noon to engage their Fleet, but then the Combat was begun with greater Vigour than at any time before, and continued 'till ten at Night; Ninety of *Trump's* Fleet in the heat of the Engagement were in so great Confusion, and so unwilling to stand to the Fight, that he fired upon them, and sent his Boat to command them to come up to him, but nothing he could do or say, could persuade more than 20 of them to return, the rest steered away East and by South, but the Wind being fresh Westwardly, the General pressed so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and 11 Ships and 7 Hoys were taken, and 1350 Prisoners, whereof 6 were Captains of very good Note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

*Trump* de-  
tected.

At the end of this Day's Fight General *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the *Dutch* had not been upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The *English* had not one Ship lost or disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain slain.

*Van Trump* imputed this Overthrow to the Ignorance and Unskilfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a Resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadors was sent into *England*.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several Persons all over *England* (who were the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate, to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them in the Name of *Oliver Cromwell* Captain General of all the Forces, &c. to take upon them the Trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *Whitehall* to that Purpose on the 5th of *July* then next coming.

The New-  
Parliament  
summoned

These according to the respective Summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to *Westminster* to the Parliament House; and chose one *Rouse* a *Cornish* Man (made by the late Parliament Provost of *Eaton*) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the Manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their Business easy to them.

The *Dutch* in this Conjunction had underhand made Overtures of a Peace to *Cromwell*, which was not ill received, but that they might make it on better Terms, they were resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the Number of an hundred and twenty five Sail, with so much Confidence of Success, that they posted *Van Trump* out with 95 Ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *Witt Wittens* from the *Texel*.

It was upon the 29th of *July* in the Morning, when the *English* Fleet of about 106 Ships descried the *Dutch*, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into four Squadrons, viz.

the first under *Trump*, the second under Vice-Admiral *Everson*, the third under Rear-Admiral *Floris*, and the fourth under *Witt Wittens* for a Reserve.

The *English* Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* in Chief, having *Penne* for his Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral; *Blake* was discomposed in his Health, and not with the Fleet, the *English* were all a-stern, and could not get up 'till six of the Clock to come to any Engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-inforced to the Number of thirty, who continued the Battle 'till the Night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them.

The last  
*Dutch* En-  
gagement  
between  
Gen. *Monk*  
and *Trump*,  
being the  
sixth Com-  
bat.

The *Dutch* by the Darknels of the Night sent away many of their maim'd disabled Ships, and got by the *English* Fleet to joyn with the twenty five Ships that *Wittens* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in Hopes to be reveng'd of their late Affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought. General *Monk* observing this War to be very burthensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave Orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by Experience, that the taking of Ships obliged him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakened. The Air was quickly fill'd with scattered Limbs of Men blown up; the Sea was dyed with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded. *Witt Wittens* and *Everson* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to board the Ship in which the General himself was: *Cornelius Everson's* Ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself standing upon the Poop of his Ship with his drawn Sword encouraging his Men, was slain with a Musquet-Bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoisted out all the Sail they could to haste away towards the *Texel*: The *English* pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear Rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-Bay*, there to repair their shattered Ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, viz. *Everson*, *Zanger*, *Fomeen*, *Scotten*, and *D'Hayes*, and about 1200 common Men, by the Mercy and Compassion of the *English* taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; 33 Sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, was sunk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in Regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the Number of them was known; but it is supposed that some were sunk, out of which no Men were saved. The *English* lost 400 common Men, and 8 Captains, *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen* and *Chapman*, Men of great Resolution; and had about 7000 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they lost but one Ship, which was called the *Oak*.

*Van Trump* was a Man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, that he justly merited the Fame of being the most renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour, and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Country, which made him bear a grateful

A Cha-  
racter of  
*Van Trump*



1653. Respect to the House of Orange, by whom the Foundation was laid of that Greatness they now assume and enjoy; and by whose Prudence and Courage their Liberties were rescued and preserved against one of the most potent Princes of Europe. Out of his great Sense of Honour, he had much Commiseration for the Sufferings of our Royal Family, and did endeavour to persuade his Masters to espouse the King's Interest, as that to which they were in Justice and Conscience obliged to adhere, and though he was without Success in that Undertaking, he omitted not all Occasions to testify his Affections to his Majesty.

The War was not only prosecuted in those great Fights, but in all Parts of the World where the Trade of the two Nations was used, the Ships of each engaged one the other, and many sore Conflicts were made in several Places; but because the particular Description of these Encounters would swell this Treatise to too large a Bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for so for Distinction we must call it) began to be so troublesome in their Consultation, that the whole Nation, and the most of those Army Officers that named them, grew wearier of them than those that were before removed; for they were so seraphical and notional in their Debates, that the whole Magistracy and Ministry was to be so modelled, as would make the Government ridiculous, but the Ministry and the Maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they most arraigned as an Antichristian Constitution; so that now all things succeeded to Cromwell's Expectation, and their Dissolution was earnestly pressed to save a threatened Confusion in Government, if they continued in Authority, and of this some among themselves were so sensible, that Rouse the Speaker on the 12th of December acquainted the House, that their sitting was no longer necessary, and being seconded by some others, privy to the Intention, he rose from the Chair, and went out of the House with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the major Part of the Members) he came to Whitehall, and there resigned to Cromwell the Instrument by him formerly delivered to them at their first sitting, Harrison and some few staid in the House after the rest went, but were quickly dispersed by a Party of Soldiers sent to dissolve them.

The new Parliament dissolved.

About four Days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Instrument or System of Government, on which the Foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entreated Oliver Cromwell to accept of the Government under the Title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland: He at first seemingly refused the Dignity; but when the Exigence of Time and Necessity of Affairs were laid open to him, he did accept of it, and was that Day at One in the Afternoon install'd at Westminster in manner following.

The Protector install'd.

He came from Whitehall to the Chancery Court in Westminster-hall, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Council learned of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder of London in their Scarlet Gowns; then came the Protector attended with many of the

chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State set in the Court, and the Protector stood by it, 'till the Instrument of Government was read; then the Oath was administered to him, which he took in the following Words:

*I promise in the Presence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in the Instrument, but to observe and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of my Understanding, govern the Nation, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof; and to seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.*

Having subscribed this Oath and the Instrument, he sat in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat, and the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which he respectively returned to them again; and then the Protector in the same manner as he came, returned to Whitehall.

The Heads of the Instrument of the Protector's Government, were

1. A Parliament to be called every three years.
2. The first to assemble on the 3d of September, 1654.
3. No Parliament to be dissolved 'till it have sat five Months.
4. Such Bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he assent not in twenty Days, to be Laws without him.
5. That his Council shall not exceed the Number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen.
6. That immediately after the Death of the present, and succeeding Protectors, the Council shall chuse another before they rise.
7. No Protector after the Present, shall be General of the Army.
8. The Protector shall have Power to make War and Peace.
9. That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector and his Council may make some Laws that shall be binding to the Subject.

The States of the United Provinces were brought to so low Condition by the two last Fights, and their People so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the Provinces; nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their Condition, and chose the Heer Opdam to be Admiral of their Fleet in the Place of Trump, but thought it more adviseable to prosecute Overtures of Peace than venture another Battle; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were so baffled, they would very hardly have procured Men to furnish a Fleet, and one Battle more might have brought us a blank Paper for our own Conditions; but Cromwell was not so well settled in his Throne to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Embassadors, Newport, Youngfall, Beverning, and Vander Perre, were well received by him; and in the Beginning of this Year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5th of April the Articles of Peace were signed in London, and on the 26th of the same Month they were proclaimed in London and Amsterdam, and in this Peace the King of Denmark was included.

Opdam supplieth the Place of Trump.

1654. The Protector concludes a Peace with the Dutch.

For the King of Denmark espousing the Interest of the States of Holland, had Arrested two and twenty English Ships which were in his Ports, and, at their Instance, confiscated the Merchant-dizes



1654 dizes therein; so that they were obliged to compose that Difference, and this was that which had more Difficulty than any other Matter in the Treaty.

The Spanish Embassadour was as early to congratulate the Protector's Authority, and Peace was made with the Queen of Sweden, and the Conde del Sa Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Portugal came in a splendid Embassy to sue for a Peace of him: Nor were the French backward to own his Power, having given to Monsieur Bourdeaux, there Resident here, the Quality of Embassadour, to qualify him the better for his Negotiation. Cromwell being now owned by many of the Neighbour Princes and States abroad, and by most of those of his own Party at home, thought himself insecure from none but the Royalists, and to give them some Terror, by his Agents, formed a Plot to draw in some honest credulous Persons of that Party to their Destruction; and in Prosecution hereof in the Month of May, Colonel John Gerard, and his Brother Mr. Charles Gerard, Mr. Phillip Porter, Mr. Peter Vowel, and Mr. Sumerfet Fox, were apprehended for a pretended Intention to assassinate the Protector, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that Purpose, proclaimed on the 13th of June following, and sitting on the 31st; before whom they were tried for their Lives, and three of them, viz. Colonel John Gerard, Mr. Vowel, and Sumerfet Fox were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his Confession of the Fact, and craving Mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. Vowel was hanged at Charing-Cross, where, with an undaunted Spirit, tempered with a Christian Constancy and Patience, he gave up his Life. Colonel Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and died with great Courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold suffered the Portugal Embassadour's Brother Don Pantalion Sa, who had a while before made a Riot in the New-Exchange, upon Conceit of some Affront offered there to him, and killed one Greenway, a Gentleman standing quietly at a Shop, no Opposition being made but by this Colonel Gerard, who was fatally joyned with him in Death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of Malta, who escaped; but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadour's Servants being taken (one whereof was an Irish youth), they were arraigned in Westminster-hall before Judge Rolles and others, by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the Portuguese were tried by a Jury of half English and half Strangers, and the Irish Boy by a Jury of English; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above mentioned Don Pantalion and the Irish youth, who was hanged at Tyburn.

Our King had remained in the Court of France, between two and three Years, with an Expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some Opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some Hopes he had of Assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of Brandenburg, Lunenburgh, Brunswick, &c. as also the Emperor himself, to whom was sent in a decent and honourable Equipage the Lord Wilmot created Earl of Rochester, and his

Address received with much Civility and Respect. Moreover, the Dutch seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with England, and Prince Rupert was designed to have had the Command in his Majesty's Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little Speed was made in putting this Overture into Act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever they hoped for and expected from them, quickly vanished and came to nothing. His next and more probable Expectation was from the Success of those earnest Endeavours that were made by the Pope and other Princes, for a Reconciliation between the two Crowns of France and Spain, in which Affair he also interposed himself a most zealous Solicitor, as not doubting but that from the united Forces of two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable Assistance: And Matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the politick Reasons of State, as it was thought of Cardinal Mazarine, put a stop to this Grand Work; so that taking his Leave of the King of France (and the other great ones) from whom he received many Compliments and Apologies; he went, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of York, his Cousins, Prince Rupert and Prince Edward Palatine, to Chantillon, a House belonging to the Prince of Conde, where they stayed a while to determine how most commodiously each of them should dispose of themselves; the King, with Prince Rupert, resolved for Germany (the Earl of Rochester being at that time with the Emperour at Regensburgh, to solicit in his behalf); and the rather, because about that time a General Diet of the Estates of the Empire was to be held in that City: Prince Edward took his Journey to Bourbon, and the Duke of York remained in France 'till a good while after the Conclusion of the Peace with England, being Lieutenant General of the French King's Army, commanded in chief by Marshal Turenne: Prince Rupert parted from the King to go to Hildburgh, the chief Seat of his Brother Charles Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at Vienna, and the King took his Journey by the way of Cambray and Liege to the Spaw, which he made his first place of Residence in Germany. Here his Sister the Princess Royal of Orange met him, and after a few Months stay in this Place, accompanied him to Colen, where they were received with great Honour and Magnificence: As they made their Entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to compliment them. The Duke of Newburgh also entertained them very splendidly at his House at Dusseldorp, from whence the Princess of Orange returning into Holland, the King her Brother brought her onward of her way as far as Bedingen.

From the time we left Ireland in so declining a Condition, and so almost lost to his Majesty's Hopes, and the Lord Lieutenant's Endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in Ulster, under the Leading of Emir Mac Mohon Bishop of Cloghar, who (Owen Roe O'neal being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united Forces of Clanrickard, Muskerry, and Castlehaven, and some few Parties that now and then sailed from their Fastnesses; these for

1654

The King solicits a Peace between France and Spain.

He departs out of France towards Germany.

The King removes to the Spaw. Thence to Colen.

The Conclusion of the War with Ireland.



1654. a while gave a Check to the Republicans and Cromwell's Substitutes; till in the end the said Prelate being overthrown (even to the taking of his Person mortally wounded in the Fight) by Sir Charles Coot, and Colonel Fenwick; the Lord Muskerry by my Lord Broghil; the Marquess of Clanrickard, soon after a Defeat he received at Finagh, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of Carrick; the Remnant of the Ulster Forces commanded by the Lord Fenkillen, Col. O'Rely, and the Mac-Mahons, Relations of the aforesaid Bishop, yielding upon Articles; as likewise did Morroh O'Brian, having all of them stood it out to the last Extremity: The remaining Towns, Castles and Forts which held out, as Athlone, Galloway, Ballisbannon, Ballimore, the Isles of Arran and Enibuffen, and other Places were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conqueror's Power; the Marquess of Ormond and the Lord Inchiquin, having in time provided for their Safeties, (when they saw things in a desperate Condition, and still growing worse and worse) by Embarquing for France, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquish'd, and take Possession in their room. Some they removed out of the World by an Itinerant High Court of Justice, which went in Circuit from one Place to another, the President whereof was one Justice Donellan an Irishman, and Cook (notorious for his officiating in another High Court) his Assistant. Others were sent out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquess of Clanrickard and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free Liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of Spain, or some other foreign Prince in his Wars: Those Inheritors that remained and escaped the High Court, were transplanted to the Province of Connaught, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of Irish Lands. The main Pretence of this foresaid Court which sat at Kilkenny, and thence removed to Waterford, Dublin, Ulster, and other Places, was for the Tryal of those that were judged guilty of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. The chief of Quality that suffered, (for there was a Number of less Note) where Col. Mac Hugh, Col. Tool, and Col. Walter Bagin, and who was of all the most eminent as in Quality, so in Crime (had he been judged by a lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief Obstructors of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the Advantage of his Majesty's Service: Sir Philem Oneal, who being taken near Charlemount, tryed and condemned, was hanged and quartered near my Lord Carew's House, at the place where he had caused his Father to be murdered. Thus was Ireland become subjugated to the English Usurpation. And so likewise was Scotland thought to have been at this time, when on a sudden, a new Hostility springs up in the Highlands, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful Influence in those Parts; the Earls of Glencarne, Athol, Seaforth, Kinoules, the Lord Kenmure, the Lairds Mac Renalds, and Mac Cloud, Colonel Montgomery, Sir Mungo Marry and Sir Arthur Forbs; these having each of them got together their several Parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a Force not altogether contemptible to have taken the Field against the main Power of the English that were then in Scotland; and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under Glencarne and Kenmure, been encountered on the sudden, ill arm'd, ill provided, and in Disorder, by Colonel Morgan at Cromar: Glencarne's Army in this Conflict being very much put to the Rout and dispersed, and himself missing but little of being taken, and the rest in little straggling Parties were many times met with to their Loos: Yet they were not for all this so out of Heart, but that they again made a shift in some sort to re-imbody, and that so much the more confidently, upon Expectation of Middleton's coming over with Supplies out of Holland; though upon his Arrival not long after with Commission to be General, Sir G. Monro, (who together with the Lord Napier, and Major General Dalziel, landed with Middleton at Uney-Ferry) having also Commission to be Lieutenant General: The Highland Levies instead of being reinforced by these additional Forces and Supplies, were rather weakened and overthrown by the Animosities of some of the Scotch Nobility, especially Glencarne stomaching the Preference of Middleton and Monro to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in Discontent, and laid down his Arms. Upon the neck of which Breaches and Defections among them, General Monk is sent Commander in Chief into Scotland, and coming upon Middleton at Loughberry on the 20th of July, gave him an utter Defeat, and thereby put a Period to these Highland Agitations, and all further Attempts in Scotland, to the Disturbance of the then regnant Authority in England.

The Kirk of Scotland also her self at this time had the Wings of her religious Empire very much clipp'd, if not quite taken away by the Dissolution of her General Assembly, which was done by Col. Morgan, the foregoing Year at Aberdeen, where they were assembled, Mr. Andrew Cant and the rest of them in vain protesting against the Action: The like Disturbance they had afterwards at Edinburgh from Lieutenant Colonel Cottrel.

The Marquess of Argyle to keep up his Reputation with the Church of Scotland, seemed much troubled in his Mind at this Proceeding against the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the Liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good Success: For Oliver considering that his declining the King's Interest, facilitated the total Subjection of Scotland to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him; by seeming to do that at his Request, he determined to do before for the quieting of the Minds of the People; the Church of Scotland was therefore indulged with the Exercise of Religion, and a great Part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline: They were restrained in little more than the Power of keeping General Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the Rigour of Excommunication: For, whereas before Persons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their Estates confiscated till their Reconciliation. This latter Part was not now to be executed; but to please the Ministers for the

1654.

Glencarne and Middleton defeated in the Highlands.

The General Assembly dissolved by Col. Morgan.

The Marquess of Argyle interceded for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland.

The Privileges of the Universities in Scotland, increased and maintained for the Scholars.



1654 the Restraint of their Power, the Maintainance of Scholars in the Universities of Scotland was increased, and many Privileges granted to them.

The Government and Security of the Kingdom of Ireland, was the next Care of the Protector. Major-General Lambert was formerly appointed for that Government, and had provided all his Equipage to go thither; but Cromwell was jealous, lest his Ambition should excite him to gain a Party there to establish himself against him; and therefore he artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon Pretence of greater Advancement here, and he made him next to himself, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an Entertainment of ten Pounds a Day; this done, he constituted his own Son-in-Law Fleetwood to be Deputy of Ireland, assisted with six Counsellors, that is to say, Steel, who was after made Chancellor, Pepys one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, appointed to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Mr. Robert Goodwin of Suffex, Miles Corbet, and the Colonels Robert Hammond, and Matthew Thomlinson.

Fleetwood is made Deputy of Ireland.

The Marquis of Ormond sent to attend the Duke of Gloucester.

A Parliament called.

The Members enjoined to sign a Recognition.

The Parliament dissolved.

Sir Henry Littleton, and others committed to the Tower.

The King was at Colen when he received the disconsolate News of the Disasters in Scotland and Ireland, supported chiefly by that brave and undaunted Fortitude, which never failed him in the greatest of his Adversity. The Princes of Germany were very kind to him, which made his Stay in those Parts the more agreeable; and to encrease his Comfort, he sent the Marquis of Ormond to Paris, to wait on his Brother the Duke of Gloucester to him, whom he more earnestly desired to have near him, lest his Youth might be prevailed upon by the Subtlety of Arguments, and Temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever most zealous in the Profession of the Protestant Religion in himself and Family, and on all Occasions to promote it to his Power in others.

According to the late Instrument of Government, wherein it was articulated, That a Parliament should be called every three Years, and that the First should begin on the third of September, 1654. A Parliament was summoned by Oliver's Writs, chosen after the wonted manner of Election by the Peoples Voice, and assembled at Westminster at the prefixed time above mentioned, making Choice for their Speaker of William Lenthall, Speaker in the Long Parliament. Their beginning was somewhat bold, considering the Totteringness of their Estate; for at their first Sitting, they began to question the Lawfulness of the Power by which they were called, whereupon they were enjoined to sign a Recognition of the Government, as it was settled in a single Person and a Parliament, before they could be readmitted to their Seats in the House: This all of them that sign'd (for some refused) had Liberty again to take their Places; but so little did their Proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarcely sat full five Months (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them.

A Day or two after which, were apprehended Major Wildman, with a Declaration proving the Lawfulness and Necessity of taking up Arms against Cromwell: And of the Royalists, Sir John Packington, Sir Henry Littleton, and some others, about a new Conspiracy, which Oliver told the

Members of his Parliament at the time of his dismissing them, he knew to have been countenanced and abetted, if not in Part promoted, by some of them present, whom he could name. And the truth is, there was a Foundation laid (by a Combination of the most courageously affected toward their Prince's Service throughout the Kingdom, authorized by Commission from his Majesty) of a general Rising for him in every County; which had not so quickly and so easily been suppressed, had not Cromwell, sparing for no Cost to maintain his Instruments of Deceits; for he had his Spies ready hired, not only here, but in all Corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royalists, insinuated into their Councils, and betrayed them, (of which Number Sir Richard Willis at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the King's Person, as appeared by the Defection of one Manning, preferred in Consideration of his Father's Merits (his Father was Col. Manning, slain in his late Majesty's Service) to be one of the King's Secretary's Clerks, whom Colonel Samuel Tuke, forcing open his Chamber-Door, took in the very Acts of holding Correspondence with Thurloe, Oliver's Secretary, from whom having newly received a Pacquet, and setting himself busily in the returning of Answers, to prevent Discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his Mouth, just as the Colonel entered. Thus, for a long time, had he made it his weekly Practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the King's Court, and had a large Pension punctually assigned him for his Pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the Reward of his Treachery paid him in a more deserved manner; being, by the King's Command, the whole Court beseeching his Majesty to make a publick Example of him, shot to Death in one of the Duke of Newburgh's Castles. This Combination, tho' it were probably to the very bottom discovered, before the apprehending of the above-named Persons; yet so far the Design, being generally laid, had taken Effect, that in several Counties some small armed Parties began to gather into a Body: In Shropshire and Wales some endeavoured to have taken Shrewsbury and Kirk-Castle by Surprise, but were both prevented; and of those that attempted Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Harris, who was the Chief, was taken Prisoner, and sent to London.

Manning's Treachery, for which he is put to Death.

The Surprize of Shrewsbury endeavoured.

An Insurrection at Salisbury.

Upon Sunday the 11th of March, a Party for the King of about 200 entered Salisbury about Midnight, and having seized upon Hories, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their Course towards Cornwall; of which Captain Unton Crook having timely Intelligence, pursued them with his own Troop, and at a Place called Southmolton in Devonshire, overtook them, and after four Hours sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and drowsy, and faint for want of Sustenance, drove them to a Necessity of yielding; yet Penruddock bravely stood it out, till Articles were granted for the Indemnity of him and his Company, which Crook is said to have afterwards perfidiously denied, and left them wholly over to the Courtesy of their Judges: Besides 50 common Prisoners, there were taken of the chief Leaders, three Captains, Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, only Sir Joseph Wagstaff



1654. *Staff* made a Shift to escape away. Other Ri-  
fings there were in *Northumberland*, and at the  
Forest of *Sherwood* in *Yorkshire*, where 500 Horse  
being met, and not finding the Country to come  
in as they expected, dispersed themselves, and  
returned to their Habitations. Also at *Hexam-*  
*Moor* in *Yorkshire*, there was a great Rendezvous  
of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir *Hen-*  
*ry Slingsby* was taken, and Sir *Richard Maleverer*  
with much ado escaped.

At *Salisbury*, *Exeter*, and *Chard* in *Somerset-*  
*shire*, many of the *Western* Rifers were tried by a  
Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed,  
and particularly at *Exeter*, *Penruddock* and *Grove*  
were beheaded; Captain *Jones* was reprieved.  
Besides those who were put to death of the chief  
Leaders, many Prisons in the *West* were filled  
with a Number of the common sort of Prisoners,  
'till within a little while after that they emptied  
themselves into Foreign Plantations.

And there happened about this time an Adven-  
ture which served very opportunely for the rid-  
ding of Prisons of their furcharging Numbers,  
and the employing of a Multitude of loose and  
vagrant People, there having been ever since the  
Peace with the *Dutch*, Preparations made for the  
equipping forth of a great and powerful Fleet,  
upon an Expedition which was kept very secret,  
and not made known even to those that went up-  
on it, unless to the supreme Commanders, 'till the  
very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage  
would be very profitable, and to a Place where  
there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this  
Service we may well think there would not be  
wanting enough that would greedily engage them-  
selves; hither all sorts of People flocked, especi-  
ally those of low and bankrupt Fortunes, and up-  
on hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong  
most of them to their Ruin; a Fate that common-  
ly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetous-  
ness. This Navy setting sail from *Portsmouth* on  
the 27th of *December*, put in at *Barbadoes* on the  
28th of *January*, *Venables* commanding the Land  
Forces, and *Pen* being General at Sea.

1655. This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if  
for nothing else, yet for the Death of that famous  
and learned Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose  
Works are a Monument far more worthy his Me-  
mory, than that in the *Inner-Temple* Church.

The King of *Spain* was not ignorant that this  
great Preparation was designed to make some Im-  
pression on his Dominions in the *West-Indies*, and  
after having dispatched Expresses into those Parts  
to give them Warning thereof, he sent the Mar-  
quess of *Leda* (a Person of great Reputation in  
Arms) in a splendid Embassy to the Protector, to  
divert, or prevent the Prosecution of the Business:  
He arrived at *London* the 22d of *May*, but had so  
cold Reception, and was so much discouraged in  
his Negotiation, that he quickly returned.

In the mean time the *English* Fleet set sail  
from *Barbadoes* the 30th of *March*, and steered  
its Course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest  
and richest Islands belonging to the *American*  
Dominions of the King of *Spain*; so that it was  
by this time apparent enough which way this  
Expedition tended. And whereas it was admir-  
ed by many, that at that time when no Hostili-  
ty was declared between this Nation and the  
Kingdom of *Spain*, or any Defiance bid on either

side, we should carry War into his Territories, 1655.  
without any Provocation by him first offered. It  
was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace ex-  
tended not beyond the Line. This, tho' it ser-  
ved to stop the Mouths of some, yet it could  
not satisfy the *Spaniard*, who looked upon it as  
an absolute Breach: However it were, whether  
this Expedition were just or not, whether it were  
undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to  
curb the excessive Pride, and ambitious Usurpa-  
tion of the *Spaniard*, and to bring Freedom and  
Purity of Religion to those *Indians* under his  
Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake  
with the *Spaniard* of some of his *Indian* Gold,  
(thinking it too much for one Potentate to in-  
gross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not  
undertake to determine. This is most certain,  
That at the beginning of this Enterprize, it met  
with a very remarkable Check, (however the  
War with the *Spaniard* proved afterwards success-  
ful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he  
might have landed his Men within a very little of  
*Santo Domingo*, the principal Town and Fortrefs  
of the Island, and which was in a manner deser-  
ted by the Garrison Soldiers, upon Sight of the  
*English* Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not  
what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is  
more than suspected) over-rul'd by the Counsels  
of his Wife, let them a-shore ten Leagues *West-*  
*ward* of *Domingo*; whereupon the *Spaniards* ga-  
thered fresh Courage, and betook themselves a-  
gain to the Defence of *Santo Domingo*, which they  
had abandoned. The *English* landing without  
Opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them,  
thought themselves safe enough, and were in  
their Minds absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing  
the golden Mines among them; when, contrary  
to their Expectation, the General causing it to  
be proclaimed at the Head of the Army, *That*  
*none, upon Pain of Death, should plunder any*  
*Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattle*: This  
sudden Frustration of their Hopes, and the Cli-  
mate's excessive Heat, proved the one such a  
damping to their Spirits, the other such a weak-  
ening to their Bodies, that by that time they had  
marched a most tedious and disconsolate March  
thro' thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, re-  
ady to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst  
for want of Water, (of which they met not with  
a Drop in many Miles,) they were brought to  
such a Condition, that they needed not an E-  
nemy to kill them, being already almost dead  
with Faintness, and Weakness; so that the *Spa-*  
*niards*, *Negroes*, and *Molattoes* falling upon them,  
kill'd, with little or no Resistance, 'till they were  
weary of killing; and those that could make a  
shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Atchieve-  
ment for that time, to bring themselves back a-  
gain safe unto their Ships.

In this Conflict, Major-General *Haines* acted  
the Part of a very valiant Soldier, who being  
shamefully deserted by his own Men, and over-  
power'd by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fight-  
ing: There fell above six hundred in the Fight,  
besides what were cut off in straggling Parties,  
near as many more; and all this Execution was  
done by not above sixty of the Enemy. The  
Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might  
not be thought to have undertaken so long a  
Voyage, and of such Expectation altogether in  
vain,

And the  
like in o-  
ther Parts  
of the Na-  
tion sup-  
pressed.

*Penruddock*  
and *Grove*  
beheaded  
about the  
*Western* Ri-  
fing.

The Eng-  
lish land in  
the Island  
*Hispaniola*.

They are  
cruelly  
vanquished  
by the *Spa-*  
*niards* and  
Natives,  
and driven  
out of the  
Island.

The Mar-  
quess of  
*Leda* comes  
Embassa-  
dor from  
*Spain*, and  
speedily re-  
turns.

The Fleet  
steers to-  
wards *His-*  
*paniola*.



1655. vain, possessed themselves, with little or no Opposition of another Island, call'd *Jamaica*; which, however not so plentiful and rich a Place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at *Oristano*, the Chief, if not the only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since.

They possess themselves of *Jamaica*.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister (formerly a *Romish* Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those Parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his Extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his Days not long after his Arrival, reaping little Fruit of his Project.

General *Blake's* notable Attempt and Success before *Tunis*.

Whilst the Proceedings in the *West-Indies* were unprosperous, General *Blake* had better Fortune in the *Streights*, who coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and sending to the Governour thereof to demand Satisfaction for the Depredations committed by his People on the *English*, and to require the *English* Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous Answer return'd, viz. *Here are our Castles of Goletto and Porta Ferina well Mann'd, and furnished with Ordnance, do what you can, we fear you not.* And at the same time they mann'd a Line all along the Shore, and planted Guns thereon: Whereupon (after a short Consultation with his Officers) *Blake* with his great Ships and their Seconds, came into the Bay of *Porta Ferina*, within Musquet-shot of the Castle and their Line, and fired with such Fury upon them (notwithstanding the frequent Discharges of sixty great Guns upon his Ships,) that in two Hours the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the Stones clattered about their Ears; and finding Nine of their Ships in the Road, he caused them all to be fired with his Long-Boats, and in five Hours they were consumed. After this brisk Action, he sail'd to *Algiers* and *Tripoly*, with both which Places he made very advantageous Treaties, and then came again to *Tunis*, which he found, by this time, willing to submit to what he propos'd.

The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Newport* and others committed to the Tower.

Notwithstanding the ill Success of the several late Endeavours for the King, for which so many suffered, it was not much above a Month, e'er the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas Petre*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Geoffery Palmer*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, with divers others, were committed to the Tower, upon Suspicion of pretended High Treason against *Cromwell*; which yet, went no further than bare Suspicion; for they were never brought to a publick Trial.

Major *Sedgewick*, and Col. *Humphrys* sent with a Supply to *Jamaica*.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of twelve Ships, among which was Colonel *Humphrys* with a Regiment for the Supply of those in *Jamaica*; from whence, in the following Month of *August*, General *Penne* returned for *England*, with a Part of the Fleet, the greatest Part yet staying behind: And not long after him came over General *Venables*, leaving in their stead Colonel *Fortescue* to command the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Ar-

rival, was for his ill Management of Affairs in 1655. *Hispaniola* sent to the Tower; from whence, being judg'd to have fail'd rather through rash Imprudence, than any sinister Intention, he was at length released.

The Duke of *Gloucester* willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marquis of *Ormond* from *Paris*, and having stay'd for some time with his Sister the Princess Royal at the *Hague*, was at last accompanied by her to the King her Brother at *Colen*, where she herself also staid with them 'till after the Fair at *Frankfort*; to which Place, they all of them together made a Progress of State and Pleasure, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stanhope*, and Monsieur *Hemfleet* her Husband: They went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Archbishop's Electoral Seat; the rest of the Journey they went by Water. Through every Prince's Country which they pass'd, they had the chief Officers of State sent to Compliment them, and were saluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Castles, more especially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* sent his Grand Marshal to invite them to his Court: Whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was sent back with the Grand Marshal, to desire the Elector to excuse them at present, promising to wait upon him at their Return. Being arrived at *Frankfort*, and hearing that Queen *Christina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the King sent one of his Lords to her, expressing his Desire to wait upon her, at whatever Place her Majesty should be pleas'd to nominate; the Place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningstein*, a Village near *Frankfort*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he had first particular Discourse with her himself for half an Hour, which past with many Compliments and Ceremonies of Civility; next the Duke of *Gloucester* was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King. As these Princes came back from *Frankfort*, the Elector of *Mentz*, renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of Accommodation for them, as they pass'd thro' his Territories; and meeting them himself a great Part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very sumptuous and splendid manner, for the Space of two or three Days, after which they returned to *Colen*; four Burgomasters being appointed by the Magistrates of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

The Duke of *Gloucester* comes to *Colen* to his Brother the King.

Their Progress to *Frankfort*.

The Interview between the King and *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*.

The King and his Company entertained by the Elector of *Mentz*.

An Army having been sent under the Marquis of *Pianella*, and the Earl of *Quince* Commander of the French Forces in *Italy*, by Charles Emanuel Duke of *Savoy*, against his Protestant Subjects in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, upon Occasion of some high Displeasure taken against them, and the Soldiers, left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Massacres upon the poor miserable People; *Cromwell* taking this Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Protestants abroad, (affecting to be thought the chief Patron and Protector of those of the Reformation in all Parts) concern'd and bestir'd himself very vigorously for their Relief: He appointed a solemn Day of Humiliation to be kept, and caused a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the Nation, and

A Contribution gathered throughout *England* for the distressed Protestants in *Piedmont*.



1655. and sent his Agents abroad to mediate for them; Mr. Pell to the Protestant Cantons of the *Switzers*, Mr. Samuel Moreland, and Mr. George Downing to *Turin* to the Duke of *Savoy*; but his Message being slighted by him, he took another Course to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Ally; by whose Power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was shortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, so scanty a Share came to them, (for some they had) that it may be very well suspected, whether Self-Charity for the getting of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra*, for the bestowing it.

However it fared with the Protestants abroad, these at home, viz. the Royalists, because they would not become *Oliver's* obedient Subjects, are not only not saved from Persecution, but persecuted themselves; while, besides other Displeasures both toward the Clergy who were prohibited from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (such as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty Miles of *London*, and disabled from electing or being elected in Parliament, there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwell*, which serv'd him at the same time to acquire Money to his own Coffers, and to bring them low in their Estates and Power: This was an Order for the Decimation, or tenth Part of the Estates of all such as ever had been in Arms either for his late or present Majesty. For the better executing this Project of Decimation, (under Colour of securing the Peace of the Commonwealth) for which Orders were set forth toward the latter end of *October* by *Oliver* and his Council, is set up the Office of Major-Generals Civil, in the Nature of *Præfects* or Governours of Provinces, to curb, watch, and keep in awe the Royalists, and if it were possible, to pull down their high Stomachs; they were 11 in Number, namely, *Kelsey*, *Goff*, *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Skip-ton*, *Whaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worsley*, *Lambert*, and *Barkstead*; which last was also Lieutenant of the *Tower*, each of them having his several Counties allotted to his Government in the Nature of Provinces: In which their Principalities they reigned like so many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility, till *Cromwell* either thinking to do a special Act of Grace by taking off his Mastiffs, or jealous of what their Power in time might come to, easily gives way to his next Parliament, to unhorse those whom he himself had so lately mounted.

A Debate held at Whitehall about the Admission of the Jews.

Upon the tendering of certain Proposals to the Protector by *Manasseh Ben Israel*, a Jewish Merchant, in the Behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free Admission to Trade and Exercise of their Religion in *England*, a Conference was held about it several Days at *Whitehall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the most Eminent then in Esteem: And many Arguments being urged, some for, others against their Admission, those against it so far prevail'd, that the Proposals took no Effect.

The Spanish King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conservation of the League on this side the

Line, from those whom he judged to have so apparently broke it on the other side, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began not obscurely to make Preparations for War; and to shew that he had entertained Thoughts of Hostility, a general Embargo was made in *Spain* of all English Merchants Goods, and many of their Persons secured. Hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there suddenly followed on both sides a Denunciation of open War, which by the Spaniard was not long after solemnly proclaimed at *Dunkirk*.

1655. An Embargo upon the Goods of English Merchants in Spain. Open War with England proclaimed by the Spaniard at Dunkirk.

The Dissolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the Product of a Peace with *France*; for there having been long since an Address made to that End from *France* to the State of *England*: No sooner did the Breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King sends to Monsieur *Bourdeaux* his Ambassador here, to press his Embassy; which he did with so good Success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between Us and *France* were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the 28th of *November* the Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the same time.

Articles of Peace between England and France ratified and proclaimed.

Whereupon soon after *Cromwell* not to be behind-hand in State, and to provide for the diligent Management of all Matters concluded in this Treaty, sends over in the Quality of his Ambassador Extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, sometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highness. And at the same time there was a strict League of Amity between him and *Carolus Gustavus* the then King of *Sweden*, and Embassies of Friendly Correspondence were on each side interchanged; from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Oliver's* Bed-Chamber as Envoy, and from thence arrived here the Lord *Christian Bond*, who was entertained with more than ordinary Respect; for of all Amities that were between *Cromwell* and Foreign Princes and States, his most particular and intimate seems to have been with the Swedish King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with Men in his War against the *Dane*, while at the same he made shew of endeavouring an Accommodation between those two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the Exclusion of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France's* Dominions; but he upon Foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to *Germany*, and there remained (for the most Part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) until such time as the Spaniard invited him into *Flanders*. His Brother the Duke of *York*, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the King of *France's* Army (the nearest Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Interest comes in Place) was by the same Reason of State advertised to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue by a prefixed time, not without some Compliments and Apologies for his Dismissal: Also his Departure was respited for some Space, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by

The Duke of York warned out of France.



1655. by the Marshal Turenne, and others of the French Grandees; as likewise the Duke of Modena (who at that time was come into France about some important Affairs); at length he took his Leave of the King and Court of France, and attended by the Lord St. Albans, and other English Lords, took his Journey toward Flanders, where at that time the King his Brother resided, at the Invitation of Don John of Austria, who was then Governour of the Low-Countries for the King of Spain, sent the Count of Fuenfaldagne, to offer him in the Name of the Spanish King all possible Service and Assistance.

Betakes himself to Flanders to his Brother.

The Death and Burial of the Archbishop of Armagh.

The Close of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the last: The last Year ended with the learned Selden; this, with that most Pious and Reverend Prelate, James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and once Primate of Ireland, whose judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Commonwealth of Learning throughout Christendom: His Burial, though he died on the one and twentieth of March, was deferred

1656. till the seventeenth of April, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by most of the Nobility in London, attended to Westminster-Abbey, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to Cromwell (for so Dr. Bernard, once Preacher to the Society of Gray's Inn, was then entitled). Moreover, Cromwell himself defrayed all things befitting his Interment, bestowing 200 l. toward the solemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not so well furnished as he desired: And therefore notwithstanding his no Success in his last Parliament, he finds a Necessity of calling one again, whereupon he sends forth Writs in July for the summoning of another Parliament on the seventeenth of September.

A Parliament summoned again.

Gen. Blake and Gen. Montague's Victory over the Spanish Fleet near Cadiz.

In the mean while, a Part of the English Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and six other Ships under Captain Richard Stayer, set upon a Fleet of eight Spaniards, within four Leagues of the Bay of Cadiz; the Admiral's Ship in which was General Don Marco Del Porto, with six hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, run a-shore in the Bay; the Vice-Admiral, a Galloon, commanded by Don Francisco de Esquevel, and having in her 120000 Pieces of Eight, and another Ship commanded by Don Rodriques Calderon were taken, and afterwards fired, (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by Accident); two others were taken and kept in Possession, the Rear-Admiral a Galloon, commanded by Don Francisco del Hago, and having in her two Millions of Plate, another Ship commanded by John de la Torre, very richly laden; another Man of War of some Value, with a Portugal Prize, and a small Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of Mexico, escaped to Gibraltar. In the Vice-Admiral, which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquis of Bayden with his whole Family: There perished in this Combustion (besides a Number of less Note) the Marquis himself, with his Wife and his eldest Daughter, who was going into Spain to be married to the Duke of Medina Celi: There were saved from this Fire, the Marquis's eldest Son Don Fran-

The Marquis of Bayden and his Wife perished in a Ship set on fire.

cisco de Lopez, a younger Son Don Joseph de Suenega, and two Daughters, Donna Josepha, and Catalina, with about Ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken Prisoner Don Diego de Villa Alba, Governour of the Havana. It was related by the young Marquis Francisco de Lopez, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to London, and there for a while detained Prisoners, that the Cities of Lima and Callao in Peru, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and Fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruin there perished above eleven thousand Spaniards, but of Indians not above an hundred: Also, that the Mountains of Potosi being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines where thereby utterly destroyed. This Enterprize near Cadiz purchased no less Profit than Honour to the Performers thereof, and to the Chief in Power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his Due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of Detention, dismissed them home without any Ransom.

A sad and wonderful Accident at Peru.

On the seventeenth of September (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at Westminster, and chose for their Speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington; none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the Instrument of Government, but such as after their Elections should be approved of, and allowed by the Council, and there were many discontented Persons chosen, of those that were dismissed at the last Dissolution of what remained of the Long-Parliament, and others of the Fifth Monarchy Principle, that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthening of his Authority, so that till the 26th of June the Proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that Day the Parliament adjourned itself to the 20th of January following, and passed some Acts, the Principal whereof were;

The Parliament assembled.

An Act for renouncing and disannulling the Title of Charles Stuart unto the Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and the Continuance of the Nation in Security and Peace.

A Vote to assist his Highness in his War against the Spaniard, which they declare to have been undertaken upon just Ground.

An Act for preventing the Multiplicity of Buildings within ten Miles of London; the Substance of which was, That for every House built from such a Time within that Compass, upon a new Foundation, there should be paid a Year's Rent to the Protector.

The humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at Whitehall, to desire him to take the chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of KING; of which, the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted. This Offer was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly touch'd upon, as spring-



1656. ing from a Motion suddenly started by some of the Protector's Friends; when as sure enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed them, and as they had private Encouragement and Instructions from the Person they seemed to Court. As often as the Members made their Addresses to him with this humble Petition and Advice, he still desired further time of Deliberation, before he could positively determine in a Matter of so great Weight and Concernment; till at length being requested to give his final Answer, he returned (after he had several times sifted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so averse, that he thought it not safe to venture) *That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title.* Thus openly refusing (in regard Matters were not brought to sufficient Maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly pursued.

*Sindercomb and others Plot against the Protector's life*

It needs must be thought high time for Cromwell's Convention to make Acts for the Security of his Body, since there was now more Noise than ever of a most desperate Plot against it. The Criminals said to be of this Plot, were *Miles Sindercomb*, a cashier'd and dissatisfied Army-man, *Toop*, one of Cromwell's Life-Guard, *Cecil* and *Bois*, (the last of whom was a Priest belonging to *Don Alonso de Cardenas*) (once Lieger Embassadour here from *Spain*) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents at work, comes off himself with a *Non est inventus*: *Cecil* and *Toop* pleaded they were drawn in by *Sindercomb*; he, on the other side, that he was trapann'd by them. Of the several Ambushes in this Plot, thus runs the Story: At *Hammer-smith*, a House is hired on Purpose, for placing of an Engine called a Blunderbuss, to shoot him as he goes to *Hampton-Court*; at *Hide Park* Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another House in *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly, when these took no Effect, the next Design was to set *Whitehall* on Fire, by placing a Basket of combustible Matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken Fire at a prefix'd time; which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In Conclusion, he of the Life-Guard discovers all, and both he and *Cecil* have their Pardons, he for his Discovery, and *Cecil* for his free Confession, and the Sorrow he expressed. *Sindercomb* boldly and sturdily standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the *Upper-Bench*, before Cromwell's Attorney General, was nevertheless cast by the Witnesses of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the Lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close Prisoner in the *Tower*. That very Morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have snuff'd up into his Head a certain poysonous Powder to avert the Shame and Misery of the Execution that was preparing for him, though it was whisper'd as if his poysoning had been the Design of some others: However, as a *Felo de se*, he was dragged at a Horfes Tail with his Heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into an Hole under the Scaffold, with a Stake spi-

*Sindercomb tried and condemned.*

*He procures his own Death by a poysonous Powder.*

ked with Iron, driven through his Body into the Earth. 1656.

Memorable also was the Tryal (happening a little before this Discovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ringleader of the Sect called *Quakers*, who having spread his Doctrine, and gained many Profelytes to it in divers Parts of the Nation, was more especially taken Notice of at *Bristol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by several Men and Women of his Opinion, who, all the way they came (the Women especially) are said to have sung *Hosanna's*, and to have used the same kind of Expressions toward him, as antiently the People of the *Jews* did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jerusalem*. The Parliament took it upon them to judge him themselves, before whom being convened, he was charged of Blasphemy, for assuming to himself Divine Honours, and such Attributes as were due unto Christ only. After he had used many cunning Sophisms and Evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of human Letters, he was nevertheless sentenced by the House to be (first at *London*) publickly whip'd, pilloried, and stigmatized, as a Blasphemer, then to be conveyed to *Bristol*, there to be also whip'd; lastly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewell* during Pleasure: Which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him. *His Sentence.*

The King now in *Flanders* having his Residence for the most Part at *Bruges*, had, upon Hopes of the good Success of those his Subjects of *England*, who now began again busily to stir for him in all Parts of the Nation, embodied together several Regiments, consisting of such *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, as he recalled out of the Service of the *French* King, and those that came in to him from other Parts, whose Colonels were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rocheester*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *Gerard*, and Lieutenant General *Middleton*: These Forces he kept quartered upon the Sea Coast, to have been in Readiness, if Occasion were, to have seconded those in *England*; Monsieur *Marfin*, an expert Soldier, formerly Lieutenant General to the Prince of *Conde*, being designed to have conducted this Army; but the Counsels of his Friends that acted for him in *England*, being from time to time betrayed, and His Majesty not being in a Capacity to keep his Men in continual Pay, he took the Opportunity, since he could not make Use of them himself, to gratify a Power that had oblig'd him, and which stood in Need of resolute Men, and thereupon consigned them to the Service of the King of *Spain*. *The King keeps an Army in Flanders.*

In vain did Cromwell think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, since all the several Interests therein, how contrary soever among themselves, attempted at one time or other, to shake off the Yoke of his Protection: Yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and those that at present attempted to strive, *Oliver* being still too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the 19th of April 1657. at a certain House in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a discontented Party, formerly in the Army, that went under the Name of

1657.



1657.

Fifth Monarchy-men apprehended upon a Design against the Government.

Major-General Harrison and others secured.

General Blake's successful Enterprize against the Spaniards at Santa Cruz.

of Fifth-Monarchy Men, such as taking upon them to be the Champions of Christ's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy beside; the chief of whom were *Tho. Venner*, a Wine Cooper predicant (whom we shall have Occasion to take more Notice of hereafter) *Ashton*, *Hopkins*, *Gowler*, and *Gray* their Scribe. They had appointed to rendezvouze that Night at *Mile-end-Green*, and thence to have marched into some other Counties to joyn with others of their Party, that were ready to shew themselves upon the first Opportunity: There was taken with them, besides a great Quantity of Arms, and certain printed Papers (that were to be dispersed) a Standard with a *Lion couchant*, *Gules in a Field Argent*, and having this Motto, *Who shall rouse him?* There were also taken into Custody Major General *Harrison*, Captain *Lawson* late Vice Admiral, Colonel *Rich*, and Major *Danvers*; whereof the first was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, and the rest to other Prisons.

The *Spaniards* were very much distressed in all Parts by the War with the Protector, and on the 20th of *April* so gallant an Action was performed by General *Blake* in Part of their Dominion, that the like hath scarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with some Ships near *Cadiz* to watch for the Return of the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, had Intelligence that they had put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*, here-upon he weighed Anchor on the 13th of *April*, and on the 20th rode with his Ships off the Offing at *Santa Cruz*, where he discerned the *Spanish* Fleet to the Number of 16, barricadoed in the Bay, in a semicircular Manner. Near to the Mouth of the Haven a Castle is placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and besides that, there were 7 Forts round about the Bay, with 6, 4, and 3 great Guns on each, all united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Musqueteers; and *Don Diego Diaques*, the *Spanish* General of the Fleet, upon sight of *Blake's* Fleet, caused all the smaller Ships to be moored close to the Shore, and set six great Gallies well manned further out at Anchor, with their Broad-sides at Sea.

*Blake* having well consider'd this Posture of the Enemy, sent Captain *Stayner* Commander of the *Speaker* Frigate with a Squadron into the Bay, who by Eight the next Morning fell pell-mell on the *Spanish* Ships, but *Blake*, who would have his Share of the Toil and Glory of so brave an Enterprize, immediately seconded *Stayner*, and placed some Ships to pour their Broad-sides into the Castles and Forts, whilst he with *Stayner*, fought the *Spanish* Fleet (which was not inferior in Number to the *English*, and much better manned) and by two in the Afternoon they gained an entire Victory; but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Ships, set them all on Fire, but one that was sunk; and when this Service was performed, the Wind even to Wonder, which before blew strong into the Bay, suddenly veered about to South West, which brought our Ships safe out to Sea.

The News of this Success of *Blake* was so grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they ordered him a Jewel of five hundred Pounds, and an hundred Pounds was given to the Messengers that brought the Letters, and proportionable Gratuities and Thanks to most of the Officers and Mariners.

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the *French* King demanded Auxiliary Forces from *England* to help him in his War against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, and 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be sent over, commanded in Chief by Sir *John Reynolds*, one of *Cromwell's* Knights, a Man of good Courage and Resolution, once Commissary General in *Ireland*. No sooner were these Forces arrived in *France*, but the *French*, by their help, took two very advantageous Places, *Montmedi* and *St. Venant*; nor was it long after e'er they took the strong Fort of *Mardyke*, being of notable Consequence toward the speedy gaining of *Dunkirk*. This Fort was immediately after it was taken, consigned by the *French* into the sole Possession of Major General *Morgan* and the *English*, who presently fell to fortifying of it, and in a short while made it so impregnable, that when the *Spaniard* was sensible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, sent a strong Power of Men (among whom were 2000 *Scotch* and *Irish* Reformadoes, assigned by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *York*) to set upon its Recovery by a desperate Storm; they were, after a very gallant and resolute Effort upon the Place, which continued for the Space of six hours, repelled in the End, with the loss of many Men.

After *Cromwell* had given his final Answer to his Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government with the Title of King, it was resolved on, that the Title of Lord Protector should be continued and inserted in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, by which Title he was solemnly invested (with much more Ceremony than before) on the 26th of *June*, before a great Assembly of People in *Westminster-hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that Purpose, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whose Installment wanted but little of a Regal Manner; and tho' he attained not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter; for there were four Emblems of Government presented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the Delivery of them made an Oration to him, in which he amply descanted upon each of them) a Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was vested by the Earl of *Warwick*; Commissioner *Whitlock* presented a large Bible with Bosses and Clasps richly gilt, and a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him. Thus attired, while he sat in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his Hand, the Herald standing aloft, made a signal Trumpet to sound thrice; after which he was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, and *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and then returned to *Whitehall* in State, having

1657.

An Army of English sent to aid the French in Flanders.

Montmedi and St. Venant taken.

1658.

The Protector's Installment.



1658. having the Sword carried before him by the Earl of Warwick. He was likewise proclaimed not only in London, and other Parts of England, but also in the chief Cities of Scotland and Ireland. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of Living, and to govern after a more Monarchical Manner, and to model his Family according to the Fashion of a King's Court; to which end he had his Yeomen of his Guard in their Livery of Gray Cloth, with Welts of black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was *Sir Gilbert Pickering*; the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fiennes*; *Lambert* was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, *Glyn* Lord Chief Justice of England, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of England) Lord Chief Baron. Moreover, being thus confirmed Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himself by Alliances abroad (for besides the Leagues with France, Sweden, the United States, and fair Correspondence with Denmark, he had also upon the coming of *Don Francisco de Mello* Embassadour, concluded a firm Peace with Portugal) he began to make it his next Care, for the better establishing of himself, and strengthening of his Interest at home, to advance his nearest Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the noblest Families: His eldest Son *Richard* he called out of the Country, to inure him to a Court Life, and an Insight into publick Affairs, designing him for Succession in the Protectorate, which the University of Oxford prudently foreseeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the Rising Sun) sent their Agents and Proctors to him to elect him their Chancellour, in which Honour he was solemnly installed at Whitehall: His second Son *Henry*, he made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of his Son-in-Law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he said, his Prefence and Council. His two youngest Daughters he matched, *Frances* the younger to *Mr. Robert Rich*, Grandchild to the then Earl of Warwick, and *Mary* the elder to the Lord Falconbridge: The Nuptials for them both being kept with much festivity and splendor, both at Whitehall and Hampton-Court, and the Ladies are so vertuous they deserved a better Father.

Sir John Reynolds and his Company cast away upon Goodwin Sands.

Scarce was the Mirth of these Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the several successes of the English in Flanders, there arrived the News of the Loss of Sir John Reynolds, General of the Forces in those Parts, who with Colonel White, and some others, imbarquing for England, by the way of Goodwin-Sands, in a small Vessel, at a tempestuous Season, contrary to the Persuasions of many, was cast away with his whole Company. But here was something more than ordinary in this hasty coming over of Reynolds and White, both seeming to prevent the Arrival of each other; for whether Reynolds was sent for by Cromwell, or suspected the Intention of White to be some Impeachment against him; his Business probably was to defend himself, in Reference to an Imputation of holding Correspondence with the Royalists, because he was prevailed with by the Duke of York, who always loved stout Men,

to give him a Meeting between Dunkirk and Mardyke, at which Parley, Reynolds was indeed not backward to render his Highness those Honours and Civilities which were due to a Person of his illustrious Quality. Not many Months before, there died at Sea, as he was entering into the Sound of Plymouth, that valiant and expert Seaman General Robert Blake, not long surviving his notable Exploit at Santa Cruz; the best Elogium that can be given of him, is the true Rehearsal of his Actions; than which, saying that it was his Misfortune to serve an illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our English Nation. Also Vice Admiral Badily ended his Life on Land, whither he was come for the Recovery of his Health: And at Jamaica there died Lieutenant General Brain, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

The Death of General Blake, Vice Admiral Badily, and Lieutenant Gen. Brain.

Colonel Sexby, one that was a Prisoner in the Tower, upon some Design against Cromwell, on a Commonwealth account, died about this Time, and his Death was not without suspicion of Poyson: He was a virulent Enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and suspected to have acted the horrid Murder on him, by cutting off his Head, or assisting therein with a Vizer; for upon that Action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

Col. Sexby dies in the Tower.

The last Convention having adjourned on the 26th of June, met again on the 20th of January following; and in this Session, which differed from the other, as much as one distinct Parliament could possibly have done from another, two very observable things are to be taken Notice of, which gave more Disturbance to Cromwell's Ambition and Safety, than he with all his Policy and Foresight was aware of. The first was the Admission of those Members which in the last Session were kept out with a high Hand, whom since the Injustice of the Act did not restrain from excluding the time before, the Consideration of his Interest urged him now no less, but rather the more to have excluded them this time also; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (if at least they were his Friends) of the last Convention, who made it one of their Articles in their Humble Petition and Advice, That those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members. The other was the erecting of a new Convocation, intended (in Imitation of the old Constitution) for a House of Lords, but they would not venture at first to call it by any other Name than that of the Other House: It consisted partly of such as he took for his especial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were pick'd out of the House of Commons to be constellated in the Other House, partly of several of the late excluded Commonwealth Men, and such likewise of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a score of the old Nobility were nominated, but refused to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his Expectation of it was, he found himself very much deceived, since by this strong Inundation of the late excluded,

The return of Cromwell's Convention after their Adjournment, with the Addition of the Other House.

The Humble Petition and Advice.



1657.

The Commons disown the other House, and begin to question the Government.

cluded, and the Translation of several of his Friends of the Commons into his *other House*, his Interest there was so weakened, that his translating also of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a Counterpoise that way) availed him little; for Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and the rest of the Sticklers, both disdaining to accept of *Cromwell's* offered Baronage; and that by the Addition of their own Presence they might strengthen their own Party the more, took their Places in the House of Commons, by which means the Commonwealth-Faction grew so potent, and flew so high, that the *other House* was not so much as taken notice of, except in way of Derision and Contempt: So far were they from being concurr'd with, or owned in any of their Messages. Moreover, they began to call in question what was done in the last Session, as being invalid without their assent: So that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made such a Noise, was like in a Moment to come to nothing. This so incensed the Protector, that in a great Heat and Passion he goes from his Council; and notwithstanding the earnest Dissuasion of some of the chief of them, takes a Hackney Coach for haste, and being come into his *other* (or Lords) House, sends for the House of Commons up to him; and after a long and warm Speech, declared the Parliament dissolv'd.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to an other, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that crost him, to the Inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much streightened for want of those Supplies of Money which he expected.

Toward the latter End of this Year died the Protector's Son-in-Law Mr. *Robert Rich*, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grandfather the Earl of *Warwick* himself.

1658.

The Spaniards dispersed by the English in Jamaica.

The following Year 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at *Jamaica*, (which came by an Express from the Governour on the 8th of April) obtain'd by a Party of the *English* there, commanded by Major *Richard Stephens*, against five hundred *Spaniards*, who, under *Don Christopher Arnaldo Saffer*, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortify themselves at a Place called *St. Anne*, were fiercely set upon by the *English*, and forced to fly into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of *Spaniards*, consisting of three hundred, who had fortified themselves at *Chareras*, in the North of the Island, were by the Governour himself, Colonel *Doiley*, driven quite out of their hold, *Don Francisco de Prencia*, the *Maestro del Campo*, with others taken, many kill'd, and the rest utterly dispersed.

The Attempts of the Royal Party in behalf of His Majesty betrayed and discovered to the Protector.

*Cromwell* had no sooner freed himself of the Danger threatened him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarmed again by his old Enemy the Royalist, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (*Ireton* was then the Man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discovered of the busy Actings against the Peace of the Commonwealth, aggravates the Danger, recommends to them the

settling of the Militia in trusty Hands, causeth the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected Persons were already secured, as Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *William Clayton*, Mr. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, and many more: The whole Design being beforehand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one *Corcar*, a Minister of *Bourn* in *Essex*, and such others as had been long employed by *Cromwell* for the same purpose: The Marquess of *Ormond*, who indeed was the chief Manager of this intended general Rising for his Majesty's Service throughout the whole Nation, and had to that End remain'd for a good while concealed in *England*, being narrowly watch'd and search'd for; but he happily obtained an Opportunity (by the Help of one Dr. *Quaterman*) of shipping himself away at a Port Town in *Sussex*. Among those that had been formerly imprisoned, were Doctor *Hewet*, Minister of *St. Gregory's*, and Sir *Henry Slingsbey*; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the *West*; yet being a Person who was known to bear no Good-will to the present Power, he is charged with an Intention of delivering up *Hull*, merely upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the Motion to him, and sift out his Mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major *Waterhouse*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thomson*; and the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his Charge; which had they been true, would certainly have never been so utterly denied at the very Moment of his Death, by a Man of his known Honesty and Integrity. The rest that were taken afterwards, were Mr. *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Manley*, a Merchant, Mr. *Hartgil Baron*, Mr. *Stapeley*, Mr. *Maunsel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carrent*, Mr. *Jackson* and Captain *Mallory*, of whom Mr. *Mordant*, *Woodcock*, *Carrent*, and divers others, were tried at a High Court of Justice, which on the 25th of May was set up under the Presidentship of Commissioner *Lisle*. All hitherto mentioned, except Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Dr. *Hewet*, having the good Hap to come off with Life: Sir *Henry* and the Doctor were the first brought to Tryal, and both of them sentenc'd to die as Traytors: The first upon the bare Testimony of those three Men which had so treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the Impossibility, a Prisoner, as he was, of performing what he was charged with. The other as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead. The next was Mr. *Mordant*, who also at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevail'd with to plead, and in the End acquitted only by one Voice. In that fortunate Interim, while Colonel *Pride* by reason of a Fit of the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdraw'd himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favour'd, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the 8th of June beheaded on Tower-Hill. The next that were tried were Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Captain *Henry Mallory*, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*: The first made so handsome

1658.

The Marquess of Ormond makes his Escape.

Dr. Hewet and Sir H. Slingsbey committed to Prison.

Sir Henry Slingsbey, Dr. Hewet, Mr. Mordant, and others try'd before a High Court of Justice.

Sir Henry Slingsbey, and Dr. Hewet, beheaded, and



1658. and discreet a Defence for himself, that they could fasten no Accusation upon him, and so were forced to acquit him. Captain *Henry Mallory* (tho' scandaliz'd by some malicious Persons) behav'd himself with Resolution and Loyalty, and was condemn'd, but not put to Death. Of the rest that had to do with this high Court, Colonel *William Carrent* was acquitted: Colonel *Edward Ashton* and *John Batteley*, the first in *Tower-street*, the other in *Cheapside*, were hang'd and quarter'd on the 7th of *July*: The same Day *Henry Fryer*, ready to have been executed in *Smith-field*, and two Days after, *John Summer* in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Gracechurch-street*, had their Reprieves brought them. The same Day the two last were repriev'd; *Edmund Stacy*, his Sentence remitted, was hang'd near the *Royal Exchange*. In the mean time, *Manley*, *Baron*, and *Maunsel* aforementioned, with two others; namely, *Edmund Seymour*, and *Guy Carlton*, having made their Escape, were at the *Upper Bench* (as it was then called) indicted of High Treason, though absent and outlaw'd.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Career: Presently after the taking of *Mardike-Fort*, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joint Forces of the *French* and *English*, the *French* commanded by the Marshal of *Turenne*, the *English* by the Lord *Rockart*, Ambassador from the Protector to the *French* King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceased. The Relief of this so important a Place, (it being the chief Sea Port, and, as it were, the Key of all *Flanders*) the *Spaniards* resolv'd to assaye, though with the hazard of a pitch'd Field; and to that Purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about seven thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, commanded by *Don John* himself in Person; together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquess of *Caracene*; and drawn down from *Fuernes Fort*, was engaged by the Marshal of *Turenne*, and the Count of *Schomberg*, joining with *Lockart* and his *English* Forces, who making their way (a good Part of them) up a Sand-hill against the whole Power of the *Spaniards*, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the *Spanish* Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the *Spanish* Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and mounted again by his Cousin *Bouteville*, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Prince's stead. There were slain of the *English*, Captain *Sherwin*, and another Captain, five Lieutenants and two Ensigns, with eighty common Soldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some Mortally; among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*, who was reported a stout Man, and his Loss much bewailed. A Day or two before this Battle, the Marshal of *Hocquincourt* (who had caused the important Town of *Hesdin* to revolt from the *French* to the *Spaniard*) was slain as he went out Picquering upon a Party. No sooner was this Battle ended, but the *French* and *English* returned again afresh to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Marquess of *Leda*, Governour thereof (who

had been formerly sent Embassador to the Protector) seeing now more straightly than ever environ'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great Extremities; he resolute to defend the Town, made a bold Sally forth, in which he receiv'd his mortal Wound. The Governour's Death, and the Terror of the *Granadoes* shot into the Town, wrought so upon the Besieged, that they were speedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25th of *June*, march'd out with Colours flying, so that the King of *France* in Person, accompanied with the Cardinal *Mazarine*, took Possession of the Place, and immediately resigned it up into the Hands of General *Lockart* in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the *English*.

The sixth of *August*, *Elizabeth*, the Protector's second Daughter, died at *Hampton-Court* of an Imposthume in some of the inward Parts, which afflicted him very much, because he loved her above all his Children; and that Sorrow was increased by the length of her Sickness, and the grievous Torments she endured. A little before she expired (which was in much Pain) the Delirium of her Sickness prompted her to utter many things, (which tho' formerly she thought, she yet durst not express) against the Injustice of many of her Father's Actions. She was married to one *Cleypole*, the Son of a private Gentleman of *Lincolnshire*, of a moderate Fortune; but she could not be confined to it, being of a Spirit as high as if she had been born to that Greatness to which her Father's Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Disposition, and very much troubled at her Father's Austerity, and Oppression of the Royal Party, to several of whom she did many good Offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her Death, was very much augmented by his Trouble, to discern that the Discontents sprung up amongst many of the inferior Officers of the Army, were fomented by *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*; the first of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Sister, who with *Berry* and *Cooper*, Colonels, and *Sydenham* and *Pickering*, two of the Privy-Counsellors, were in a Confederacy against the present Government, in favour of a Commonwealth. And a while after he fell sick himself of a *Tertian* Fever, which at first seem'd not to signify much Danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: Yet his Imagination was so far transported with enthusiastick Ravings, that insensible of his own Danger, he affirmed That *GOD* had reserved him to greater Attempts than ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was assured he should not die of this Sickness. In which Extasy he was much heightned by *Goodwin*, one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, *GOD* had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given him his Life; and therefore he perswaded some of his Friends to keep a kind of private Thanksgiving beforehand for his undoubted Recovery. This Confidence amused his Physicians so much, that they were less regardful of his Condition. But nevertheless it was advised he should be brought to *Whitehall*, where with more Conveniency than at *Hampton-Court*, a respect might be had to his Health, and the Publick Affairs of the Nation; where

Colonel  
Ashton and  
others  
executed.

The Siege  
of Dunkirk.

The Spanish  
Army  
vanquished  
near Fuernes  
Fort  
by the  
French and  
English.

The Marshal  
of Hocquincourt  
slain.  
The Marquess  
of Leda, Governour  
of Dunkirk  
slain in a  
Sally.

1658.

*Dunkirk*  
surrendered  
to the  
French and  
resigned  
into the  
Hands of  
the English.

The Death  
of Mrs. Elizabeth  
Cleypole,  
Cromwell's  
second  
Daughter.

Her Character.

Cromwell  
falls sick  
at Hampton  
Court.

He is removed  
from thence to  
Whitehall.



1658. where he had not been many Days, e'er it visibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had sometime before his Sickneſs appointed a *Juncto* or Committee of *Nine*, with whom he privately conſulted in the moſt urgent Affairs of the Government. Theſe were *Fleetwood*, *Fiennes*, *Desborow*, *Whaley*, *Thurloe*, *Laurence*, *Berry*, *Cooper* and *Goffe*, which were mixed of both Faſtions, that is, of that of a ſingle Perſon, and that of a Commonwealth, that he might diſpleaſe neither; and that he might by that Confidence divert the latter from Deſigns upon his Power.

Upon *Tueſday* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, finding himſelf in Danger, he commanded his Servants, and all other Perſons except Mr. *Thurloe*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, out of the Room, and declared to them, That in regard he found his Sickneſs and Weakneſs encreaſing, he was reſolved to declare his Succeſſor, according to the Power given him by the \* late Petition and Advice; And therefore he deſired them to take Notice, That he named and declared his Son to ſucceed him accordingly.

They asked him which Son: He replied, My Son *Richard*, My eldeſt Son. Immediately thereupon there came ſome Perſons into the Room, whereby it happened that nothing further was ſaid at that preſent. But † Mr. *Thurloe* and Dr. *Goodwin* immediately conferring together, did conceive that the Buſineſs was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Atteſtation of it; and therefore reſolv'd to take the firſt Opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to deſire him for that Reaſon to call ſome others, to whom he might communicate his Mind in that matter: But in Regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were conſtantly there, they could not all that Day, nor the next, gain any Opportunity.

But on *Thuſday*, perceiving his Diſtemper very much to encreaſe, and hourly gain upon him, they reſolved not to defer it longer, and thereupon they asked him, Whether he remembered what he had ſaid unto them the *Tueſday* before? Which he ſaid he did. They asked him whether he continued in the ſame Mind or not, touching the Succeſſion of his Son *Richard*? He answered, That he did. They then told him, it would be requiſite he ſhould communicate his Pleaſure to ſome others, and that the Declaration of the Buſineſs was of too great Concernment and Conſequence for them alone to undertake, if there ſhould be Oppoſition; and therefore deſired him to ſend forthwith for ſome others. He asked them for whom he ſhould ſend? They replied, whom he pleaſed. Then ſend, ſaid he, for the Committee of *Nine*: Whereupon they ſent a Meſſenger forthwith to haſten them thither, of whom three came immediately, *Fiennes*, *Whaley*, and *Goffe*: And theſe five that were then preſent perceiving him ſtill to decline, went to the Bed-side, and one of them asked him, touching what he had declar'd to Dr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Thurloe*; he thereupon ſaid again, That he would have his Son, his Son *Richard*, to ſucceed him: And ſo without any more Diſcourſe they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his Reſt: But within few Minutes came in *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, upon the Summons that had been

ſent them; to whom the aforeſaid five declar'd what had paſſed, and offered ſomewhat faintly to move *Oliver* to the Declaration of his Mind again, which they as faintly reſuſed; but were not much urged to it, they having at their firſt coming declar'd themſelves ſatisfied with the Atteſtation of five Perſons, ſo well known and eſteemed of them.

Upon *Friday* (the 3d of *September*, the ſame memorable Day of the Year, that in 1650 he overcame the Scots at *Dunbar*, and the Year following at *Worceſter*) at three of the Clock in the Afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after ſo many hazards in the Field, ſo many Ambuſhes ſaid to have been laid againſt him at home, notwithſtanding the Multitude of Enemies, that from all Parties and Interests, whom his violent Purſuit of Greatneſs had exaſperated, conſpired againſt his Safety; contrary to the real Belief of many Men, the Ill-bodings of ſome, and the earneſt Wiſhes of others, he died, not of a violent, but in his Bed, a natural Death. The Day of his Death was uſher'd in by a Night as tempeſtuous as had been ſeen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combution at the flight of a Spirit, which had made ſo great a Concuffion in the Affairs of the World.

He was born in the Town of *Huntington*, and was the Son of a ſecond Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwell* of *Huntingtonſhire*, a Perſon of eminent Note in the late King's time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward* of the *Iſle of Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is ſaid to have originally derived the Name of *Cromwell* from that great *Cromwell*, who was *Henry VIIIth's* Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their lineal Deſcent was from one *Williams* of *Glamorganſhire*, who living contemporary with this Lord *Cromwell*, and marrying his Daughter, in Gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transferred it to his own Poſterity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Diſſimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obſcured what was Praise-worthy in him; yet there was ſomething of Generoſity in his Nature, as may be exemplified in the particular Care and Regard he had for the Relations of ſome that had ſerv'd him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the forementioned Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, toward *Seignior Friſcobald* an *Italian* Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by moſt of the Princes in *Europe*, and the King of *France* and *Sweden* were entered into ſo ſtrict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole World; but Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Chief Miniſter of *France*, held moſt ſecret Intelligence and Friendſhip with him. He was a Man of ſingular Courage and Reſolution, and that attended with a moſt proſperous Stream of Fortune, which is not always the Concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in ſo exact Diſcipline, that they rather ſeemed a Body of well govern'd Citizens than Soldiers: Swearing, Prophaneneſs, Drunkenneſs, Murder, Rapine, Uncleanneſs, the common Vices of their Soldiers, were

*Cromwell* having poſitively declared his eldeſt Son *Richard* his Succeſſor, gives up the Ghoſt.

*Cromwell's* Deſcent and Character.

The Tranſactions between him and thoſe about him concerning the naming of his Succeſſor. \* A System of Government made in the pretended Parliament A.D. 1656. † *Cromwell's* Secretary of State.



1658. not to be found amongst his. His Ambition and Desire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts also in other Countries, in Pursuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrued to our Nation in all Parts of the World. And had he not employed that Policy and Sagacity of Parts, which must be confessed to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard of Impieties traiterously aspired unto that highest Pitch of Honour which belonged not to him, usurping his Majesty's Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it.

An Hour after his Death, there met together those of the Privy Council then in Town, that had been the most zealous Promoters of the Petition and Advice, and best affected to that Government. These were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what passed on Tuesday and Thursday; and also, that *Oliver* had subscribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succession, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Successor; and that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no Person more (as we thought) was search'd for, but could not be found.

*Oliver's*  
Will concerning his  
Successor imparted  
to the  
Council  
and Chief  
Officers.

They then agreed to send two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of them unfeignedly, whether they acquiesced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succession of his Son; acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper subscribed by *Oliver* in his Life-time, to the Effect aforesaid; and therefore requested to know of them, whether if hereafter any such Paper should be found or produced, they would, notwithstanding, submit to the last Will and Parol Declaration of *Oliver*? Whereunto *Fleetwood* replied, and promised, as in the Presence of God, That if any such Paper then were, or should thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not insist thereupon; forasmuch as he cordially acquiesced, as he said, in the Succession of *Richard*. And thereupon a Council was forthwith summoned, where *Fiennes* and *Thurloe* gave an Account of *Oliver's* Appointment of his Successor: And *Goodwin*, *Whaley*, and *Goffe* were called in, and attested the same upon their Oaths: And being withdrawn, the Council unanimously declared their Satisfaction: *Desborow* having first stood up, and adjured them all in the Name of the living God, That if any Dissatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely declare it, as he professed he would have done, had any Doubt remained with him. This passed, the President and whole Council went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Father's Death.

*Richard*  
*Cromwell*  
proclaim'd  
Protector  
by the City  
and Chief  
Officers of  
the Army.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippon*, and some others of the Council were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next Morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton*, Lord Mayor of London, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Counsellors of State as could be got together; wherein *Richard Cromwell* was at *Whitehall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick Places in London, proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Thus far matters succeeded well: His Brother *Henry Cromwell* was Chief Governour of Ireland,

and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present Posture of Affairs. Of Scotland they had some Doubt; but to endeavour to rectify all things there, *Richard* sent that Evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges* (Brother-in-Law to General *Monk*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into Scotland, with his Letters to *Monk*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement. This *Clarges* was pitch'd upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his Procurement, upon the Death of one *Rowe*, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of Scotland and Ireland, an Employment of good Value, whereby he became interested in the Knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; for the Regiments of that of Scotland, especially of the Horse, were often changed, whereas the Irish Army continued still unchanged. And although at first his having been in the late King's Service at Oxford, made them at *Whitehall* unwilling to employ him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656. by his Actions against the Kingship of *Cromwell*, that they would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason. Besides, all of the contrary Faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great Esteem of him, not so much in Respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monk* engaged him in those Councils; and the Opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this Occasion to go to General *Monk*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his Inclinations: For, although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the General's so far distant Residence, gave him little Opportunity of other Converse with him than by Letters. The City of London, and the generality of the People in England (having been wearied and tir'd with the Miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*) seemed outwardly to comply with the Necessity of the Time, and submit to an Approbation of that they could not remedy. But subtle Contrivances, congratulatory Addresses, in all, or most Cities and Counties, were fram'd, subscrib'd, and presented to him. In Scotland, by private Advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, and doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at London. But the General himself and he had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain Condition wherein he found both himself and the Nation enthrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Soldiers, (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the People) so that they consulted of a Paper to be drawn up, and to be presented to the new Protector; the Heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the Division in the Church, by countenancing a sober and Orthodox Ministry; to permit no Councils of Officers, and to model and put the Army into the Hands of the \* qualified Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the People might best trust. From this Conference which was managed by both, with

1658.

Mr. *Thos.*  
*Clarges*  
made  
choice of  
to be sent  
into Scotland  
to acquaint  
G. *Monk*.  
with *Richard's*  
Advancement.

Addresses  
to the  
young Protector  
from all  
Parts of  
the Nation.

The Army  
of Scotland  
submits to  
what was  
done in  
England.

\* Such as  
never had  
been against the  
Parliament  
with



1659. with much Reservedness, *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Country to its antient Government, when ever a fit Occasion should present it self for the Attempt. With this Paper, and a Letter of Approbation of the Choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to London to him. The Letter he delivered publicly, but the Paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: And the Prosecution of the Advice thereof in his Attempts to model the Armies, was the main Cause of all the Divisions which happened in them, and the happy Consequences thereof.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in England, Addresses were promoted and subscribed by all the Regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Cousin German, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major-General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army, commanded by Marshal *Turenne*, and had gained a great Fame and Reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Campaign; for by their Valour chiefly, a great Victory had been obtain'd, as beforementioned, over the Spanish Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Marvin*, *Gravelin* and *Ypre*; which last Place, taken about the beginning of October, Old Stile, was the first Military Success that the English had abroad under *Richard's* Government.

Marshal *Turenne* had not Hopes so late in the Year to gain a Place so considerable; but having beaten a Party of five thousand Men under the Prince of *Ligne*, that was sent to join with some other Forces, and to visit that Garrison in their March, he supposed that the Town, missing the Succour they expected, might quickly be surrendered: There were in it about two thousand five hundred old Soldiers, besides whom, all the Townsmen assisted that were able to bear Arms, being in all about four thousand; and it was taken in a Fortnights Siege. After the Army had been two or three Days before it, *Turenne* sent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the English, to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended, with all the Force he could get together, to put Relief into the Place. *Morgan* informed him his Men were so exposed, that he commonly lost five or six every time they mounted the Guards; and therefore he proposed, that rather than weary them out with so much continual Duty, the Town might be assaulted. *Turenne*, who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the Reputation of that Army which had been victorious by many prosperous Successes that Summer, and therefore at first rejected the Advice; but *Morgan* pressing more upon him, and offering himself with six hundred English to go on upon the strongest Part of the Town, he at last consented. He was seconded by two Sergeant Majors, who each of them commanded six hundred French, and were to attack two other Places at the same time that *Morgan* made his Assault; but he with his English entered and

gained most of the Out-works, and turned the Cannon of the Besieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in; and immediately after, the Town was surrender'd upon easy Terms: The Prince of *Ligne*, *Baybancon*, and *Arembeg*, marched out with the Garrison. *Turenne* embraced *Morgan* after this Service; and, tho' he had long before esteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the bravest Commanders of his time; and in the Report of this Action to the most Christian King, he attributed the Merit of it wholly to him.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good Affection towards his Majesty, and would use his Power to his Advantage, as soon as he should be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his absolute Obedience, to which they were induced by the Observation of his former Deportment; for in his private Conditions he demeaned himself with Civility and Respect to the Gentlemen of the Country where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of Kindness to Persons in Distress, apparently disliking of the Severity of his Father, and not averse to Overtures for his Majesty's Restitution: But it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority, for when he saw himself owned and acknowledged by the Army and People, he was very much reserved to all that wished well to his Majesty, and either really declined his Service, or had not Virtue enough to resist the Temptation of Greatness, or Courage enough toward the Declension of his Power, to use that little which remained, to attempt to free his Country from Thralldom and Oppression.

In the first Place, after his Advancement to the supreme Dignity, principal Care was taken by him and his Council for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accustomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore Search is said to have been made into the Records, to see what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the same Cost, if not greater, was to be bestowed on this: The Corps of his late Highness being embalmed and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *Whitehall* to *Somerset-House*, there to lie in regal Pomp and State.

As soon as the ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were past, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a stop to Proceedings, both Domestick and Foreign, immediately other matters of publick Concernment began seriously to be taken into Consideration, by the new Protector and his Council. The first thing was the sending of a naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity, and Forces had been sent to this King's Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea Service; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever, had Occasion to make up a good stout Fleet; for after that, by his Success against the King of *Denmark*, he had won him to a Concession of a great Part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army: The King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his Side, and alleging them not to have been punctually observ'd by the *Swedes*, began presently, after the Departure

to prevent the Jealousy of the Action. Mr. *Clarges* returns from Scotland to the Protector. Addresses to the young Protector from all the Regiments of the Army both in England and other Parts.

The taking of *Ypre* by the English under M. G. *Morgan*.

1659.

The young Protector not so great a well-wisher to his Majesty's Cause as was believed.

The War-like Proceedings between the King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.



1659. ture of the *Sweedish* Army, to fly to Arms, for the Recovery of what was lost, being especially encouraged thereunto by a certain Assurance of Aid from the *Hollander*, besides his entring into Confederacy with the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, against the *Sweedish* King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of *Denmark's* Design, speeded back with his Forces, and was set down before *Copenhagen*, e'er the *Danes* were well aware of his coming; but the *Danish* King had before-hand (providing against the worst that might happen) so well fortified and stored the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege; and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick* Sea, called the *Sound*, being thus disputed between these two Kings; the *Dutch* thought it a matter of no small Advantage to them, that the *Sound* should continue in the Power of the *Dane* their constant Ally, lest the *Sweed* gaining too much Sway therein, they might be deprived of the Benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all possible haste to set out a Fleet for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: The *English* on the other Side, thought it no less important to help the *Sweed*, though it were against the *Dane* and the *Dutch*, both of them our Friends in outward Appearance, lest their joint Interest and Prevalence against the *Sweed*, who, of all other Potentates, was the most firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewise in relation to the *Sound*, which also concerned us no less weightily than the *Dutch*, therefore a Squadron of lusty Frigots was sent forth by this State under the Command of Sir *George Ascough*, toward the *Sound*, which having for some time been detained upon the Coast by contrary Winds, and afterwards steering their Course towards those Northern Seas, which the Extremity of the Winter had made innavigable, they were forced, for that time, to return, not without some Damage to the Ships, by reason of the Ice, and the Loss of some Men, through the bitterness of the Weather in those Parts, so that this Enterprize was suspended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was sent out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir *George Ascough* being invited by the King of *Sweeden* to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

A Squadron of Ships sent towards the *Sound*.

Another greater Fleet set out under Gen. *Montague*.

The Sea-Fight between the *Sweeds* and the *Dutch*.

*Copenhagen* relieved.

In the mean time the *Hollanders* Fleet, led by General *Opdam* and *Witte Witteson*, arriving at the *Sound* with Relief for *Copenhagen*, were assailed by the *Sweedish* Rix Admiral *Charles Gustave Wrangle*, in which Battle the *Dutch* are said to have received a notable Overthrow, seven of their Ships being lost, and *Witte Witteson*, one of their Admirals, with many other Persons of Quality slain; nevertheless, during the Fight, several *Dutch* Fluyts and Merchant-men passed by with Provision to *Copenhagen*, which so strengthened the Besieged, that they thereby became inabled for the sustaining of a long Siege, as hath since appear'd; and not long after, the *Sweeds* in a resolute Effort against the City, were repelled with the Loss of a great many Men, and some of Eminency.

And now in *England*, want of Monies, and other pressing Occasions of the State, required the sudden Calling of a Parliament: The young Protector issues out his Writs, summoning the

Members to meet at *Westminster* the 27th of *January*. Elections are made by the Counties, not without some canvassing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the Constitution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons House for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as well as *England*. The Elections were so disposed in *England*, that many honest Gentlemen in all Parts were chosen, but the Upper (for it did not yet aspire to the Name of Lords) House, was fill'd with the Chief Officers of the Army, whereof most were of such contemptible Extraction and Education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any Capacity whatsoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, *Richard* was frequently entertained with the forementioned Addresses, which much heighten'd the Confidence he had entertain'd of his future Prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to Designs he had of subjecting the Army to his intire Command; for the Council, as the Government then stood, had a great Co-ordination with him in the Administration of it; and the major Part consisted of such as countenanced in all their Extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them *Anabaptists*, and of other Sects.

He endeavours to new model his Council.

He pretended not to remove any of the Counsellors, but to add so many of his Friends to them as might make the greater Number firm to him; he propos'd the Lords *Broghil*, and *Faulconbridge*, who had married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offered by those that oppos'd them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, viz. *Whaley*, *Goffe*, *Berry* and *Cooper*: The first two had been of the late King's Judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family; the other two were Factious and Seditious. These Transactions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular Persons, but so rumoured, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmur at his Actions; sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he us'd; and at other times censure his Religion, exclaiming that Godliness was discouraged by him; and that he rather favour'd those of loose Principles, than the zealous Professors of the Gospel. But in this he was injured, for if his private Condition represented him a kind of Libertine, he assumed, together with the publick Person, a more grave and circumspect Behaviour, conform'd himself to the constant Observation of all Religious Duties, and was in Appearance at least, if not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The Army grows jealous and censorious of him.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the Temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to *London*, (as his Father was accustomed to do on the like Occasions) to advise with him, to obviate any Peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations: He was a little surprized at this Advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges



1659.

The Names of the Protector's Privy-Council.

Seditious Meetings of the factious Part of the Army and Council at Desborow's House. Desborow sent to the Protector to persuade him to resign the Command of the Army to Fleetwood.

Which he refuseth.

Charges to repair to London, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The Names of his Father's Privy-Counsellors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Lawrence* President, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State; General *Montague*, Sir *Charles Woolsey*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip Lord Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Colonel *Philip Skippon*; of which the six last named, were Favourers and Abettors of the Army: *Lawrence* the President, was an *Anabaptist*, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord *Lisle* was often absent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear to a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protector's Wives Father, but his Indisposition of Health render'd him incapable of Action. *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* had frequent Meetings at *Desborow's* House, who with the factious Part of this Council, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were *Berry*, *Hewson*, *Cooper* and *Lilburn*, consulted to wrest the Power of the Army out of the Protector's Hands, and in order thereunto, *Desborow* was sent to tell him, that the Army was filled with many Jealousies and Fears of Designs against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the Subversion of the Government, unless some speedy Remedy were taken for Prevention; and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the Hands of some Person that had served with them, and of whose Courage and Integrity to their Cause, they might have Confidence and Assurance; and immediately named *Fleetwood* to be the Man, adding, that this would not only satisfy the Army, but give great Content to the Godly Party, (which was a Name much used by all these Novelists) and free him from much of the Trouble, which rendered him now less intent in the more necessary Parts of Government. To this he replied, That as to the Fears and Jealousies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what Redress could be desired, not doubting but the Parliament, now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their Security, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nations: But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it; which his Father's Example confirmed him in: And with this Answer dismissed him. His Father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many seditious *Anabaptist*-Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government; but the Fear and Danger of a Division, and respect to his Person, kept them in some Degree of Obedience: He displaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few Months longer: He had introduced his Son, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in Blood, or by their Advancement wholly depending on him. All this while Matters were carried without much Heat, and not out of Pos-

sibility of Accommodation when the Parliament 1659. sat down.

At the prefixed time the Parliament meets, A Parliament consisting as the last Parliament had done in his Father's time, of two Houses, the *Commons* and the *Other*, (which now began to be called the *Upper-House*) for the first was chosen Speaker *Chaloner Chute*, a Lawyer, who, within a short while, fell sick unto Death; as also Sir *Lislebone Long*, Recorder of London, who was chosen *pro tempore* in his stead; for the latter was chosen *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Lord Keeper of the Seal. The *Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governor of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*, was many Days debated in Parts, and at last, part of it was resolved in these Words, viz. *That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness Richard Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. And it was added, *That neither this, nor any other Vote that is or shall be passed, in order to this Bill, shall be of Force or binding to the People until the whole be passed*. The Protector liked well these Proceedings, and thought himself towards a good Settlement; but of those that were zealous for a Commonwealth, there was in this Parliament such a considerable Number, who had so powerful Influence on publick Transactions, that to procrastinate the time, they cast in several previous Debates, in which, nevertheless, the Assertors of the Protector's Interest being more in Number, carried things to their own Advantage by the major Vote, as particularly in the Business of the *Scotch and Irish* Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the *Upper-House*, and holding an Entercourse with them, after a long Consultation in question of their Authority. However, the factious Counsellors which abetted Discontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to pursue their Purpose of wresting the Command of the Army out of his Hands, and putting it under *Fleetwood*.

It was a little before *Cromwell's* Death, that great Preparation was begun for the setting forth of a Fleet to the Help of the *Sweeds* against the *Danes*; and that under the Command of General *Montague*; nor did his Death put a stop thereunto: Sir *George Ascough* being sent with a Squadron of Ships, tho' hindered from coming up to join with them, by reason of the freezing of those Seas, as hath been already mentioned; whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the House of Commons should be engaged in it; and a narrative Report was made to them by Secretary *Thurloe*, about the latter End of *February* this Year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of *Sweeden* and *Denmark*, in Relation to the *Baltick* Sea, and the Command of the *Sound*. This took so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the Preservation of Trade, which was forthwith equipped, and General *Montague* sent with it to the *Sound* about the latter End of *March*, who was so streightened in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that Part of the

Long



1659. Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The *Upper-House* as it now began to be called, in a Strain somewhat nearer *Lords House*, favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much Dislike at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Councils. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarrassments of the Officers of the Army: My Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Colonel *Bridge*, Colonel *Charles Howard*, Major *Knight*, all Officers in the Army, and some few others, counselled him to send a Party to *Desborow's House*, to seize upon those that met there, which were eight or nine of the Chief Confederates; and immediately after to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer Opportunity to put them into better Hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him; and to command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that Duty. These Counsels were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State, and some others to whom he brake the Business, diverted him from the first; but to the latter, of dismissing the Officers, he readily consented; and the next Day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same Day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without Direction, Leave, and Authority of the Protector, and both Houses of Parliament.* And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some Act of Opposition and Disturbance, they passed another Resolve; *That no Person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb or interrupt the free Meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their Freedoms in their Debates and Councils.*

The Upper House jealous of the Proceedings of the Commons and the Protector.

The inferior Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

These were transmitted to the *Upper-House*, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow Progress in them upon divers late contracted Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declared, at the Acknowledgment of their Constitution, *That their Acknowledgment of that House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Privileges:* As also believing that the Protector conspired with the Commons to weaken and divide; or subdue the Power of the Army, in which they were somewhat confirmed; for that these Matters were debated and voted the same Day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the Chief Officers of the Army fixed to him; but the inferior sort, who were of *Fanatick* Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most Influence

upon the Soldiers, were for *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*: For it was artificially instilled into their Heads, *That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the Hands of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for.* The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the 19th Day of April, from which time the Meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before; and upon the 22d Day the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidants about him, and made Preparations against all Accidents that might happen; and in the Evening many of his Friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear at the Head of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other Party had drawn up some Men in the several Avenues to *Whitehall*, and in *St. James's Fields*; yet it was believed, if he had appeared with Vigour and Courage amongst them, respect of his Person would have prevailed much with the Common Soldiers; but he was fearful and unresolved, of a Spirit unbecoming the Quality he assumed; and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some another, wasting their time in Contradictions; and, as it happens in the Consultations of fearful People, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in Execution. *Desborow*, his Uncle, came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till *Desborow* insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by Threats and Importunities, he at length consented to it.

The discontented Faction of the Army in a Posture of Hostility against the Protector.

He is forced by *Desborow* to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* for the dissolving of the Parliament.

The next Morning, the House of Commons having heard of these Transactions at *Whitehall*, adjourned themselves for three Days: But this their Adjournment proved a total Dissolution; for those that had made this Breach upon them, proceeded further to compleat their Purposes; and besides the aforesaid Commission directed to *Fiennes*, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protector's Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament.

*Fleetwood* and *Desborow* having (to get the Power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protector's Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their Power to prevent what they so little intended; they came to him together and apart several times that Day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intire; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his Privy; telling him, *They had not taken this Course, but upon certain Assurance of the Designs of the King's Party, and others to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.*

He



1659. He received not much Consolation from these Discourses, and gave little Credit to them, well knowing that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into seditious Courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their Intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in Haste, which they might have Leisure enough to repent; and that they would find now they had made a Concussion of his Power, it would be a Province too hard for them to re-settle it, and so it proved in Effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at Wallingford-House, after the Emission of the forementioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the Continuance of his Power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed or diverted by Propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determined, that the chief Command of the Army should be in Fleetwood, with a Power to dispose of all vacant Offices, till farther Order, they were persuaded to allow the Protector a kind of limited Supremacy (somewhat like that of a Duke of Venice). But the next Day, whilst many of the Superior Officers met at Wallingford-House, in further Consideration of a Model of Government, the inferior Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chapel at St. James's; having Doctor Owen, and other Independent Ministers with them to assist at their Devotion, where the Matter was artificially so contrived, that the Prosperity they enjoyed under the latter Part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some Intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by Lambert and his Friends, wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel Lilburn to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his Friends had private Junctoes.

The next Day Fleetwood and Desborow were alarmed with this Countermine against their Designs; for the inferior Officers came now to open Declaration of their Forwardness to restore the latter part of the long Parliament, and to restore to their Commands Lambert, and the rest of the Officers who had been displaced by Oliver Cromwell for Disaffection to him; yet with so much Respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an honourable Provision made for them. Fleetwood endeavoured to oppose this Torrent, suspecting Lambert's Ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got Power: But when he perceived it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and Desborow to comply, for the Preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their Proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a Way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a general Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels Ingoldsby, Howard, the Lord Faulconbridge, and Colonel Bridge, from theirs: Colonel Norton they displaced from the Government of Portsmouth, which they gave to Colonel Whetham, and made Colonel Edward Salmon Go-

vernour of Hull in the room of Colonel Smith, who, by the Recommendation of Fleetwood, had the Command of that Garrison given him by Oliver Cromwell. To Colonel Saunders they gave the Protector's Regiment of Horse; to Colonel Rich, that of Ingoldsby; to Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel Howard's Regiment of Foot, with the Government of Berwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth: To Lambert they gave the Lord Faulconbridge's Regiment; and to Okey, that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel Bridge: Major Packer, and Captain Gladman, Anabaptist Officers, who had been by Oliver Cromwell displaced, were restored to their Commands. The inferior Officers, in all their respective Regiments, were suitably modelled according to the Opinion of their Colonels.

Thus Lambert was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former Power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller Number.

The 29th of April there met at Fleetwood's House, Lambert, Desborow, Sydenham, Cooper, John Jones, Berry, Hacker, Lilburn, Ashfield, Salmon, Zanchy, Okey, Sanders, Clark, all Colonels, and Major-General Kelsey, and Barkstead the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles for the Security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament to establish the Commonwealth Government.

These Articles being digested into Form, and agreed to by the General Council, a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir Henry Vain, Sir Arther Haslerig, Mr. Scot, and Major Salloway, the prime leading Men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. Vane and those with him had been treated with apart; but when they came to publick Discourse, they were very reserved in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their Consents, and of their Endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and Consent, at such time as they were met together.

This Caution of theirs was disliked and suspected by Fleetwood, Desborow, and Lambert; but the inferior Officers were so far possessed in Favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desired them to use means to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient Haste, because the Government was a kind of *Inter-regnum*; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the 6th of May was presented to the Speaker by Lambert, with about thirteen or fourteen Officers of the Army in his Company.

After the Delivery of this, many of the most eminent Members of this Remnant of the Long Parliament, having before consulted with as many

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

The superior Officers meet at Wallingford-House to consider of a Model of Government, and the inferior at St. James's.

Several Colonels removed from their Regiments and others put in their Room. As likewise Governours of Towns and other Officers.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the Remnant of the Long Parliament.

They send to treat with Vane, Haslerig, and others

They agree to accept of the Invitation.



1659. of the rest as were in London, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signify their Willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next Morning, which was the 8th of May, at eight of the Clock in the Painted Chamber, where they desired his Presence to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the Cromwell's, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquired Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

And take their Places in the House.

General Monk seems to give his Consent to what was done in England.

They publish their Intentions by a Declaration. The Words of the Declaration extracted out of the Parliament Journals.

Sir George Booth, and others of the old secluded Members claim their Privilege of sitting, but are kept out.

Upon the Dissolution of the Protector's Parliament, Diligence was used by Clarges to acquaint Monk with all Occurrences; but the Officers of the Army in Scotland, then in London, of Fleetwood's Party, had so dispersed Letters amongst their Friends, to engage them for the restoring of this latter Part of the Long Parliament, that when he conven'd some of them at Edinburgh to sound their Tempers, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it most prudent, to seem to approve of what was done: And to that Purpose he writ a Letter, signed by himself and his Officers, to the Officers at London, which gave them Assurance of his Adherence to them, (but if Richard had not dissolved his Parliament, Monk had then march'd into England in favour of it). They did not fear much any Storms from the Army in Ireland, who of themselves could do little, without Correspondence from England and Scotland.

The first thing the Remnant Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was the passing a short Declaration, which was ordered to be Printed and Published; in the Close whereof they declared, That they are resolved, through the gracious Assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply themselves to the faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth.

Sir George Booth, Colonel Rossiter, Mr. Pryn, and some others, Members of the Commons House of this Parliament, (formerly secluded by the Army) attempted to go into the House, but were all kept back by Adjutant Gen. Allen, except Mr. Pryn, who slipt in, but they would do nothing whilst he was amongst them, but adjourned 'till the Afternoon; and when he again would have entered, he was staid by some Officers of the Army.

About four Days after the present small Parliament had sat, which was spent in making a Committee of Safety, and dispatching Intelligence of their being re-instated in their former Power, to several of their Members absent in the Country, whom they had not disabled from Sitting: The Officers of the Army presented themselves with their Petition and Address, containing a sort of Advice, or rather Directions, for their manner of Government. But the Parliament, though they did not much relish this, had yet so great Obligations to them, that they

could not decline giving them Thanks for the same; and agreeing to the several Articles thereof.

In the next Place, they applied themselves to Richard Cromwell, of whom they required a formal Submission; which he, without much Delay, delivered to them, signed with his own Hand.

A Schedule of his Debts were annexed: But what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they absolutely rejected, and made slow Progress in the rest, and delay'd to settle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was desir'd; but gave him two thousand Pounds to discharge Part of his own private Debts, and required him and all his Dependants, to remove from Whitehall in six Days. Fleetwood discovered a little Discontent at this Contempt put upon his Brother Cromwell, and that Family; but as soon as it was ordered that he should be Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for one Year, in Compliance with the twelfth Article of the Armies Petition and Address, he was less solicitous in the Concernments of his Wife's Family. When the House voted he should command the Armies, they likewise voted, He should have Power to Sign and Seal such Commissions for the Constitution of Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament, and nominated by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, and the Colonels, Lambert, Desborow, Ludlow, and Berry, or the major Part of them, who were made Commissioners for that Purpose. And for his better Establishment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the House, to be passed into an Act for his Constitution, which was done accordingly; but upon the second reading of it, they would not admit of that Clause, to authorize him to sign Commissions, but ordered, That all Commissions, both to the Commission-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, should be signed by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers Gratis, by the Speaker in the Parliament House. They also at the same time ordered, That the Government of Ireland should be by Commissioners nominated, and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Person; and that Colonel Henry Cromwell should be acquainted with Henry the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. This Gentleman had made himself very popular in Ireland, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in Civil Matters; many of the Members whereof were of severe and rigid Behaviour; the Generosity of his Disposition was somewhat over-ruled; nevertheless, most People in Distress there did receive such Effects of his Civility, where he had any manner of Capacity to shew it, that they acknowledged he deserved to have been the Son of a better Father.

He had the Irish Army under good Discipline, and was so well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have consented to the Change of Government, if he had had time to prepare against it; for his Brother gave him no Intimation of what had happened, nor any Commands to appear on his Behalf; what

Fleetwood voted Commander in Chief of all the Forces.

All Commissions to the Officers of the Army ordered to be signed by the Speaker.

called from the Government of Ireland.



1659. what he had heard, being only from the Intelligence of private Friends. At the first Alarm, he advised with his Confidants what to do, and to prevent Confederacies against him, by any Combinations of the Officers of his Army, he commanded all of them to their Charges, and (to use his own Words) *not to hearken to any design of Innovation, how speciously soever the same might be presented to them.* Likewise he dispatched Cornet Monk to Scotland to General Monk (who came thither not 'till fifteen Days after the Alteration of the Government) to inform himself how he and his Army stood affected to it; who returned no other Answer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to send to the Parliament.

In all Probability, if Colonel Henry Cromwell had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared against their Proceedings at London, he might have shaken much the new Foundation of the Commonwealth; for the Armies in England and Scotland were not then modelled, and the Officers, many of them (as hath been said) Relations or Dependants of the Family of the Cromwells; but he was so doubtful of the Success, that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted as his Brother had done, (tho' in more generous Terms) to the Authority then introduced.

We purposely omit many Particulars of these Transactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their Constitutions of a Council of State for the more immediate executive Power of the Commonwealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel Henry Cromwell's Letter to the Parliament, when he submitted to it, as not very essentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the Restriction of his Commission, yet he dissembled his Passion, and yielded to Necessity, 'till a more favourable Conjunction might give him Opportunity to enlarge his Power; however, both he, Desborow, Lambert, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the Temper of the inferior Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And Fleetwood himself, to dissemble his Acquiescence, with great Submission and Protestation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commission in the House, from the Hands of the Speaker, and after him Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Ludlow, Sydenham, and the rest of them in and about London, who had Commands in the Army.

Fleetwood, Lambert, and others receive their Commissions in the House from their Speaker.

The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to subject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other). Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their Concurrence in Obedience to them; yet they displaced those Officers in both, whom they suspected in any manner to have been affected to Cromwell, or monarchical Government. The seven Commissions before named, to whom the Nomination of the Officers of the Army was

first committed, were continued in that Authority 1659. and very active in it. Those of the Anabaptist persuasion were by them esteemed most firm to a Commonwealth, and by their Information they were much guided in the Disposition of Places; but where they had been put out by Cromwell, for Dissatisfaction to him, they were restored as of course. Colonel Lockhart, Governour of Dunkirk, had made his Submission; but shortly after, there was a desperate Mutiny in the Garrison, at first suspected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeased, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate the Affairs there, and quiet the Place, Lieutenant Colonel Pierfon, Colonel Ashfield, and Colonel Packer, are forthwith sent over. Thus all things succeeded fortunately to them; Embassadors from all Parts making haste to congratulate the Felicity of their Government.

The Governour of Dunkirk submits to the change of Government.

The Embassador, from the united Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a Fortnight after the first Beginning of this new Commonwealth, and at his Audience, in the Name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and Desire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners who had that in Charge, made great Dispatch both in modelling the Army and Navy. Pierfon and Mason, two Anabaptists, Lieutenant-Colonels under General Monk, undertook to know so well the Army in Scotland, that their Information was much credited in the settling of it, and to weaken Monk's Power, they had designed to remove those he most trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their Places. Of all these Passages the General had very good Intelligence, his Agent Clarges not omitting to acquaint him with all that passed with these Commissioners. And after a while, he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the House, in which, among other Expressions, he told them he had heard of their Intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any Knowledge they had of their Persons and Qualifications, but the Informations of others; and that he thought himself as fit to be credited in that Matter as any, and did assure them, they were all honest and stout Men, and such for whose Fidelity and good Behaviour he would be engaged.

The Dutch Embassador courts our restored Senate in a high manner.

Gen. Monk digests not the Funder's Designs of modelling his Army.

This Letter put a little stop to their Career, but did not divert their Revolutions: Yet to give him some Satisfaction, they sent him back Word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiments of Horse and Foot, there should be no Alteration 'till such time as he were consulted in it. Monk was not satisfied with their Answer, but privately advised some of those Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to London, to solicit their own Concernments, and as much as they could, obstruct and retard the Proceedings of the Committee. That which was of most Advantage to the Preservation of his Officers, was an Order made, that such Officers as were new constituted for Scotland or Ireland, because they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commissions, should receive them from such Commissioners as should be appointed

He useth his utmost Industry to obstruct it.



1659. ed for the Civil Government of those Kingdoms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in Suspence, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the Designment of the Remove of many, whom nevertheless the General underhand kept still in their Commands, 'till further order.

An old Act of Assessment revived.

In the pretended Parliament begun at *Westminster*, in the Year 1656. An Act had passed for a three Years Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, at thirty five thousand Pounds per *menssem* on *England*, six Thousand per *menssem* on *Scotland*, and nine Thousand a Month on *Ireland*, to determine the 24th of *June* 1660, of which one Year's Proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to pass an Act on the 18th of *June* this Year, to authorize the collecting of that Money, knowing it to be less Difficult to continue a Tax already imposed, than after the expiring of that to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole Year's Assessment to be paid into the Treasury, one Moiety on or before the 10th of *August*, and the other on the 10th of *October*.

Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*.

Having, as is aforesaid, recalled Colonel *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom, certain Commissioners, namely, *Steele*, *Robert Goodwyn*, *Matthew Tomlinson* and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the Army, Colonel *Edmund Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General, was immediately upon Receipt of his Commission dispatch'd away.

The King's Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesty's Service.

In the mean time, the King's Commissioners were not idle in engaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Titus* was sent by his Majesty to treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclined to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refused to have any Communication with him; and therefore he used the Mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincoln's-Inn* to treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any Effect; for he being a prudent, wary Man, was unwilling to hazard himself 'till he saw some Body of Men together, to busy the Army, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*. *Titus* then addressed himself to Mr. *Mordant* and the rest of his Majesty's Commissioners, and was very assitant to them. So active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and *Wales*, were engaged by them, and a Day in *July* fixed for the Rising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*; Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*; The Earl of *Stamford*, *Leicestershire*; The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, (who also advanced Money to buy Arms) *Suffolk*; Colonel *Rossiter*, *Lincolnshire*; Colonel *Popham*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*; and to secure *Bristol* and *Taunton*; Mr. *Edward Dunch* and others, *Berkshire*; Major General *Massey*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, and Mr. *How*, *Gloucestershire*; Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Leverthorp* and Mr. *Fanshal*, *Hartfordshire*; Mr. *Mordant*, Sir *Francis Vincent*, and Sir *Adam Brown*, *Surrey*; with many more in all Places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the King's Side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less Opposition; for the Declaration had no Mention of his Majesty, but was called, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this once happy Nation*. The Words of it were these:

Since it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Division to continue in this distracted Nation, and to leave us without any settled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property; the legislative Power usurped at Pleasure, and condemned; the Army raised at first for our Defence abused, and misled into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the superior Officers; no Face of Government appearing either in any single Person, or a Body of Men in Council lawfully constituted, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any Probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore we being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nation's Ruin, if these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed Oppression by some Settlement inconsistent with the Laws, Peace, and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of our selves, and all others who will partake with us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliaments, against all Violence whatsoever of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property of the good People of this Nation, who at present groan under illegal, arbitrary, and insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors: This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, we cannot despair of the Blessing of him who gives Victory; nor of the chearful Concurrence of all good People; nor of the undeceived Part of the Army, whose Arrears and Increase of future Pay, and Advancement of high Command, we shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of Force on any Man's Conscience: And to this we doubt not but all honest Englishmen will say Amen, Amen.

But yet many of the King's Friends in all Parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel *Richard Arundel* and *Trelauny* undertook, if his Majesty would bring five hundred Horse into *Cornwall*, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five Hundred: And Major General *Egerton* did as much in *Staffordshire*; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with that Haste as was intended, so that the Day of Rising was deferred to the 1st of *August*, and Mr. *Cooper* was sent by Mr. *Mordant* to his Majesty to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatch'd, that he returned in five Days to those that sent him to let them know his Majesty would be present with them in a short time: With him Colonel *Roger Whitely* came into *England*, with some verbal Instructions to Sir *George Booth*, and some blank Commissions to disperse in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Flintshire*: He staid no longer in *London* than to receive Mr. *Mordant's* Commands, and some of the forementioned Declarations to carry with him to *Booth*. Captain *Titus* was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majesty thereupon removed privately from *Brussels* to *Calais*, about the 1st of *August*, which was two Days come over.

1659.

The Declaration of Sir George Booth omitted at the time of his Rising.

Sir George Booth's Rising aided by the King's Friends from all Parts.

His Majesty removed from Brussels to Calais, to be ready if Occasion were to

Days come over.



1659. Days after *Titus* came to him : He had in his Company only the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol*, Dr. *Quatermaine*, Mr. *Daniel Oneal*, and one *Maurice Delaval*, a Servant of the Marquess of *Ormond's*, with two other Servants, one belonging to the Earl of *Bristol*, and the other to *Oneal* ; nor did they travel thither together, but by two and two. His Majesty had only Dr. *Quatermaine* with him, and the first Place he came to from *Brussels*, was a little Village, where Monsieur *Marfin* met him, with whom he had much Discourse about his Affairs. *Marfin* accompanied his Majesty to *St. Omers*, where they parted ; and then he went directly to *Calais*, where the rest met him ; but to avoid being known, they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only *Maurice* to wait on him. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* were at *Breda*, and were sent for to *Brussels*, but they arrived not 'till the Day the King parted from thence, and after he was gone. The Duke of *York* with *Titus*, followed his Majesty to *Calais*, but the Duke of *Gloucester* by his Majesty's Appointment, continued at *Brussels*, ready prepared to come over upon the first Intimation. The King staid three Days at *Calais*, and a Shallop was ready at *Bulloign* for his Transportation in *Kent*, upon the first News of any considerable Parties being in Arms.

The Duke of York follows from Breda.

The Main of the Design prevented by Discovery.

Sir George Booth appears with several o-

But in the Height of this Expectation, one Mr. *Baron* arrived from *Mordant*, with the ill News of the Disappointment of much of the Design in all the *South* and *West* Parts of *England*, which was thought to be discovered by a Letter, intercepted at *Reading*, from the Lady *Mary Howard*, about the latter End of *July* ; but it was known long before that Letter, to *Scot*, and some few other Members of the Council of State, which hastened them so much in a more than usual Care in modelling the Army, and settling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Commission-Officer in any of the Trained-Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in Parliament ; and they had privately laid a Contrivance to have Soldiers at most of the Risings of the King's Friends all over *England* : So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady *Mary Howard's* Letter, by the officious Diligence of a Post-master, was rather a Service, than a Disadvantage to his Majesty, since thereby his coming to *England*, which might have exposed his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this Discovery could not be soon enough dispersed, to prevent the Appearance of many Gentlemen in divers Parts. The Earl of *Litchfield*, with Sir *Adam Brown*, my Lord *Mordant*, (so we now stile him, in Regard he here first declared his having received the Dignity of Viscount), and about twenty five others, rendezvoused near *Guilford* in *Surrey* ; but by Reason of the taking of Sir *Francis Vincent*, an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little Appearance, that all divided to shift for themselves. The Earl of *Litchfield*, and my Lord *Mordant*, came disguised by Water, in the common Barge from *Chertsey* to *London*, and got privately to Alderman *Robinson's* House, where they were for a While concealed.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir *George Booth*, who, with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmory*, and Major-

General *Egerton*, were met at the Time appointed at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party ; but they having the very Flower of the Gentry, and Gallantry engaged among them, their Numbers increased every Minute. Colonel *Roger Whitley* delivered his Message to Sir *George Booth* from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord *Mordant*, with an Account of his Majesty's Preparations beyond the Seas, and his Readiness to come over upon the first Notice ; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then consisted of about five hundred Men. The first Thing they resolved, was to march towards *Chester*, and the first Night they marched to a Place called *Tradsam*, where they met Colonel *Werden*, who assured them that the Gates of *Chester* would be opened to them : And the next Day they marched thither, and took Possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by *Croxton*, the Governour thereof, for the Parliament, who had one Company in it. The next Day, Major-General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk-Castle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his Approach, opened the Gates, and joyfully received him. The next Day he went with them to *Wrexham*, (having left his Son to command the Castle for the King), and there many came in to them. The next Day after, Colonel *Whitley* was sent with a Party to put a Garrison into *Harding-Castle* in *Flintshire*, which was newly left by a Party of the Parliament Soldiers, that marched from thence to *Denbigh-Castle*, their next Garrison, but were seized by the Country, and brought Prisoners to Sir *George Booth's* Party. Colonel *Ireland* at the same Time declared for them in *Liverpoole*, and Mr. *Brooks*, one of the present Members of the House of Commons, willing to expiate his former Mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the Freedom of his Country, and met at the first Rendezvous.

1659. there in a considerable Body.

They take Possession of Chester City, but the Castle holds out against them: Chirk-Castle delivered to them by Sir Thomas Middleton.

Col. Ireland and several others declare for them.

They at Westminster prepare for Defence, and send Lambert against Sir Geo. Booth.

The Parliament somewhat apprehensive of these Proceedings, caused all the Houses in and about *London* to be seized, and all the Avenues to the City to be guarded, and divers Troops and Companies to be placed in all the Way towards the *West*, and *North-west* Parts. They had every Hour News of the dispersing of several little Parties, and *Lambert* was ordered with a Brigade to march to suppress Sir *George Booth* and his Party. The Lord *Mordant*, as the most active Agent for his Majesty, was summoned on a great Penalty to appear ; and Mr. *Edmond Dunch* and *Brooks*, two Members of the House, whom they suspected to be engaged for the King, were on the Penalty of a hundred Pounds apiece, required to attend the Service of the House.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and the only Brother to General *Monk*, came at this Time to *London*, in his Way to *Scotland*, from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and other of his Majesty's Friends in the *West* of *England*. His Business was to engage his Brother in his Majesty's Cause, to promote the present Design, being directed to receive further Instructions from Sir *John Greenville*. He came directly to Mr. *Clarges* before he saw any one, and communicated his Business to him, and afterwards

Mr. Monk, a Minister, sent into Scotland, to solicit his Brother the General, to the embracing his Majesty's Interest.



1659. to *Greenvile*, who much encouraged his Undertaking, and shewed him two Letters he had received from his Majesty, one to General *Monk*, and the other to himself.

Mr. *Monk* negotiates with Mr. *Clarges* about the forefaid Business.

*Greenvile* earnestly pressed to have *Clarges* engaged, and Mr. *Monk* moved it to him, with a Promise of great Advantage from his Majesty upon his Restitution. *Clarges* replied, That he needed not these Temptations to oblige him to do his Duty; and refused to have any Discourse concerning those Matters with Sir *John Greenvile* at that Time, well knowing, that the least Jealousy of his Actions from those in Power, might make him useless for that future Service, which could not be done without him.

*Clarges* secretly conveys Mr. *Monk* on Shipboard, for his Transportation into Scotland.

But because all the Ways to Scotland were obstructed, he took Care to provide a Frigate for the transporting of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* thither, and convey'd him Safe on Shipboard, fully instructed how to manage his Negotiations with Caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. *Samuel Barrow*, Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. *John Price*, his Chaplain: The first of which was ejected out of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, for his Affection to his Majesty; and the latter, the Son of a sequestred Minister, always educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honest Man; both recommended by *Clarges* to the General at his first going into Scotland, to be near his Person.

His Majesty removes privately from Calais to Rouen.

The King, when he received the News from the Lord *Mordant* of the Disappointment of the Design, went from *Calais* to *Bulloign*, and from thence, by easy Journeys, and very privately to *Rouen*. The Duke of *York*, and Captain *Titus*, staid behind a While at *Bulloign*, and the Parts adjacent, to be ready upon all Occasions if any Thing should intervene. His Majesty at *Rouen*, was in Consultation which Way to move, when Dr. *Alestry* came to him with the News of Sir *George Booth's* being in Arms, with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and others, with great Forces in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *North-Wales*, which put him in good Hopes of Success. The first Rumour of this Rising represented it very formidable, forasmuch as his Majesty's Friends that lived at a Distance from it, were willing to receive it with the greatest Advantage, so that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by Imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the Favourers of his Majesty's Cause would have them. His Majesty sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to *Paris* to transact some Affairs there, and went himself to *St. Maloes* by *Caen*, where he met the Earl of *Bristol*, and Mr. *Oneal*.

Thence to St. Maloes.

They at *Westminster* in the mean Time, were very active in dispatching *Lambert* on the Expedition against *Booth*, but first they issued forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major-General *Egerton*, Colonel *Robert Werden*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and their Adherents, Traytors and Rebels, which was commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches.

Major-General Massey, the Lord Her-

Major General *Massey* was very active in *Gloucestershire*, and if by an Accident of the Interception of a Letter, his Design had not

been ruin'd, he had certainly taken *Gloucester*; 1659. and what with his own Reputation in these Parts, and the Assistance of the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Colonel *Barrow*, Captain *Glainford*, and others of the King's Friends, they would have got together about three thousand Men, Miners and others, out of the Forest of *Dean*, and from about *Stroud-Waters*, and other Places. There was in *Gloucester* a Troop of the Army's Horse, under one *Dale*, and a Militia-Troop, commanded by one *Crofts*, who, upon this Discovery, caused three hundred Foot to be presently raised, and sent a Party of Horse to take the Lord *Herbert*, *Massey*, *Barrow* and *Glainford*: They took the Lord *Herbert*, and brought him to *Gloucester*; *Barrow* and *Glainford* defended themselves in *Barrow's* House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at *Gloucester*, were not taken. *Massey* and his Servant being taken Prisoners, *Massey* himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Trooper set behind him to hold him in his Arms; two rode on each Side, and some Troopers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the Close of the Night, the Evening very dark and tempestuous, with Rain and Hail, insomuch that when they were going down a very steep Hill by *Nimpsfield* Road, about ten Miles from *Gloucester*, the Way to *Bath*, *Massey's* Horse, with the Man that rode behind him, fell headlong all together, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it happened that the Fellow let go his Hold, and most of the Rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord *Herbert*, and *Massey's* Servant, escaped.

1659. *Worcester*, and others, for the King in *Gloucester*.

The Lord *Herbert* taken.

And Major General *Massey*.

*Massey* escapes, together with several other Prisoners.

The Parliament sent to *Dunkirk*, for three Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel *Zanchy* brought out of *Ireland* his Regiment of Horse, and *Axtel's* Regiment of Foot, which landing at *Anglesey*, marched to join with *Lambert*, who at his first March from *London*, had not above fifteen hundred, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, increased to above five Thousand before he engaged: Sir *George Booth* had not Half the Number, and those he had were without any Order or Discipline, because many of them being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring his Command, whilst no Body obeyed. Sir *George Booth* having Intelligence of *Lambert's* drawing near to him, thought to have got a Day's March before him into *Lancashire*, to have increased his Numbers; and to gain Time, he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* sent a Trumpeter with two Ministers, to shew the Ground of their raising an Army, and desired a Treaty to save Effusion of Blood. To which *Lambert* agreed, on Condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garrisons in their Power. To this there was no Reply; but some of *Lambert's* Men pressed so hard the next Morning upon *Booth*, that at a Bridge near *Northwich*, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The *Boothians* with much Courage defended the Pass, till they were over-powered by Numbers. Captain *Morris*, a gallant, Loyal Gentleman was killed, and some few others of *Booth's* Party; of *Lambert's* very few fell, and those that did, of no great Note; all the

*Lambert* marcheth against Sir *George*, and increaseth his Force.

Sir *George Booth's* Forces engage with *Lambert*. Sir *George* defeated.

van-



1659. vanquished dispersed themselves; Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton got away. The Lord Kilmury, Brooks, Major-General Egerton, Sir William Oneal and others were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrisons immediately submitted to Lambert.

Taken Prisoner at Newport-Pannel.

Sir George, although he had the good Fortune at that Time to escape, was not long free, being seized at Newport-Pannel in a Disguise, as he was riding towards London, in Order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

The Management of this Rising censured by many.

The Curious, that made Remarks on this generous Undertaking, as commonly Wiser in the Discourse, than Execution of any great Design, did much censure the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel Zanchy from Ireland, landing in Anglesey, might have been met, and with good Probability of Success fought with, e'er he could have joyned with Lambert, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Colonel Lilburn, who was gathering Men together in Yorkshyre, might easily, by any small Force from Lancashyre, have been broken, and hindred in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small Numbers came from several Parts, might have been met and dispersed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accessions to their Party. Others were of Opinion, that nothing was more destructive to his Majesty, than these Plots and Contrivances of Rising for him; and that the best Resolution he could have taken, since the End of the first War, was to have fate in Expectation of some favourable Advantage to himself, from the Division of his Enemies: For what could new raised Men do against experienced and successful Soldiers? And where the late King with all his Strength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer. But doubtless this was a great Mistake; for it was nothing else but the restless and invincible Spirit of the Royal Party, that by keeping the Usurpers in a perpetual Distraction and Alarm, hindred them from proceeding to a final Establishment of their Power; and supported the very Life and Credit of the Cause. And certainly, the Generosity of those Noble Persons cannot be enough commended, since they valued no Hazard, in Respect of their Duty to their Sovereign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour shall endure.

General Monk preparing to have marched into England, and joyned with Sir Geo. Booth.

General Monk in Scotland, was so much prevailed upon, by the Report of Sir George Booth's prosperous Success in his Enterprize, and the Importunity of his Brother, Nicholas Monk, that he resolved to march into England, in Pursuance of Booth's Declaration, which was very suitable to his own Inclinations.

He consulted in this Matter, besides his Brother, only Major Ralph Knight, Major of his own Regiment of Horse, Captain Jeremiah Smith like-

wife of his own Regiment, Dr. Samuel Barrow, 1659. Physician to the Army, Dr. John Price his Chaplain, and Dr. Thomas Gumble, then Chaplain to the Council of Scotland, in Regard he had many fe- ditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was obliged to be very wary, and circumspect in his Proceed- ings; insomuch, that when Colonel Atkins, a Royalist of his ancient Acquaintance, came into Scotland to him, about the same Errand that his Brother did, Monk (for Fear of awakening the Jealousy of the Faction about him), durst not shew him any Countenance or Respect, but rather the contrary, sending him away somewhat discouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a Declaration to that End prepared, he de- murred for two Days, upon the Stop of the English Packet, in Expectation of Intelligence from his Agent Clarges, from whom he two Days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir George Booth.

Is diverted by the News of his Defeat.

The King being still at St. Maloes, in Prepara- tion of a Vessel to transport him into England, had the first Notice of these Misfortunes, from Mr. Brett, an English Benedictine Monk, which in a while after was confirmed to him by the Marquess of Ormond, who came to him from Paris, with Particulars of it: The King (always present to himself in the most difficult Accidents of his Life) discovered not much Alteration at this, though it seemed a Cross, that it might very well no less sensibly affect him, than whatever had yet hap- pened to him improsperous, and giving Check to his Fortune; because hereby all his Hopes became desperate, of his being ever restored to his Sub- jects, without such foreign Force as should be able to afford Assistance and Supply to their Endeavours for him, by holding his Enemies so long in Play, 'till by Accession of his Friends, they might be strong enough to resist their greatest Power and Force: Yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Suc- cesses of the English in Flanders, had made them seem invincible to those, from whom his Majesty was to expect Assistance. But since now nothing but Foreign Aid could visibly raise his Hopes, he re- solved seriously to apply himself to the Treaty now in Agitation, upon the Borders between France and Spain, about a Peace betwixt those two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal Ma- zarine, and Don Lewis D' Haro, the two Chief Ministers of the two Kings, to which his Majesty had an Eye long since, not doubting but he should in some Measure be comprehended in it, so as to receive Assistance from those Princes his Allies, as soon as they should be freed from their Embarrassments; and in Prosecution hereof, he had commanded Sir Henry Bennet, a Person of great Prudence and Address, his Embassadour Resident in Spain, not to fail to attend Don Lewis D' Haro to the Treaty, and to be pre- sent there to negotiate his Affairs. The Treaty being near Conclusion, his Majesty, for fear it should be ended before he came thither, made all possible Haste to repair to those Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from St. Maloes to Reimes, where he met Sir George Carteret, and after some small Stay with him, went from thence to Namur, and there his Company di- vided,

The King receives News thereof at St. Maloes.

He begins to derive his chiefest Hopes from the Peace between France and Spain.

Sir Henry Bennet negotiates for his Majesty at that Treaty.

His Majesty repairs thither himself.



1659. vided, 'till they met again at *Thoulouze*; from thence he went by the Passage of *Oleron*, over the *Pyrenean Hills*, to *Saragosa*, the chief City in *Aragon*, and there he continued eight or nine Days, and dispatched Mr. *Oneal* to *Fontarabia*, to inform himself of what passed at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after some Conference with *Bennet*, they agreed to haste away Mr. *William Dungan*, an *Irish Gentleman* to the King, to let him know the Treaty was prolonged, and that his Presence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majesty then immediately hasting by Post to the Treaty, continued incognito (as he had done all his Journey) 'till he came within three Leagues of *Fontarabia*, where he was attended by *Bennet* with Coaches to augment his Equipage; and from thence he resumed his State, and went in Publick.

And is honourably entertained by the Spaniards.

He was met by the Baron of *Batteville*, a Person of great Honour and Civility (Governour of *Fontarabia*) with a Troop of Horse, a Mile and a Half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were discharged, and *Don Lewis* himself met him within the Gate. During his Stay there, he was entertained in as splendid a Manner as the Time and Place would handsomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with *Don D' Haro*, and was every Day visited by him.

*Lockhart* at the same Time Agent at this Treaty for the English Commonwealth. Is countenanced and favoured by Cardinal *Mazarine*.

The Governing Power in *England* employed at the same Time to attend on Cardinal *Mazarine* at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, *Lockhart*, who had continued ever since *Oliver's* Death, Extraordinary Embassadour in *France*. The Cardinal lay at *St. John de Luz*, the nearest Town to *Spain*, on the *French Borders*, where he shewed so much Countenance and Respect to *Lockhart*, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Visit; but he received many from divers of the *French Nobility*.

General *Monk* sends a Letter to the House, signifying his Willingness to be dismissed from his Command.

General *Monk* was inwardly very much troubled at these Disasters; and the more, because he found himself every Day more and more incapable to remedy them: For the House displaced Colonel *Daniel*, the Governour of *St. Johnstons*, and many other Officers whom he much trusted, and were about to remove the Rest; so that seeing which Way Things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to resign of his own Accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command; or at least remain but like the Image of a General, and serve only for a Prop to other Mens Designs, he sent a Letter upon the Third of September, to *Lenthall* the Speaker, to be communicated to the *Parliament*, to desire a Dismission from his Command; pretending, That he was infirm in his Health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and therefore requesting, now that all Insurrections, which threatened Disturbances to the Peace of the Nations, were allayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his Days in Quiet.

This Letter, though it was not sent to *Clarges* to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that Resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the Delivery of the Letter; yet Mr. *Nicholas Monk* giving him Intimation of it, the Mat-

ter was so ordered, that the Letter came to his Hands, and by him delivered to the Speaker, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering of it to be read for ten Days, 'till a Packet came from *Scotland* to contradict it: Yet *Clarges* was put to great Perplexity in this Business; for *Vane*, *Salway*, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private Advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; and had not earnest and dextrous Prevention been used to divert the House with other Business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by *Clarges*, he had by this Despondency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seemed by PROVIDENCE especially chosen and mark'd out.

The Defeat of Sir *George Booth* and his Party, heightened much the Spirits of the chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness; which was somewhat of late lessened by the *Parliament*, and in Designation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence held between some of the Officers at *London*, and *Lambert*, and those with him in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to engage the inferiour Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependence on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker) to obviate this, it was advised to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in *London*; but to begin with those of *Lambert's* Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune; and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible Advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd to the Number of Fifty at *Derby*, the 16th of September; the first Thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the Time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the *Parliaments* Unwillingness to prosecute the Proposals of the Army at their first Sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other Things of like Concernment. These Things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferiour Officers, who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

However, these Matters were at first only treated of in Generals, it being moved and agreed, that Colonel *Zanchy*, Colonel *Michael*, Major *Creed*, and some few others, should meet as Committee, for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. *Lambert* himself went privately to *London*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*, a great Creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after, the whole Matter being digested into the Form

The said Letter through *Clarges's* Persuasion, is kept off by the Speaker from being read.

The Army begins to contrive the Recovery and Advancement of their Power.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by *Lambert*, in Dislike of some Miscarriages of the *Junto*.

Their Designs concluded to be drawn up into the Form of Petition.



1659. Form of a *Petition*, was sent up in a Letter inclosed to Colonel *Ashfield*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and *Duckensfield*, by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to *Fleetwood*, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers; and at the same Time, when this was sent to *London*, an Officer was dispatched with a Duplicate of it to General *Monk*, and a Letter with it, to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might joyn with them; which Letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief Officers employed under *Lambert*.

*Haslerig* had secret Intimation of these Consultations at *Derby*; and the next Day after the *Petition* came to *London*, which was on the 22d of *September*, he moved the *Parliament*, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much Earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who, (he said,) were attempting Alterations in the Government, to the setting up a single Person over them.

This put the House into a Jealousy of *Lambert*; to whom, in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appeared Passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed *Cromwell*: And because it was not yet time to effect his Purpose, in his own Person, he would set up *Fleetwood* to be General of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less Envy, to compass his Ends. For *Fleetwood*, they said, was of an easy Nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing *Lambert* the Power of it, 'till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

*Fleetwood* confessed he had the Copy of a *Petition*, but seemed much perplexed at *Haslerig's* laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justify their Innocence, as tending nothing less than what was alledged; but all he said could not allay the Heat raised by *Haslerig*, inasmuch, that they ordered, that *Ashfield*, *Cobbet* and *Duckensfield*, whom he affirmed to have the Original in their Hands, should that Afternoon attend the House with it, and appointed *Fleetwood* to give them Notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. *Monk* made no Progress in *Scotland* in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were *Anabaptists*, attempted privately to get Subscriptions, 'till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the After-

noon, the three Officers mentioned, attended with their *Petition*; the Substance and Scope of which was, to desire the *Parliament* to make *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief of the Army, and *Lambert* next under him; and to proceed to a Settlement according to their late *Petition* and Address, which they complained was neglected.

After the reading of this Paper, the House adjourned 'till the next Morning, and ordered them to resume the Debate of it, and that no other Business should intervene: And at their Meeting, they Voted, That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the *Parliament*, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth; and that *Fleetwood* shall acquaint them with this Resolve.

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the *Petition*; but because the chief and most remarkable Design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

*Fleetwood*, the next Day at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the *Parliament's* Displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the *Petition* and *Proposals*, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their Number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate Nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an Adherence to their Authority, in Opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they stiled the *Common Enemy*;) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the *Commonwealth* against all Disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that Purpose, the 27th of *September*, in the Chappel at *Somerset-House*.

And the said *Petition* was at the appointed Time prepared, and brought into the General Council by those to whom the Care of framing it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many *Proposals* far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for there seemed at their former meeting, to be a general Sense and Opinion, that they should humble themselves for what they had before done with the Permission and Consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their Intention, never to interpose more in Matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraigned them for what they had done against the *Petition* of *Lambert's* Brigade; and for what (they said), had been groundlessly, and without Cause alledged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their Offences, thereby to recover the good Opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own Proceedings with a Kind of Reprehension of those that mis-informed the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major *Daberon*, Major *Barton*, and Major *Breman*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monk*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the Debates thereupon, desiring him to imploy his Credit with *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* to put a Stop to it; as that which would, if not prevented, put an irreparable Breach betwixt the *Parliament* and the Army.

*Monk* was somewhat at a Stand to know how to behave himself in this Matter, but to avoid Suspicion, he writ to *Fleetwood* a courteous Letter of his Opinion of the whole Affair, but insisted chiefly on that Part of the *Petition*, wherein it was proposed, That no Officer or Soldier should be cashier'd, or dismiss'd from their Places, without a due Proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own Consent, except in Case of Reducement or Disbanding; desiring they would add, (after the Words Court-Martial), or by Order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the Place; alledging, That although

The Officers resolve upon more moderate Proposals.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

*Monk* writes his Sense of it in a Letter to *Fleetwood*.



1659. the removing or displacing of Officers or Soldiers, otherwise than by Sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practised: Yet if a general or the supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more inferior Officers and Soldiers to affront the Superior, and the General himself, and would in time, make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.

Monk of  
fers him-  
self to  
march  
to the Af-  
sistance of  
the Parlia-  
ment's  
Party.

This Letter came not to Fleetwood, till the greater Part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But Monk's Intention was to make his Advantage of this Division; and to that End, sent his Brother Nicholas to London to Clarges to authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members as he thought most fit, That if they would assert their own Authority, he would march into England, to justify it against any Opposition.

During this Debate at London of the general Officers, all imaginable Endeavours were used by the Dissenters, to protract and lengthen the Time, but they were by much over-numbered: And the Petition was signed by two hundred and thirty Commission-Officers of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who were then in and about London.

Orders  
made by  
the Junta  
of Com-  
mons, for  
the encour-  
agement  
of the Sol-  
diers, the  
better to  
engage  
them to  
their Inte-  
rest.

Orders for  
the Sale of  
Hampton-  
Court,  
Somerset  
House, &c.

The leading Members had from Time to Time Notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the Matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, they made many Orders concerning Pay of the Soldiers, and Mariners, and Provisions for the maimed Soldiers, and Orphans, and Widows, of such as were killed in their Service. To the Soldiers they ordered, that all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia-Troops and Companies, should be paid out of the Moiety of such Monies as should be raised by the Sale, or other Disposition of the Estates of Delinquents sequestered, and to be sequestered upon the late Insurrection, and out of one Moiety of Money to be raised by the Sale of Forests and Chaces, excepting New Forest, and the Forest of Deane; and excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Commonwealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, they order'd the other Moiety of the Money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates: And also that Hampton-Court House, Parks, and Somerset-House, (except the Chapel which was reserved for a French Congregation) and all other Manors, Parks, Houses, and Lands contained in the several Acts for Sale of the King and Queen's Lands, should be sold, and the Money go to that Use. And for the maimed Soldiers, Orphans and Widows, of such as were slain in their Service, they order'd the Committees, formerly constituted for Inspections into the publick Treasuries, to pay two Months Pay to them, and to take care to put such of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewise, to gain themselves the more general Esteem, considered of some Ways to satisfy part of the Debts contracted to raise Arms against the King, at the Beginning of the War, upon the publick Faith of the Parliament, which had been long neglected; and

in order thereunto, they ordered, that the other 1659. Moiety of the Money to be raised by the Sale of the Forests, (except as aforesaid) should be employed towards the Payment and Satisfaction of those Debts. The House imagined that these their Proceedings would so far satisfy the Generality of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the Delivery of their Petition; and many of the most active Members in Credit, with the leading Men, did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail.

The Rem-  
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delivery of  
the Peti-  
tion.

The Insolency of the Proposals therein contained, gave our present Senators reason to suspect their Authority to be of no long Continuance; but in regard, many Officers of the Army dissented from the representing and proposing Party, they imagined the rest would not be very hasty to make a Rupture: Therefore they resolved to assert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto they had many sharp Debates about this Representation and Petition; but in the End they concluded with Moderation, and directed their Speaker to call the Petitioners into the House, and acquaint them, "That the Parliament had read their Representation and Petition, and taking notice of the good Expressions therein of their Affections and Faithfulness to this Parliament and Commonwealth, had commanded him to give them the Thanks of their House for them; and to let them know, that they had already taken into Consideration the Relief of the poor Widows, Orphans, and maimed Soldiers, to whom Pensions had been formerly allowed; and had also settled a way for Satisfaction of the Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers, and would endeavour to bring the same to speedy Effect".

The Junta  
dissemble  
at first  
their Dis-  
taste at  
these Pro-  
ceedings of  
the Army.

Desborow gives an Account of this Answer to a General Council of Officers who assembled that Afternoon on purpose. It was not unknown to them that the House repented their Address, and that in such a Degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Constitution of the Army. To provide against this, they thought fit to strengthen their Party, by getting more Subscriptions to their Representation and Petition, and agreed upon the Form of a Letter to be sent for that End to Ireland, and another to Scotland, and to every Regiment in England.

The Coun-  
cil of Of-  
ficers la-  
bour to get  
Subscripti-  
ons to their  
Representa-  
tion.

The General had Intimation of this Letter from Clarges before it came to his Hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that passed upon the Delivery of the Representation, which made him resolve to admit of no Subscriptions in Scotland. And when the Letter came to his Hands, he returned in Answer to it: That he thought it unfit to have any Subscriptions made to that, to which now the Parliament had given an Answer, lest it should be understood to make a Party against them. And in pursuance of this Resolution, he sent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to subscribe.

The Sub-  
stance of  
General  
Monk's  
Answer.

The House a little before this Agitation, had begun to court General Monk very much, as thinking it a matter of no small Importance to gain him wholly to them. And he having sent

He is  
courted by  
the Parlia-  
ment  
Party.



1659. a Letter to them, (which they received two Days after the Delivery of the Representation of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable Condition of Scotland, in Obedience to their Government, wherein he moved something in Favour of some of his Officers, and commended the Temper of his Army: They returned him Answer the same Day with the Thanks of the House, and let him know, *The high Esteem they had of the Services, which with so much Valour, Prudence, and Faithfulness, he had performed; and that they had granted the Desire of his Letters, with Assurance to him and his Officers and Soldiers under his Command, of Returns of Favours from the Parliament answerable to their Merit.*

And complemented by a Letter with gratulatory Expressions for his good Service.

Upon the 10th of the said Month, they took the Proposals in the Armies Representation into Debate; and answered the same so little to the Content of the Presenters, as filled the Army with strange Rumours. On the other side the Parliament, to provide against all Accidents, consulted, if any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such Actings: And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, they for a time deferred their further Consideration on the Proposals of the Representation, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of Parliament.

A Letter to Okey, the chief Cause of the speedy putting forth of this Act.

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a Letter which had been communicated to them under the Hands of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Packer, Barrow and Creed, directed to Colonel Okey. It was much to the same Purpose with that sent to General Monk before-mentioned, and in the same Form: This Letter was by accident delivered to Okey; for there being many Letters signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by Fleetwood's Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to Okey; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and he to the House; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but respited the Consideration of it till the next Morning, which was the 12th of October.

Mr. Monk arrives from Scotland with private Orders from the Gen. to Clarges.

That Night Mr. Nicholas Monk arrived (after not above four Days Journey from Scotland) and had Orders from the General to tell Clarges, That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it, and if required thereunto, march into England in their Defence.

The Commissions of Lambert, Desborow and others voted void.

Clarges, early the next Morning, communicated this to Walton, Haslerig and Scot, who were so much encouraged by it, that at the first Sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they ordered that the Commissions of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Packer, and Barrow, who subscribed the said Letter should be void.

They had it in motion, to declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next Day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them; and before they parted, they made an Act, appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the A C T, Constituting Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised by Authority of Parliament, within England and Scotland, and all Power and Authority thereby given: And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners, in the Place and Stead of a Lieutenant-General. These Commissioners were Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerig, Morley, Walton, and Overton, who were impowered to execute all and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th of October, 1659. to the 22d of February, 1659, &c.

An Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing Fleetwood from the Chief Command thereof.

They likewise ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officers Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because Lambert was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were Men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately ordered Camfield, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that Skepper the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Bradshaw to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these lately constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the Speaker's Chamber at Westminster, and ordered Colonel Morley's and Colonel Mose's Regiments, as a Guard to the Parliament, who possessed themselves of the Palace-Yard, and the great Hall. Lambert on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his Power to prevent; and to that End drew some Regiments together, who march'd to King's-street, and possessed themselves of all the Avenues to the Parliament House.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. Morley and Mose ordered with their Regiments to Guard the House. Lambert, with the Regiment that adjoyned here, stops the Passages to the Parliament House.

In the Morning the Speaker came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the Palace-Yard, he was stoppt by Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield; and after a little Expostulation was forced to return. The Soldiers on both Sides kept their Station till towards the Evening in a Posture of Hostility, ready to have fired one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: But they were better advised, insomuch that the Council of State meeting at Whitehall, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and marched away that Night: However, Lambert's Party obtained their Desire; forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future Fleetwood took Care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the Parliament House, to prevent them

The Speaker forced to return.

Lambert and his Party dissolve the Remnant Parliament by hindring the Members from coming into the House.



1659. them from meeting. The next Day divers of the Chief Officers of the Army met at *Whitehall*, and chose ten Persons as a Council for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the Commonwealth, 'till further Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, *Sir Henry Vane*, *Desborow*, *Sir James Harrington*, *Major Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham*, and *Archibald Johnson* a Scotchman, commonly called the Laird of *Warreston*; and at *Wallingford-House*, the same Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, that *Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; that *Lambert* should be the next Chief Officer under him; and *Desborow* Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by *Sir Henry Vane*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*; but in special Manner they took Care for the preparing of *Articles of War*, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the time since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Soldiery was very tolerable to the People; and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to vulgar Censure. Some mentioned General *Monk* to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not hearken'd to; and those that opposed it, assured the rest, that he had little Power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Counsels, he might easily be displaced: They had not yet received his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their *Representation* and *Petition*, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrence, they dispatched Colonel *Cobbet* to him, with a large *Narrative* of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of General *Monk*.

The Lord *Mordant*, and some others of the King's Friends lying at *Calais*, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in *England*, dispatched Mr. *Nicholas Armorer* to his Majesty who was then at *Fontarabia*, industriously soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large Promises from the *Spaniards*; and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he received from *Don Lewis D' Haro*, a Present of twenty thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a Purpose to have gone directly to *Madrid*; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. *Armorer*, in hopes that something might fall out in *England* to his Advantage, he chose to return to *Bruxels*. The Earl of *St. Albans* coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met his Majesty at *Bayon*, in his Return from *Fontarabia*: Cardinal *Mazarine* being before departed from *St. John de Luz*, not having received any Visit from his Majesty before his Departure.

The Earl of *St. Albans* conferred much with the King whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to *Paris*, whither the King fol-

lowed him *incognito* by easy Journeys; and after some Stay there, went from thence to *Bruxels*.

At this time such of the King's Friends as had Opportunity, were very Active in his Service; amongst whom the Endeavours of Mr. *Evelin* of *Say's Court* near *Deptford* in *Kent*, is not to be omitted, who having some Acquaintance with Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whose Birth, Education, and Interest in his Country, rendered him unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the Ruin of his Country; he attempted with just and honest Arguments, to draw him to the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater Credit than any of his Party in *Suffex*, where he lived, in case his Majesty should Land there, and having also a good Influence upon the Fleet, and two of the Army Regiments.

*Morley*, after some Hesitation, was persuaded by Mr. *Evelin* to return to his Allegiance, and he desired him to intercede with the King for a Pardon to himself and some few others of his Relations, which he named, and then departed into his Country, and gave him Notice how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at *Whitehall*, and a *Juncto* of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation how to make such a Frame of Government as should be durable and lasting against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in *England* to be some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party; whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely changed into the Hands of Persons irreconcilable to *Monarchy*. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

The Council of Officers consulted about a Frame of Government.

The General Council, on the 26th of this Month, nominated twenty three Persons to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they called a *Committee of Safety*; and the next Day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers and Instructions; of which the Chief were,

A certain Number of Persons called to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a Committee of Safety. Their Instructions.

1. To execute all the Powers of the late Council of State, together with Authority to call all Delinquents to account, that were in the late Insurrection, and to proceed to a bringing them to Justice, and to give Indemnity to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the Commonwealth, since the Year 1649.
2. To oppose and suppress all Rebellions and Insurrections.
3. To treat with Foreign States and Princes.
4. To raise the Militia in the several Counties.
5. To dispose of all Places of Trust that are void, and to remove such as are scandalous.
6. To make Sale and Compositions for all Delinquents Estates.

The



1659. The Names of these Governours, were *Bulstrode Whitlock*, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal; *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Steel*, Chancellor of Ireland; *Sir Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Walter Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, *Sir James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichborn*, *Hewson*, *Clark*, *Bennet*, Colonel *Lilburn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Brandriff*, and *Robert Thompson*.

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrained by the Mixture of some moderate Men among them. These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Insinuations, to silence all Gainfayers, and to make the People believe, they could frame any Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings; yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded Hope, in Regard *Vane*, *Whitlock* and *Salway*, and some others of the most Prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

*Whitlock* indeed, was much censured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise Men, that marked his Demeanour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great Measure restrained the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short Time of their Tyranny, done much Mischief to many of the King's Friends.

The Substance of General Monk's Letters to Fleetwood and Lambert. That which put the greatest Check to their Career, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good Men, was the Arrival of Letters from General *Monk* in Scotland, to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to them the twenty-eighth of October in the Evening. He complained therein, Of their Violation of Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Resolution to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.

Clarges dispatched away into Scotland by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. *Talbot*, to solicit *Monk* to a Treaty. *Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Desborow*, immediately met at *Whitehall* in much Confusion, and about Twelve at Night they sent Major *Haynes* to desire *Clarges* to come to them; who, when he came, after some Question of his Knowledge of the General's Proceedings, (to which he made very wary Answers,) they desired him to go into Scotland with Colonel *Talbot*, (whose Regiment was then at *Edinburgh*), to prevail with *Monk* for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the Effusion of Blood. They said, They chose *Talbot* to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

*Clarges* was very glad of this Opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse treated,) and they were so pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three Hours Preparation for his Journey.

Monk well inform'd of all Passages in England. In the mean Time, *Monk* in Scotland, had by an Express from *Clarges*, which came to him the 17th of October, received exact Information of the Interruption of the Parliament; and at several times before, he had Notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him Time to prepare for what happened.

What Forces he had, and how disposed. He had in Scotland at this Time ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of a thousand Soldiers, besides Officers; except

four Companies, which had been drawn into England, a little before, upon the Alarm of *Sir George Booth's* Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same Occasion; so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, viz. his own, and Colonel *Philip Twisleton's*, and one Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Major-General *Morgan*. The Foot were dispersed at great Distances; eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at *Edinburgh*, and two of them at *Dalkeith*, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment was quartered in *Edinburgh*; nine Companies of Colonel *Wilks's* Regiment were in the Citadel at *Leith*, and one of them in the Castle at *Edinburgh*; nine Companies of Colonel *Read's* Regiment were at *Sterlin*, and the tenth in *England*; eight Companies of Colonel *Overton's* Regiment at *Dundee*, and two of them in *England*; Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment lay at *St. Johnston's*; Colonel *Sawries's* Regiment at *Aire*; Colonel *Cobbet's* at *Glasgow*; nine Companies of Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment at *Aberdeen*, and the other in *England*; and Part of Colonel *Smith's* Regiment at *Inverness*; and the rest of the Garrisons in the Highlands: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several Places near the Foot-Quarters; but at such Distances as might not incommode the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilst they sat at *Whitehall*, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments both of Horse and Foot, which raised great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment to *Pierfon* his Lieutenant-Colonel, an *Anabaptist*; they had also displaced *Hubblethorn*, who was Major to Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment; *Hughes*, who was Major to *Wilks's*, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one *Knolles* an *Anabaptist*, to his Command; *Johnson*, the eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, (and many more too long to mention,) in all the Regiments; few or none of those new Officers chosen at *Whitehall*, to supply the Places of those removed, were yet come into Scotland: So that General *Monk* taking that Opportunity to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus obliged before, thereby intirely depend on him.

Having resolved to stand upon his Guard, and declare against the Army in *England*, the first Thing he did, was to consult which Way best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons with least Hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more Use of Execution than Council, he made very little Hesitation in what he intended to act: He was most disident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which, during his Absence in the Dutch War, had been so transformed, that most of the Officers were become *Anabaptists*;) and the three Regiments in *Glasgow*, *Aire*, and *St. Johnston's*.

The first Minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mention'd 17th Day of October, he sent Captain *Jeremiah Smith* of his own Regiment

Monk keeps in those Officers whom the Commissioners had displaced.

And removes those whom he himself distrusted.



1659. of Horse, to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, to signify his Pleasure to Major *Hubblethorn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot's* Regiment of Foot; the other to that of *Wilks's*, quarter'd at *Leith*; and *Johnson* commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horse.

The General signifies his Resolution to send over of his Officers, to march into England, to re-establish the Parliament, and hath their Consent and Encouragement.

Great Preparations in Monk's Army, for the fortifying themselves against the prevailing Faction in England.

These came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain *Morgan* of his own Regiment of Foot, and *Miller* of *Wilks's* Regiment, who had the Guards of *Dalkeith* House: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the General's Regiment, were both *Anabaptists*, and at that Time absent; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry* of *Read's* Regiment, was by Chance there, and was advised with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Resolution to march into England with a Part of his Army, to re-establish the Parliament; to which they all freely consented: *Hubblethorn* gave him perfect Assurance of all *Talbot's* Regiment, of which he had now the Command; because the Colonel, and *Pourel* the Lieutenant-Colonel were both in England: And indeed much must be attributed to the Courage and Diligence of that Gentleman, whose Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Soldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at *Edenburgh*, gave a great Reputation to the whole Undertaking: For although some in all the Regiments, and many in most, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Design, (as most naturally are,) than to begin the Action: Captain *Johnson* had been by the Nominators at London removed from his Troop, but was now by the General restored to it; and as he was the eldest Captain of the Regiment, by the Absence of Major *Knight*, he had the Command under the General of all his Regiment of Horse, and was well beloved by them: Major *Hughes* gave him Hopes of making all Colonel *Wilks's* Regiment at his Service: *Hubblethorn* (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the *High-Street* at *Edenburgh*, and to let all the Musqueteers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; and *Johnson* was commanded to be ready in *Edenburgh* at the same time, with his own Troop, and that of one Captain *Symnel's*, an honest stout Officer: *Hughes* was appointed in the Absence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were sent for the next Morning, to confer with the General, to secure the Citadel at *Leith*. He had, upon some Kind of Expectation of Change, kept Captain *Witter*, (of the Regiment lying at *St. Johnston's*), and Captain *Robson*, (of the Regiment of *Aire*), both at *Edenburgh*, and had sent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, one to secure the Citadel at *St. Johnston's*, and the other at *Aire*; which was very difficult Service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments were very ill-disposed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major *Knight*, who was then in *Yorkshire* at his own House, to hasten him to his Command.

The next Day after Dinner, the General marched to *Edenburgh*, with only Captain *Smith's* Troop of Horse, having before dispatched away *Witter* and *Robson*. *Morgan* had been sent before to *Edenburgh*, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither Match, Powder nor Ball. As soon as he came into the *High-Street*, and found the Regiments in that Order he expected, he retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and sent for *Morgan* to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain *Nicholas* he promoted to be Major, and at the same Instant displaced all whom he knew to be disaffected to him, and such of them as were dangerous to be imprisoned; which done, he marched with both the Regiments to the *Gray-Friers Church*, where he called together the Officers, and told them, That the Army in England had broken up the Parliament, out of a restless, uncontrollable Disposition of being pleased with nothing that tended to the Welfare and Happiness of the People; that though they had lately taken Shame to themselves (in their publick Declaration,) for their former Apostacies, yet now, finding the Parliament unapt to humour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them. He said, He was resolved to make the Military Power subservient to the Civil, and that since they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to serve and obey them against all Opposition; which should be his Practice; and he expected their Concurrence and Assistance to joyn with him. But if any were dissatisfied, and would declare it to him, they should have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Passes to go Home.

Upon this, Colonel *Wilks*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, with all that were present, unanimously declared to live and dye with him. Captain *Johnson* was then dispatched to *Berwick*, to secure that Garrison, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Mayers*; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great Advantage to Monk's Designs; Captain *Hatt*, and Captain *Dennis*, two well approved Officers of Colonel *Cobbet's* Regiment, being both at *Edenburgh* when these Transactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at *Glasgow*, and to march with it to *Edenburgh*, came thither before any Knowledge of the Alterations, at the Headquarters, and privately consulted with such of the Regiment as they were confident of, before they publickly discovered their Orders: Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, who was there in Chief, in the Absence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppose it; but he being presently secured, *Hatt* and *Dennis* performed their Instructions, and immediately marched the Regiment to the General.

Captain *Witter*, as soon as he came to *St. Johnston's*, drew up two Companies, whom he most confided in, upon the Sands before the Citadel, and proposed to them what he had in Charge from the General; whereupon they all shouted in Consent to it, at the Noise whereof, the Soldiers coming in Confusion out of the Citadel, he marched with the aforesaid Companies into it, and took Possession thereof: He made

1659. The General marches to *Edenburgh*, and there orders all Things to his best Advantage.

His Speech to his Officers.

Captain *Johnson* secures *Berwick*.

Capt. *Hatt* and *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobbet's* Regiment to the General.

Capt. *Witter* takes Possession for the General of the Citadel of *St. Johnston's*.



1659. made Lieutenant-Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelk* Prisoners; the first whereof was afterwards upon his Consent to joyn with the General, released from his Imprisonment, but *Kelk* was still detained. Of this Regiment at *St. Johnstown*, *Witter*, for his handsome Performance of this Undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

And is made Major of the Regiment.

*Robson* gets Possession of the Citadel at *Ayre*.

And is made Colonel of the Regiment.

*Robson* at *Ayre*, was more deliberate in the Execution of his Orders: he dealt so with the Officers, that most of them except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to *Carlisle*, and secured that Garrison for the Army in *England*; the Colonel temporiz'd a While, but finding his Arts successless, and thereupon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robson*, for his good Service; and sent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before displaced, (and *Pierfon*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, advanced to the Command of that Regiment,) to take again his Command of Colonel thereof.

The Settlement of these two Regiments, gave much Encouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his Design; and the rather, in regard he himself had look'd upon it as none of the easiest Works to compass.

He made no Alteration at first in those Companies which belonged to Colonel *Overton* at *Dundee*, because he had Hopes to gain him to declare for him, with the Garrison at *Hull*, then under his Command; and in regard they were on that Side of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had opposed. He sent to Colonel *Fairfax*, who quartered with his Regiment at *Aberdeen*, to haste with it to *Edinburgh*; and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry* was sent to *Read*, his Colonel at *Sterlin*, to appoint him to march to the General with all his Men, except two Companies, which were to be left for the Safety of the Town and Castle. And at the same time he sent a Commission to *Inverness*, to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the Place of *Smith*, who adhered to the Army in *England*, and appointed him to send three of his best Companies to *Edinburgh*. He dispatch'd also some trusty Officers to the Horse-Troops, and then went himself to *Leith*, to settle the Citadel and Regiment in Obedience to him. Upon his first coming, he displaced *Knolles*, and confined him, and restored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewise some other Anabaptist Officers were put out, and others placed in their rooms. Captain *Clifton*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edinburgh* Castle, upon Promise of Faithfulness and Service to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Trust and Confidence. And thus these three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well settled, till more Time could be allowed to refine them.

*Smith's* Regiment at *Inverness*, given to Colonel *Man*.

The General march'd to *Leith*, to settle the Citadel and Regiment there.

And thence to *Linlithgow*.

Upon the 21<sup>st</sup>, he marched some Companies of Horse and Foot to *Linlithgow*, intending to go thence to *Glasgow*, to settle *Cobbet's* Regiment, of which he was in some Doubt; but he there received Intelligence of what was done by *Hatt* and *Dennis*, and therefore went no further.

He there also had Notice of the Submission of 1659. the Citadel at *Ayre*, and that *Berwick* was rendered to him, where Colonel *Cobbet* was stayed and detained in Prison, as he was coming into *Scotland* with his Regiment, and it was seasonably done; for if he had been permitted to pass, the Opinion which was had of him by the Soldiers, might have much hindered the General's Proceeding. He was brought with a Guard to *Edinburgh* Castle, and kept there, the General being much incensed against him, upon private Advice that he had Instructions to have seized him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in *England*. At *Linlithgow*, at a Council of Officers, it was advis'd that some Way should be used to draw off the Independent Churches in *England*, from favouring the English Army, which would have much weakened that Party, if it had succeeded, for most of the inferiour Officers were of that Persuasion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was framed, agreed to, and published, and dispersed all over *England*: And at the same time, another Declaration was also made to satisfy the Kingdom in general, with the Reason of his taking Arms; alledging, that he did it for the Vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the Freedom of Parliaments.

Col. *Cobbet* detained Prisoner at *Berwick*.

Two Declarations published by the General, in Vindication of these Proceedings of his.

Two Expostulatory Letters were also writ, the one to *Fleetwood*, and the other to *Lambert*, blaming the Violence of their Proceedings against the Parliament, and another to the Speaker, to be informed of the Condition wherein the House then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right Understanding between the Parliament and the Army, he would be ready, in Case the Army persisted to disobey their Orders, to assist them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this Time, Major *Knight* was returned out of *England*; for hearing of the Disorders at *London*, and that some Jealousies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been some Months before engaged with the Lord *Castleton*, in Sir *George Booth's* Rising, he thought best for his own Security, to make all possible Haste down to his Command; his Arrival fell out to be three Days after the General had first declared; *Morgan's* Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horse; and Major *Farmer* was sent with a Troop to secure *Carlisle*, who, when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnson* did into *Berwick*; but sent in to treat with the Governour, and was so long doing it, till *Elton*, that commanded the Town, had fixed the Soldiers to a Resolution of keeping him out. Moreover, *Monk* considering that his Army could not be got together in six Weeks Time, to march into *England*, he, therefore to amuse the Faction there, sent Major *Knight*, with four Troops of choice Horse, and six Companies of Foot, to surprize *Newcastle*. The Horse-Troops were commanded by *Knight*, *Johnson*, *Wilmot*, and *Simnel*; and the Foot by *Miller*, *Mansfield*, *Collins*, *Witter*, *Seymour* and *Belcham*, all gallant and well resolved Men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had Advice, that some Forces were got into *Newcastle* before him, which being intimated also to the General, he presently counter-

Major *Knight* arrives in *Scotland*.

Maj. *Farmer* sent by the General to possess *Carlisle*, is kept out by the Soldiers.

Major *Knight* sent with a Party to seize *Newcastle*, but is prevented.



1659. countermanded him and his Party to *Anwick*, where he staid for some Time: The not taking *Newcastle*, was no Discouragement to the General or his Army; for upon more deliberate Consideration, he thought the Miss of it rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, since if he had taken it, it would in all Probability have been immediately besieged by *Lambert*: And then he must have been obliged to attempt the Relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole Design.

*Monk* invites Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* in *Ireland*, to a Conjunction with him.

*Col. Lilburn* in *Yorkshire*, makes all possible Opposition against General *Monk*.

He endeavours to seduce the General's Secretary from his Service, but prevails not.

He intercepts the General's Letters to Maj. Gen. *Morgan*.

*Talbot* and *Clarges* arrive at *Edinburgh*, and are well received by the General.

The General at the same Time that he sent the before-mentioned Letters to *London*, did likewise send a Messenger with Letters to Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, who commanded the Army in *Ireland*, to move him to joyn with him, or at least to represent to him so fair an Account of his Action, as might induce him not to be his Hinderance in any of his Undertakings.

Colonel *Lilburn*, who lay at *York* with some Forces, upon the first Rumour of *Monk's* Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without staying to be well informed of the Reasons of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert's* breaking up the Parliament, he drew all the Officers in those Parts to enter into an Association against *Monk*, and to joyn with the Army at *London*, in whatsoever they designed.

He also writ to Mr. *Clarke*, the General's Secretary, who was an active, useful Instrument in his Affairs, to seduce him from his Service: The Truth is, the greatest Part of *Clarke's* Estate was in *England*, and he was a Man of so civil and ingenious a Conversation, that he might have been the better excused in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his Interest did direct him to it. But he was resolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the General's Bottom, and would not by Threats, or Cunning, (which were both used by *Lilburn* to him), be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which, his Fidelity and Constancy at this Time, he was ever after so much esteemed by the General, that he trusted him with his most secret Transactions.

Major-General *Morgan* had lain long sick of the Gout at *York*, and began about this Time to recover his Health. The Letter which *Monk* sent to him, was intercepted by *Lilburn*, which *Morgan* a little repented, but thought it adviseable so far to conceal his Passion, (till he might have convenient Opportunity to get into *Scotland*) as to seem to *Lilburn* rather to dislike, than approve of the General's Proceedings.

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges*, came not to *Edinburgh* till the second of *November*; they were both very well received by *Monk*, but especially *Clarges*, being his Brother-in-Law, with whom he had that Night much Conference in private. The General wondered that *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* would send him, and thought it a good Omen to his Success, that he had him to assist his Designs. *Clarges* frankly asked him, What was the true End he aimed at in their Enterprize? telling him that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted after this Rupture, if he patched up a Peace with the *English* Army; and withal acquainting him, that he observed a great Conternation in the Officers and Soldiers as

he passed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

The General (as the most reserved Man then living) was in some Trouble to be pressed to discover his Intentions, and at that Time opened himself no further, than to let him know he was resolved to endeavour to free his Native Country from the Slavery it was under; and to effect it, he thought one of the best Expedients would be to restore the Parliament; but in their Admission to Sit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no Difference betwixt them, but let in as well the secluded Members as others. Having said this, he conjured *Clarges* to Secresy, being very sensible that the Jealousy had on him by the Army was so great, it having been often cast in his Dish, by some of his ill-Willers, that the King was in the Bottom of his Designs, that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party, to engage with him.

As to the present Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy Thousand Pounds in Money, Part whereof was already in his Treasury, and the rest would in a short Time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well stored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Necessaries; and that he had in Part modelled his Army fit for his Purposes, and should in a While perfect it. *Clarges* let him know, that the Wants in *Fleetwood* and *Lambert's* Army were very great; and that upon *Lambert's* Expedition they were not able to advance one Month's Pay, for his Army, which would make them by free Quarter, be very burthensome and distastful to the Country: So that if by a Treaty, or any other Means, he could protract Time, his Business might be done without Hazard.

The General replied, That he thought the Overture of a Treaty from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, might be improved to his great Advantage, for he could not in a Month's Time draw his Men together: And that his sending *Knight* with a Party to lodge at *Anwick*, was to make them think him in greater Readiness than he was, the more thereby to distract their Levies. The General then resolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning summoned his Chief Officers together, to nominate Commissioners, and to resolve upon Instructions for them: He chose to advise with his Officers in all these Matters, to free them from Suspicion. Colonel *Talbot* was very glad his Journey was so successful to obtain a Treaty so easily. The General and his Officers met, and at the first Proposition they consented to the Motion for a Treaty; and when he put them to name fit Persons to be Commissioners, they referred it to him. He then appointed Major *Knight*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cloberry* to be Two, and put it to them to name a Third, and they proposed Colonel *Wilks*, who was reputed to be a good Religious Man, and acceptable to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers in *England*. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were so hot in Debate, that the Question was not without much Contest carried for allowing them a Fortnight's Time for the Treaty. The General was perplexed in his Mind at this; for he would not have them limited to Time, because that was the only Thing he wanted,

He discovers to *Clarges* some Glimmering of his Intentions.

The present Condition of *Monk*, for Money and Ammunition.

*Lambert's* Army in great Want of Money.

Gen. *Monk* takes Hold for his Advantage, of *Lambert's* Overture for a Treaty.

Mr. *Knight*, Col. *Cloberry*, and Col. *Wilks*, made Choice of to be the General's Commissioners in this Treaty.



1659. wanted, yet he discovered no Displeasure: However, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invented Matter to confound their Debates, that they had no Power given them to conclude any thing; and they were to insist upon the restoring the *Parliament*: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other Form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the 1st of *October*, and to take Care that the Arrears, of such part of the *English* Assessment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, should be forthwith paid; and that a godly, learned and faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Encouragements, should be continued in the three Nations: The like Regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other Matters sufficiently remote from the present Affair. Moreover, it was particularly inserted, that they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in *England*, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

These Commissioners were hasted away, and Lambert was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at *York*, where he told them he had full Power from *Fleetwood*, the Officers of the Army, and the Committee of Safety, to treat and conclude with them of all Differences. They seemed not averse to it; but when they began to enter upon the Matter, and proposed the Restitution of the *Parliament*, he told them, *Fleetwood* and the Officers at *London* had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that Matter, without the common Consent of all, and so they went forwards towards *London*. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both Parties accorded, that the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted Intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

The Army of Horse and Foot with Lambert did amount to near twelve Thousand, and Monk had not above half the Number; nevertheless, he had this Advantage, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidental: The late *Parliament* (so called) about the latter End of *June* (as is before expressed) had made a short Act to authorize the Payment of a Year's Tax upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, appointed to be raised by one of *Cromwell's* *Parliaments*; and they in that Act directed One Moiety of Money to be paid by the 1st of *August*, and the other the 10th of *October* following. The Proportion for *Scotland* to pay of this Tax, was six thousand Pounds a Month; and in regard, the Country was poor, and burthened with many other Payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulged them so far as to grant them Forbearance of Payment 'till the 10th of *October* for the first Moiety, and two Months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do, and performed it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by *Clarges's* Agent to the *Parliament*, that he got twenty thousand Pounds in Money to be sent into *Scotland* towards the Pay of his Army, 'till that Money could be collected.

And that was the Bulk of all the Money he had in this Undertaking; but it was increased by *Excise* and *Custom*, and other Duties; for after he declared, he seized on all: And of this we make the more particular Mention in this Place, because some ignorant of these Transactions, have published, that the General had an Assessment raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of *Scotland*; which was first invented by the Seditious in *England* to his Prejudice, and afterwards, because uncontradicted, believed for a Truth.

Lambert was informed by his Confident *Lillburn*, Major Gen. that Major General *Morgan*, who had been some time sick of the Gout in *York*, was dissenting from General *Monk's* Proceedings, and that he would be unwilling to go to him to dissuade him from the Pursuit of them; and therefore he dealt with him to take a Journey thither (on Pretence of repairing to his Charge, which was then in *Scotland*) to use the Credit he had with him to an Accommodation betwixt them: *Morgan* (who waited only for an Occasion to get away) was glad of this Overture, and undertook to do his Part in this Business, so that at a Day's Warning he began his Journey from *York* towards *Edinburgh*. He had with him one *Troutbeck*, a Chirurgeon (upon Pretence of taking Care of his Health) a very subtle intelligent Person, excellent in his Profession, and withal, of great Discretion, and much beloved by the Soldiers of both Armies, and of considerable Interest among them. These got safe to *Edinburgh* about the 7th or 8th of *November*; and the coming of *Morgan* was a good Accession to *Monk's* Party, and a great Encouragement to all the Officers and Soldiers: For he was esteemed by them to be next the General, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty Years a Soldier, and present in the greatest Battles and Sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted himself to the Astonishment of his Enemies, and the Admiration of Marshal *Turenne*, and all the *French* Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the General, he asked him aloud, merrily, If he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with *Fleetwood* and Lambert? To which he was answered by him, if they would restore the *Parliament*, he had little more to say, and if he pleased, he might let them know as much. *Morgan* replied, I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your Undertakings: You know I am no Statesman; I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will join with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and Judgment in the Conduct of them.

This generous Friendship was kindly received by *Monk*, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done in a Time when the Army in *England* was at its greatest Height; and that in *Scotland* very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a Day or two before, one of the Troops of *Morgan's* own Regiment ran over *Tweed* to Lambert.

Their Instructions.

They meet Lambert at York, and began the Treaty there: But not agreeing, they set forward to London.

Monk's Army inferior to Lambert's in Number, but better paid.

1659.

Major Gen. Morgan takes his Journey into Scotland to Gen. Monk.

His joining with Monk a Matter of much importance.

The Discourse between the General and him at their first Meeting.



1659. In the Evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of York, a

He privately delivers a Letter to the General from Mr. *Bowles*, a Minister of York.

The Effect of the Letter.

very eminent Man of those Parts, and of great Credit with my Lord *Fairfax*, and many others of good Note in that County, (*Clarges* being yet at *Edenburgh*, and consulted with in the Business). The Letter imported, That the Lord *Fairfax*, and many others of good Interest in Yorkshire, were willing to join with the General, but that they disapproved of his Declaration which was restrained to the restoring of that Part of the Parliament only which sat after the Seclusion of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a Commonwealth Government. To this the General answered, That *Clarges* could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was printed in his Name, was not (at that Conjunction) to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other Hands; and 'till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his Hands, it was unreasonable for him to contradict what was done, since all that was writ could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a Design to set up the King in his Government. The Conclusion of this was to send *Clarges* to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and several others, to engage them; it being thought expedient at the same time, to imploy all possible Care to amuse the Parliament and Army, 'till the General could get a Power in his Hands to justify other Counsels. *Clarges* was dispatched to *Bowles*, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a Belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the General, and another Letter to the same Purpose to my Lord *Fairfax*, from whom he was to have an Address to *Rossiter* in *Lincolnshire*.

*Clarges* sent to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and others to engage them to General *Monk*.

Col. *Talbot* prevailed upon by *Lambert* to take part with him.

*Talbot* knew nothing of these Traverses, but carried himself with much Moderation all the time of his Stay, and with so much Profession of respect to the General, that he assured him, If he would go to London and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him: Which he promised to do, but was afterwards, by the Importunity of *Lambert*, prevailed upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteemed by all that knew him, to be a Person not averse to a better and more just Government than he at that time lived under, and was obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his Assistance and Help.

Cap. *Dean*, Mr. *Caryl*, Col. *Whaley* and *Goffe* sent by *Fleetwood* to G. *Monk*.

*Fleetwood* could not conceal his Fears; for the same Week that *Talbot* and *Clarges* were sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he had any Return from them, Captain *Dean*, one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. *Caryl* the Minister, with Colonel *Goffe* and *Whaley*, were sent to the General on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Barker* were deputed in the Name of the Independent Congregations in and about London, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Mean while, *Clarges* and *Talbot* took their leaves of the General to return home. The Presence of *Dean's* coming into Scotland before *Caryl* and *Whaley*, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce *Monk's* Soldiers from him, bringing him

withal a Letter from *Fleetwood*, which contained an Offer of what Command in the Army he should desire, upon the least private Intimation of his inclining to take Part with him. This made the General to believe there was some Jealousies betwixt *Lambert* and him, which he might have improved to the breaking one of them; but he chose the more generous way, and refused the Offer; letting him know, He sought not himself, but the Good of the Nations, and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command he had down, than seek to enlarge it.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Barret* came at the same time from Ireland, with a Letter from Sir *Hardress Waller*, *John Jones*, and the ruling People of that Country, (for *Ludlow* was then in England) declaring their Refusal to join with the General; but he was not at all discouraged at this, having at the same time received Advice from Cornet *Monk* by another Hand, That Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and a very considerable Part of the Army were resolved to assist him; that Sir *Hardress Waller* himself might in time be drawn to join with them; and that he doubted not in a short while to receive good Effects of their Endeavours.

But in the mean time, upon Notice that *Dean* and *Barret* were active to withdraw the Affections of the Soldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon sent away from Scotland with a severe Rebuke; the General being unwilling to punish them by Imprisonment or any severe Course, because they came to him on publick Business.

These Men did much Mischief amongst the Soldiers, who were many of them by their Inveiglements seduced; two Troops of *Twistleton's* Regiment of Horse, commanded by *Ashley* and *Dean*, refused to join with the General, and thirty three of them were dismounted, disarmed and cashier'd, and Foot Soldiers put on their Horses; but forty of *Dean's* Troop, with their Colours, ran into England; and two Companies of Foot, of the Regiment which came from St. *Johnston's*, being quartered at *Dunbar*, had like to have been betrayed to *Newcastle* by one Captain *Guillim*, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was discharged: This *Guillim* procuring leave to go into England, came to *Dunbar*, where he made the Soldiers believe that he was by the General restored to his Command, and had Order to secure Captain *Thomson*, who then commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to *Berwick*: Some of the Serjeants so far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon *Thomson*, whilst he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was so earnest in it, that he would have taken any, though never so leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into some Jealousy, insomuch, that they desired to see his Orders, whereupon he leaped upon his Horse, and rode away.

Cap. *Guillim* endeavours to betray two Companies of the General's Men, but is found out.

At *Sterlin*, a Troop of Colonel *Sanders's* Regiment were in the like Disorder, and about thirty of the Men dismounted, and others put in their Places. This obliged the General to be more circumspect in the reforming his Regiments; so that he discharged all the Officers whom he any way suspected, and sent them into England. In Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment, eighteen

The General takes Care to reform his Regiments.



1659. eighteen Officers were displaced; and in most of the rest some were put out, in all, to the Number of seven Score Persons: Those Regiments wherein least Alteration was made, were *Talbot's* and *Read's*: The first, through the Diligence of *Hubblethorn*, who a while after deservingly, upon *Talbot's* joining with *Lambert*, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Person that always loved and esteemed the General.

*Clarges* excuses Major-General *Morgan* to *Lambert*. *Lambert* was much troubled when he heard that *Morgan* had deserted him, and when *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *York*, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by *Clarges* better satisfied; for he assured him, he heard him move General *Monk* to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuse to do his Duty, in staying there where his Charge was, since the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that Degree to make it beyond Hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the same by his Presence, than Absence.

*Clarges's* Conference with Mr. *Bowles*. *Clarges*, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, from the General, and some Instructions to *Rossiter*, and several others; about which he was secretly to confer with *Bowles* the Minister at *York*, to whom also he brought a Letter of Credit for what he should propose to him: *Bowles*, with whom he had much Discourse, desired to be fully informed of the General's Intentions, and was by *Clarges* so well satisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and several others in *Monk's* Behalf; and for Evidence of it, he advised him to stay privately in *York* till he went to confer with the Lord *Fairfax* at his House at *Nun-Appleton*, six Miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to send into *Scotland*) which he accordingly did: And at his Return, acquainted him, That *Fairfax* would rise by the midst of *January*; and he might be confident *Bethel* and *Smithson* would join with him, who were Men of good Interest, and well-beloved of the Soldiery in *Lambert's* Army. On the other side, *Bowles* pressed to know what Expectations the General had from other Places, and was by *Clarges* informed, that Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth*, was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the first Opportunity he could to declare with that Garrison for him, which he liked very well, for *Whetham* was a moderate Man. He told him likewise, that Colonel *Hacker*, with his Regiment, would raise some Men in *Nottinghamshire* and *Leicestershire*; and Colonel *Hutchinson*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, would join with them; and that *Okey* was labouring to make Disturbances in *London* amongst the Regiments there. *Bowles* at first was not well pleased that he should make use of these Aids: But when he was acquainted by *Clarges* with the Reasons which induced him to it, he was satisfied.

The first thing the General designed, was to break *Lambert's* Forces, to make himself Master of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requisite to refuse no Help, since the major Part

of the whole would be such as he could make use of to model the rest, to any Purpose he should employ them in. Then they found out a secret Messenger to send with Intimation of this Conference to *Monk*; and *Clarges* went towards *Lincolnshire* to pursue his Negotiations; but about *Doncaster* he had so grievous a Fall from his Horse, as he was riding Post, that his Life was despaired of; but after a little stay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forced to stay ten Days ere he was able to travel; nevertheless, in the mean time he sent Expresses several ways; and by the means of one *Bristow*, a Confident of Colonel *Rossiter's*, he had Opportunity to send to him, and had his Answer; which was, That he would join with *Fairfax*, and do what he should direct. When he came to *Leicestershire*, he heard nothing of *Haslerig*, but that he had, in Despair of doing any thing, retired to *Woodstock*; and the Reason he gave for it, was, That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give Occasion to the King's Party to arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much Danger to oppose it.

*Clarges* was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to assist with their Counsels, in promoting the Restauration of the Parliament; which he did, upon Observation amongst the Soldiers of *Lambert's* Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monk*, for restoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joining with him against *Lambert*, upon a Jealousy of the King's being in the bottom of his Design; which was often insinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monk's* Purpose of subduing the English Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his Adherence to his Declaration.

This Practice prevailed so far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: But in the meantime, the Commissioners for the Independent Churches, which were sent into *Scotland*, were solicitous to divert *Monk* from the Prosecution of the War. And so far the Business proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Holy-rood-House*, where were present to treat with them, General *Monk*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow*, the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gumble*, one of the General's Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins*, an Independent Minister (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be present as a Neuter.

Mr. *Caryl* was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, "That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; that they all came, not to deliver their own Sense of the General's Proceedings, but the sense of the Churches, (for so upon every Occasion he called the Independent Congregations) that the Churches had not given them Commission to enter into the Merits

*Clarges's* Negotiations retarded by a Mischance that befel him.

*Haslerig* having promised Aid against *Lambert*, withdraws for fear of giving Encouragement to the King's Party.

*Clarges* deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk's* Designs against *Lambert*.

A Conference between *Monk* and the Commissioners of the Independent Churches.

The Effect of Mr. *Caryl's* Speech in the Name of the Churches.



1659. "Merits of the Cause, nor to debate whether Lambert's Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that Manner he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep Scotland in quiet, and was not bound to take Notice of any Differences that should happen in England. (Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, he being in a Place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Concernment.)" He proceeded to shew Reasons why the General should go on no further, telling him, "That it would put a Strife amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren, engaged all along in the same Cause, Partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes, amongst those that still in their Papers, and all their Addresses, called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unseasonable Time, whilst the Canaanites and Perizzites were in the Land." And thereupon he took Occasion to enlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God, (for so he called his own Party,) might run into. And at last, by Way of Aggravation, he told the General, "That what Inconveniences soever should happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War."

The General's Answer.

At this the General, in a little Heat, interrupted him, shewing, "That the War was already begun by Lambert and his Party, who had offered Violence to those, from whom they had already received their Commissions; not sparing freely, and at large, to lay open their restless Instability, which would not suffer the Three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but keep them in a perpetual Circumvolution, till they were in Danger to be brought to utter Ruin; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions, and declaring, "That if they continued in that Course, he was resolved to oppose them to the uttermost, and would (to repeat his own Words,) lay them on their Backs."

The Treaty ended between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

Caryl, and his Fellow-Commissioners, endeavoured to excuse that Expression of theirs which stirred up the General's Anger; and Barrow on the General's Side, did qualify and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meet wholly to disoblige so considerable a Party as the Independents, as Things stood at that Time; and so by Degrees, Expressions came to be very calm on both Sides, both being in Expectation of the Issue of the Treaty then on Foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland, and those of the Army in England. But after this Time there was no more Meetings; for upon News from England, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, these Commissioners thought their Business done, and made Haste to return to England.

Clarges, disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to London, to prevent the hasty Conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the fifteenth of November,) although

he endeavoured by several Letters to Major Knight, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it; forasmuch as the rest of them were so prevailed on by the Importunity of the English Officers, or else so terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the Speed of it. As he came to London, he passed by Cambridge, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. Pradman, one of the Fellows of King's College, by whose Care and Secrecy, all his Packets were conveyed safe to Scotland, when all the ordinary Ways were obstructed. Mean While, being much troubled to find, that that very Night he arrived at London, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both Parts was concluded, he seriously expostulated with the Commissioners about their precipitant Proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the Midst of January there would be in many Places such strong Diversions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the Beginning of February, and by that Means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, Lambert's Army by their great Wants, (which made them insupportable to the Country,) must break of themselves.

Knight was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, that in their Letter of the sixteenth of November, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in Scotland, giving them an Account of the Conclusion of the Treaty, they confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspicion, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, that the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of England, but of the Common Enemy.

The Agreement it self consisted of Nine Articles; containing in Substance, That the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Fleet and Navy, should depute a certain Number of their respective Bodies, to settle a Form of Government; which was to be without any King, Single Person, or House of Lords.

The Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

Wallington and Lloyd, two Captains of the English Army at London, were sent with this Agreement to General Monk to put it in Execution; and as they went, Major Cambridge of Lambert's Army, was sent by him in their Company. But Clarges was careful to send a Copy of it to him some Days before they arrived; and the General was in much Perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which distracted his Design almost past Recovery; he was resolved not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

To take any Pretence from those Articles which excluded the King's Government, would confirm the Suspicion which was fomented of his secret Intentions for the ROYAL FAMILY; and to ground his Dissent from the Subscription of the Commissioners, where they assume an Authority, (which they never had,) and undertook for the Performance of that Agreement, for the General and all his Officers would not be thought material enough to continue the Breach betwixt them: That which was most plausible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, That all the Officers displaced by General Monk, might

The General consults how he might with the handsomest Pretence refuse his Assent to these Articles.



1659. might be in a Capacity of being restored to other Commands; and all those put by him in their Place, (wherein his Strength consisted) be removed; he called together a few of his Confidants to advise what to do; these were Major-General Morgan, Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Lydcott, Doctor Barrow, and Mr. Gumble; Lydcott was admitted, because he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of Cobbet's Regiment, and therefore by Interest supposed to be averse to this Agreement. The General and these Gentlemen having had much Discourse of the Business, they all thought it fit to disapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the Manner; but at last it was by Barrow proposed, and agreed to by the General and the rest, That they should not declare a positive Dissent to what their Commissioners had done; but urge, that there was something untreated of, further to be agreed upon; and some of those Things consented to by their Commissioners, which without further Explication, could not stand with their Declaration or Instructions; and that therefore it should be desired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commissioners, to meet a like Number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more absolute Period to their Differences.

Lloyd and others sent with a Letter to the Officers at London. The same Evening Wallington, Lloyd, and Cambridge arrived; and the next Morning, at a General Council of Officers at Edinburgh, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were so artificially prepared, that they unanimously disrelished it, and a Letter was framed, which they all subscribed, to the same Purpose with what was agreed on the Day before, and Lloyd and those with him, went with it to London.

Mr. Atkins and Col. Markham sent by the General with a Letter to the City of London. The City of London was very much discontented at the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General Monk sent a Letter to the Lord-Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. Atkins and Colonel Markham, about the 17th or 18th of November, wherein he acquainted them, That having heard of the Force put upon the Parliament, he designed to endeavour their Re-establishment; in which he desired the City to concur.

The Letter look'd upon as fictitious, and the Messengers imprisoned. This Letter was dated the 12th of November at Edinburgh, and did so much incense the Committee of Safety, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the Business, Monk's Commissioners were either so imprudent, or so unsincere, as to declare, That they believed the Letter was fictitious; which made the City less active in Pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilst Things were thus traversed in London, Fleetwood, Lambert, and all the Officers in England, could not dissemble their Confusion of Mind upon Monk's Refusal to ratify the Treaty, and sending for a blank Pass to insert new Names of additional Commissioners; and many Expostulatory Letters passed betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt Lambert and his Officers, and him; for they were very apprehensive that this Motion of a blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain Time; but at last they

did consent to it, though it never came to any Effect, as shall be hereafter discovered.

Nine of the old Council of State met privately in London, the 19th of November; they a little resented, that General Monk's Commissioners did not communicate their Counsels with them, yet omitted not to give him all the Encouragement they could; and in order thereunto, one Captain Elms, with Horton, a Servant of Sir Arthur Haslerig's, was sent with a Letter to him to Scotland; wherein they signified, That they would readily adhere to him.

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in Scotland; for the wisest of them did conclude from these Appearances of Action at London, that their Party was increased in England, imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

Col. Whetham at Portsmouth, was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General Monk with that Garrison; and Colonel Morley, Walton, and Haslerig, went privately towards him to treat about it: But before they went, the Council of State, at another Meeting before the time appointed by Parliament for their Continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they constituted General Monk absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in England and Scotland, which was dated the 24th of November, sealed with their Seal, and left in the Hands of Clarges, 'till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as Fleetwood had received General Monk's Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his Desire to have two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at Newcastle, Wilks, Cloeberry, and Knight, the Commissioners, had their Dispatch, and a Pass to license their Repair thither; but before they got to Newcastle, at a Meeting of all Lambert's Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel Zanchy to General Monk's Officers, and one from Lambert to the General himself.

In that from the Officers they write, "That they had advised their General to acquaint General Monk, that if he pleased to appoint two commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already in England, and signify their Names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but without, that nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new Matter, or further Explanations admitted, which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; and that the general Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at London) to meet upon the 6th of December, may accordingly hold their Meeting". And in a Postscript to this Letter, they complained of the Detention of Col. Cobbet, who, they said, was a publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Privilege accordingly, except by some Miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel Zanchy was very kindly received by General Monk and all his Officers; and they met together with all convenient Haste to give him his Dispatch; acquainting him, "That they should not disown any thing in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be be-

1659.

Nine of the old Council of State meet, and encourage the General.

The Parliament Party begin busily to appear against Lambert and his Faction.

The Effect of a Letter from Lambert's Officers to Monk's.

The Conference of Monk and his Officers with Colonel Zanchy.



1659. "yond, they insisted to have it treated on and explained. As to the third Article mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any Meeting in Pursuance of it, 'till the whole should be concluded. And concerning Cobbet, they alledged, "That he came not to Scotland as a publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to command a Regiment (after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, the Day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General Monk; and that the General had Intimation from a Person of Credit, that he had a Design to seduce the Army from their Obedience, if not to seize on his Person". This Letter was signed the 7th of December at Night, and the next Day Col. Zanchy was to have return'd with it to Newcastle, but upon Intelligence received, that a Party of Lambert's, consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes, was marched into Northumberland, and that sixty Dragoons had possessed themselves of Chillingham Castle, near the Scotch Borders, the Colonel was staid; and the General, at three of the Clock the next Morning, march'd out of Berwick, and sent Order to draw his Forces together toward Coldstream, a very convenient Pass upon the Tweed, where he settled his Head-Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to Berwick, where he confined Colonel Wilks for discovering, or at least not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while he was released, upon Satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not Malice.

Col. Whetham at Portsmouth declares for Monk. Colonel Whetham, at Portsmouth, very generously declared for Gen. Monk, with that Garrison, after he had secured Captain Peacock, and Captain Brown, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of Scotland, being summoned to wait upon the General, and he having appointed them to be at Berwick the 13th of December, he came on that Day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing Zanchy, and sending by him a Letter to Lambert, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The Scotch Commissioners appointed five to attend the General, and treat with him, which were the Earls of Glencarne, Rothes, Weams, and Eglington, and Mr. Alexander Bruce. These presented a Paper to the General, consisting of five Proposals.

Their Propositions. 1. That the Lord General may be pleased to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affairs thereof, in order to his Lordship's Commands, and their own Preservation.

2. That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise, for the securing the Peace, and their own Safety, some small Proportion of Horses under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.

3. That his Lordship will declare, for the greater Encouragement of the Shires, at the Return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up and take no Effect, immediately upon the Notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best Posture they can for his Assistance and their own Defence.

1659. 4. That for the said Effect, his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each Shire with some Proportion of Arms, upon Payment of just Rates thereof, within one Month's time after the Receipt of them.

5. That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordship's Desires, may for themselves and Servants, have Liberty to carry their Arms.

The General, upon the Receipt of this Paper, advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it, viz. Colonel Fairfax, Major Jeremiah Smith, Colonel Lydcot, Colonel Read, and Doctor Barrow. And the chief Question debated on, was, whether they should permit the Scots to arm for their Assistance? Colonel Read was for arming them: He argued, that it was a common Danger, and they ought to make Use of any Aid that could be obtained for their Defence. The General himself told them, that if he should draw all the Men from his Garrisons, he could make his Numbers of Foot quickly equal to Lambert's, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put Scotland out of English Hands; and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had, without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against Lambert.

Others were of Opinion, that although they should not imploy whole Troops, or Companies of Scots, yet they might safely mingle a good Party of them with the English. But Doctor Barrow was against all Motions of arming the Scots at that time, believing, if it were done, many of their own Men might desert them; but if the General would take an Opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of Lambert's Quarters, so that they might once come to Blood, that the Division being likely to increase after such an Action, he might then strengthen himself with what Accessions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading Men of the Scotch Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any Numbers of Horses, on which the General might mount English to re-inforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole Debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article in the General's Name.

1. To the first, That he would authorize the Noblemen, and Justices of the Peace of each County, with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in Execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.

2. To the second, That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the Highlanas, viz. to the County of Dumbarton and Sterlin, forty Men to bear Arms; to the County of Perth, forty Men in Arms; to the County of Forfar and Kinkardine, forty Men in Arms; and to the County of Aberdeen, forty Men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the Security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take Care, if he should have Occasion to remove farther out of Scotland: And he would allow the Heretors of the abovenamed Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to command the said respective Guards, they giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, for their Fidelity

The General's Answer to the Scots Propositions.



1659. Fidelity and good Behaviour, in six hundred Pounds Sterling.

3. To the third, His Lordship deferred his Answer, 'till the Issue of the Treaty now intended between him and the English Army.

4. To the fourth, That he would furnish them with fit Means for their Defence, whensoever he should apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in imminent Danger.

5. To the fifth, Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as should subscribe to live peaceably, and Act nothing to the Prejudice of England, should have Liberty, with Passes, to wear their Swords, and have four Servants armed for their Attendants.

Glencarne's Arguments to the General for arming the Scots to his Assistance.

At a Conference with the Scotch Commissioners, upon the Delivery of these Answers to their Propositions, they seemed unsatisfied with them; and the Earl of Glencarne, in the name of the rest, told the General, *Since they were willing to hazard their Persons and Estates with him, they hoped he would not deny them to arm for his Assistance and their own Safety, since if he should engage and be worsted, they should be exposed to great Ruin for their Affection and Respect to him, from which otherwise, by a Neutrality, they might be secure.* To which he answered, *That if that should happen, they should then arm to what Numbers they pleased.* To this the Earl replied, *That the Country were now willing to rise in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage: but if his Force should be defeated, they would not be persuaded to it. And besides, they could not under six Weeks time make their Levies: And if Permission were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their Bowels before they should be in a Posture of Defence.*

The Scotch Nobility depart home from Berwick.

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with these Arguments, and so they departed; he returned to Coldstream to his Quarters, and the Scotch Noblemen and Gentlemen to their several Counties.

They had absolutely refused the raising any Horse to mount English, yet this came to no Breach between them and the General, in regard before they left Berwick, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from England, of the Distractions in the English Armies and other Affairs, which made them to fear less than before, their own Peace at Home; and so all parted with mutual Respect.

The General prepares to make Defence against Lambert, if Occasion were.

After this Meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with Lambert, which he had hitherto, not without great Artifice, delayed; but he considered, that as soon as that should be done, Lambert would march towards him; and therefore he made Preparation to fight him, if Occasion should urge him to it. In order to which, he sent an Express to Clarges, to provide him some good Horse Officers, and send them by Sea in a nimble Bark. Mean while, in Northumberland the Oagles raised him two compleat Troops, and more Horse were raising. He increased his Number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Musquets, as thereby to be better able to make Defence against the Horse, in which Lambert's greatest Strength was placed.

What Advantages he had against Lambert's Army.

Coldstream was nine Miles from Berwick upon the Tweed, and he had quarter'd all his Men so conveniently, that he could draw them altogether in six Hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the Scotch than English Borders.

And if Lambert marched towards him, the Villages in Northumberland being thin, he must have quarter'd at such Distance, that his Men would have been exposed to great hazard of being often disturbed in their Quarters: And if he had marched to fight, the General, being upon the defensive Part, could have brought as many Hands to Action as he: Or if he had marched to Carlisle, to have invaded Scotland that way, Monk would then have marched directly to London, and should have been two or three Day's March before him: Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have presently fallen on the nearest Part to him. In this Posture he lay at Coldstream, when he received Intelligence from Clarges, "That there were many great differences in London, betwixt Fleetwood and the City: That the Apprentices, and several others in favour of him, had many Consultations to make Disturbances; that they were framing a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Common-Council, to press their Interposition for the restoring the Parliament, and Preservation of Magistracy, which was endeavoured to be suppress'd by the Committee of Safety, who emitted a Proclamation to prohibit all gathering of Hands to Petitions, which incensed the young Men so much (being fomented by wiser Heads) that they rose in many Places in a tumultuous Manner. And thereupon, Colonel Hewson was sent into London to suppress them, whereby a Rumour was raised, that Soldiers came to plunder them, and all Shops were shut up, and many reproachful Words passed in the Streets, between the Soldiers and Apprentices, to that heat of Passion, that two of the Apprentices were slain, and about twenty wounded, and the rest for that time dispersed. But the Soldiers were so vilified, scorn'd and hiss'd, that they were ashamed to march; and many Officers, when they went into the City, durst not wear Swords, for fear of Affronts, and that many of the private Soldiers, especially the Horse, wished themselves with him: Captain Izod, and others, being active to draw them from Fleetwood's Party: That he had sent Captain Goodwin with some Horse Officers to him by Sea to Berwick, and that Goodwin had his Lordship's Commission for Commander in Chief, of all the Armies in England and Scotland: And that he had treated with Mr. Philip Howard, who had undertaken to raise an hundred Gentlemen well armed and mounted in Northumberland and Cumberland, on Condition to command them for his Life-Guard, which he had promised his Lordship should consent to; but that just as he was preparing for his Journey, he was taken with the Small-Pox, but his elder Brother in the mean time, had writ and undertook to promote the Levies of the Men: That he had treated with Colonel Redman, a gallant Horse Officer, and Colonel Bret, who had been both by Ludlow removed from their Commands, to draw off the Irish Brigade from Lambert, many of the Men having been before commanded by them, and therefore easily persuaded; and that Colonel Morley, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Colonel Walton, were

1659.

Differences between the City of London, and the Army's Party there.

The Soldiers affronted by the Apprentices, not without Bloodshed.

Oppositions from all Parts increase against Lambert's Faction.



1659. "were active in *Portsmouth*, and all the Foot  
 "which were sent to besiege that Town, had  
 "seized on their Officers, and carried them Pri-  
 "soners into it, and five Troops of Colonel  
 "Rich's Regiment, and two of Colonel Ber-  
 "ry's were come in to them; that those of  
 "Berry's were commanded by Colonel Crooke,  
 "who was lately their Major, and is sent into  
 "the Isle of *Wight*, where his Forces are increa-  
 "sed to seven Hundred: And at *Taunton*, and  
 "several other Places, there was great Defection  
 "amongst all the Soldiers; that Sir *Michael*  
 "*Livesey*, in *Kent*, had raised two Regiments,  
 "and Colonel *Gibbons* was joined with him,  
 "and Vice-Admiral *Lawson* had with two and  
 "twenty Sail declared for the Parliament, and  
 "was come into the *Hope*, stopping up the River  
 "of *Thames*. And the *Block-Houses* near *Graves-*  
 "*end*, on both sides the River, had also de-  
 "clared. That the Lord-Mayor, and several Al-  
 "dermen, have had many ineffectual Treaties  
 "with *Fleetwood*, and the Chief of the Army,  
 "and Committee of Safety; the City demand-  
 "ing the Management and Conduct of their own  
 "Militia, and the Instant Restauration of the  
 "Parliament, or the calling another, which are  
 "refused to them, and the Discontents thereby  
 "much augmented".

A Letter  
 of Advice  
 from Monk  
 to Lam-  
 bert.

The Tre-  
 ary be-  
 tween  
 Monk and  
 Lambert  
 broke off.

Lambert's  
 Party daily  
 decrease  
 upon the  
 Appear-  
 ance of the  
 Portsmouth  
 Commis-  
 sioners,

Upon Receipt of these Letters, the General  
 writ to *Lambert*, by Major *Bannister*, one of the  
 Officers at *Berwick*, acquainting him, That since  
 his last by *Zanchy*, he had certain Advice, that  
 three of the Commissioners appointed by Act of Par-  
 liament, for the Government of the Army, were now  
 in *Portsmouth*, acting by Virtue of the same Au-  
 thority, upon which he acted, and declaring for the  
 same Ends: And that he and the Army were there-  
 by obliged, in Honour and Duty, to take their Ad-  
 vice and consent in all Affairs that relate to the  
 Cause they are now engaged in, which he doubted not,  
 but he would judge reasonable and necessary; and  
 therefore he desired a safe Conduct for the Major, to  
 acquaint them with what had passed in the several  
 Overtures betwixt them; but withal, he told him  
 freely, he could not think it adviseable to proceed  
 further in Treaty (and he expected the other Com-  
 missioners would be of the same Mind) 'till he re-  
 manded all those Troops he had sent into *Northum-*  
*berland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, during  
 that time.

*Lambert*, upon Advice with his Officers, would  
 not let *Bannister* pass, but sent him back to *Ber-*  
*wick*, for he began now plainly to perceive, that  
 the General intended nothing less than to treat  
 further; whereupon both sides prepared for  
 War: But *Lambert* was so daily alarm'd with the  
 Success of the Commissioners at *Portsmouth*, and  
 the daily Submission of several Troops and Com-  
 panies of Men, that he thought it more necessary  
 to march Southward to assist his Friends in *London*,  
 than hazard a Battle with General *Monk*.

*Fleetwood*, and the rest of the Committee of  
 Safety, were in no less Disorder than *Lambert*,  
 but that which most amused them, was the De-  
 claration of *Lawson*, with his Fleet for the Par-  
 liament, (which was chiefly transacted by the Endea-  
 vours of Colonel *Streater*, an active Instrument for  
 the King in all these Revolutions, who was forced to  
 fly thither upon Discovery of a Design he had to seize  
 on the Tower) for they thought themselves sure

of *Lawson*, and by his Defection (added to the 1659.  
 rest) their Authority came to be generally def-  
 pised, even by their own Soldiers, so that they  
 abandon'd all; and *Fleetwood*, with great Contri-  
 tion and Submission, in behalf of his Confede-  
 rates, sent to the Speaker to desire him to send  
 to the rest of the Parliament Members, and  
 with them to return to the Exercise of their  
 Trust and Power for the Government of the  
 Nation; acknowledging, That the Lord had  
 blasted their Counsels, and, (to repeat his own  
 Words) spit in their Faces.

Upon this several Members met privately in  
 the Speaker's House, and gave Colonel *Okey*, Co-  
 lonel *Markham*, Colonel *Allured*, and Colonel  
*Moss*, orders to draw the Regiments about *West-*  
*minster* to a Rendezvouze in *Lincoln-Inn-Fields*;  
 which being performed accordingly, the Soldi-  
 ers declared to live and die with the Parlia-  
 ment, and march'd down *Chancery-lane*, where  
 at the *Rolls* they made a halt 'till the Speaker  
 came to them, and received their Acknowledg-  
 ments, and from thence by his Orders, they  
 went to their Quarters, having first from him  
 received the Word.

And two Days after, that is to say, on the 26th  
 of *December* in the Evening, the Speaker,  
 and the Members of Parliament, resumed the  
 Government, and sat in the Parliament-House,  
 having met first at *Whitehall* in the Council-  
 Chamber, from whence they went on Foot thro'  
 Channel-row, (the Mace being carried before the  
 Speaker) to *Westminster-Hall*, where as they  
 pass'd, the Soldiers upon the Guard stood in  
 Ranks, and made Acclamations. At their first  
 Meeting, they ordered Colonel *Alexander Pop-*  
*ham*, Colonel *Thompson*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Okey*,  
 Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Colonel *Matthew Al-*  
*lured*, and Colonel *Markham*, or any three of them,  
 to order, direct, and conduct the Forces of the Army,  
 and all other Forces, and to command the same to  
 suppress all Tumults, Insurrections, and Rebellions,  
 and all such Forces which shall oppose or resist the Com-  
 mand of the Parliament, and to observe such Orders and  
 Directions as they should receive from time to time  
 from the Parliament, or the Commissioners appointed by  
 Act of Parliament, to command the Army, or any three  
 of them, 'till they shall come to *London* or *Westmin-*  
*ster*, or until the Parliament shall take further Order.

From these Commissioners an Order was sent  
 to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces, but they were  
 upon breaking before Notice thereof came to him.

We made some Relation of a Treaty betwixt  
 Mr. *Evelyn* and Colonel *Morley*, which at this  
 time Mr. *Evelyn* thought to bring to some ad-  
 vantageous Issue; for *Morley* upon this Change  
 had his Regiment restored, and with it the  
 Government of the Tower conferred on him,  
 and his Brother Colonel *Fagg* had also a Regi-  
 ment; Mr. *Evelyn* had done for him towards his  
 Majesty, all he desired, for Pardon of him and  
 his Friends; but when he came to him with the  
 Report of it, he was very reserved, and would not  
 entertain any Discourse with him of that Matter;  
 and after one time would rarely admit him into  
 his Company, which made him suspect he had  
 altered his Intentions, and put him to the ha-  
 zardous Experiment of a sharp and expostulato-  
 ry Letter; but he was newly involved with Ge-  
 neral *Monk*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* in In-  
 trigues

*Fleetwood*  
 submits,  
 and desires  
 the Mem-  
 bers to sit  
 again.

Several Re-  
 giments  
 being  
 drawn up  
 in *Lincoln-*  
*Inn-Fields*,  
 declare for  
 the late  
 Members.

They take  
 their Seats  
 again in  
 the Parlia-  
 ment-  
 House.

They or-  
 der seven  
 Commis-  
 sioners for  
 the Ma-  
 nagement  
 of the Ar-  
 my.



1659. trigue of the like Nature, which he durst not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the Things which Mr. Evelyn proposed, nor was he assured of the Officers and Soldiers in the Tower for such a Service; but it is most certain he received such Impressions from Mr. Evelyn's former Discourses, that he was one of the forwardest of his Party to embrace all Occasions for the King's Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous and hazardous Opposition in Parliament, shortly after their sitting, to that impious Oath of Abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned).

The Irish Brigade brought off to Monk by Redman and Bret.

The manner of surprising Dublin Castle.

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and Lambert in his Declension, the Irish Brigade submitted to Redman and Bret, and was brought off by them; and at the same time, the Soldiers of two Dunkirk Regiments then with Lambert, were in Mutiny for the General, who scarce had received Information of these Actings, when Captain Campbell also arrived at Coldstream with Letters from Sir Hardress Waller, and others from Dublin, with Intelligence of the Surprisal of Dublin Castle, by Captain Joyer and Captain Bond, which was thus performed: One of Bond's Men softly knocking at the Gates, the Centinel opened the Door, and as he opened it, the rest presently rushed in, and on a sudden surprised them within, and seized on Colonel John Jones, Miles Corbet, Colonel Matthew Thomlinson, Colonel Richard Lawrence, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Jones, Mr. Standish the Treasurer, and Tombes the Store-keeper: The Design was chiefly managed at Dublin, by Sir Theophilus Jones, Trevor, the three Warrens, Colonel Bridges, Thompson, Lisle, Wor-der and Temple, having been two Months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, because but in one of five Foot Companies that quartered in the City, they could repose any Confidence; neither durst they communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and some few Officers of Horse, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and so much they differed about the time of putting the Business in Execution, that 'till the Night before the Action they had not resolved it: The Pretext made use of for the Business, was their Meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council, which so dazled the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and several other of his Confidants, that they suspected no other Thing to have been intended: And that which the Execution was most remarkable is, that not one Drop of Blood was shed. The next Day after, the City of Dublin drew out their Militia, and declared with them; and although they had but eight Hours Notice, there appeared above two thousand Foot besides Horse.

Sir Charles Coote reduceth all Connaught to a Compliance with the present Design.

Cornet Monk was privy to the Design, and sent to Wexford, Waterford, and those Parts, to incline them to join in it: But Sir Charles Coote and his Brothers had the hardest Task in the Province of Connaught; but they overcame all Difficulties, and in a very short time brought the whole Soldiery and Garrison there to Obedience, and in less than a Week's Space, Limerick, Clonmel, Youghal, Ross, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Dundalk, Antrim, and many other Places declared their Concurrence.

1659. The General always carrying an even Temper in his Behaviour, seem'd not much exalted with this News; yet since it was likely to prove of no small Concernment to himself, he presently dispatched Captain Campbell back, with great Acknowledgements of these Services, and desired to be supplied by them with six Troops of Horse with all convenient Speed: This good News was seconded with Advice from Bowles, of the Lord Fairfax's Rising in Yorkshire, which was somewhat sooner than his Promise, but very seasonable to make a Diversion to Lambert's Forces, with whom Colonel Lilburn's Regiment joined by means of Major Smithson, who was a great Lover of General Monk; and Colonel Redman, came in to them with the Irish Brigade; Colonel Bethel, Sir Henry Cholmley, Captain Strangwaies, and Mr. Arthington also joined with them; the said Messenger also informed him, that the Parliament was again sitting, and that Fleetwood had submitted to them; which made the General immediately march (for he heard that Lambert kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppose the Lord Fairfax and his Friends; and having quitted Newcastle, was marched towards them,) wherefore on the 2d of January at Night, he advanced with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, and marched to Wooller: He had the Day before sent Colonel Knight with three Troops to Morpeth, to whom he that Night sent Orders to seize on Newcastle, which he did by six of the Clock in the Morning. Major General Morgan was left sick; and Colonel Read, who commanded the Rear of the Army, marched the next Day with two Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot; with which his whole Number amounted in all to five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. By that time he came to Morpeth, he had Information that Lambert's whole Party was of themselves dispersed into several Quarters in Submission to the Parliament's Orders. And to assure him of the Parliament's sitting, he received a Letter from the Speaker, dated the 27th of December, of Thanks for his Service; wherein the Restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care and Courage.

The Lord Fairfax, and several of Monk's Party joining with him, rite in Yorkshire.

General Monk begins his March into England.

He receives a Letter of Thanks from the Speaker.

The Knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the most fatal Accidents that could happen to him; for by their over-hasty Resumption of Power, back'd with a great Army newly returned to their Obedience, he despaired of doing the Good he intended to his Country, and thought no longer of continuing in Arms than 'till a fair Opportunity should be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; for he expected they would not have thought their sitting safe, 'till his Arrival at London with his Army, and then he would have restored all the other Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the Difference betwixt them.

When he came to Morpeth, Mr. William Man, the Sword-Bearer of London, came to him, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of London; to which he made a civil Return the next Day from Newcastle, and thence he marched with continued Journeys to York, where he continued five Days; and all the way as he marched from Coldstream, he

He receives an Address at Morpeth from the City of London by their Sword-Bearer.



1659. he was met by the Gentry, and saluted by all the People as he passed, with great Acclamations of Joy. Colonel *Waters*, the Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, met him betwixt *Allerton* and *Topcliffe*; several of the Gentry having attended him the Day before at his first Entrance into the County. At *York* he was visited by the Lord *Fairfax*, whom he received with much Kindness and Respect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. *Bowles*'s diligent and industrious Acting in his Concerns: There he modelled *Lambert's* and *Lilburn's* Regiments of Horse, and gave the first of them to Colonel *Bethel*, and the latter to *Smithson*; and changed most of the other Officers.

The new restored Members begin very actively in settling their Affairs; and on the 2d of *January*, they name one and thirty to be of the Council of State, passing an ACT for their Constitution, and several Instructions for them to act by: Amongst which it was provided, that none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family, and Government.

This Oath being stricter than any that had ever been imposed, was by many disliked; however, the leading Men that promoted it in Parliament affirmed, *That without this, they could have no certain Assurance of Power; and that the Hollanders, and those of the confederated Provinces, could never be fixed in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of Spain.* And to that height this Business was brought, that not thinking it enough for the Council of State, they drove on to have it ordered, that every Member in the House should also take the said Oath: This was strongly opposed by Colonel *Fielder*, *Weaver*, *Dove*, *Hutchinson*, both the *Puries*, *Ingoldsby*, and many more of the soperer sort, who alledged, *it would be a confining of Providence to make such an Oath, a Snare to many good Men, and a Terror to such as were truly Conscientious, who might suspect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Consciences.* Of these more moderate sort of Men, *Fielder* and *Ingoldsby* only were thought Favourers of the King's Party; but the rest were such of whom they had no manner of Jealousy at that time, though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the secluded Members, and well disposed to Monarchy: So that when the Act for the Council of State came to be executed, in that Part of it which was the Administration of the Oath, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Morley*, *Oliver St. John*, Colonel *Fagg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and many more, even a third Part at least of their Number refused it, and were therefore not admitted to sit and act.

Whilst the General staid at *York*, he had Intimation that *Overton* was taking Beds into *Hull*, breaking the Ice in the Grays, and making such Preparation, as if he took him rather for an Enemy than a Friend; wherefore he sent Major *Smith* to him, one well known in that Garrison, to inspect into the Condition of it, and writ a Letter to *Overton*, to expostulate with him about the Matter; who returned an Answer to him, *That he perceived Rumour had rendered Hull as doubtful to him, as it had his Design dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their present Constitution,*

against the Re-admission of the secluded Members, a 1659. free Parliament, or single Person, one of which had been continually charged upon him by the common Cry of the Army.

The leading Members of Parliament finding this Difference growing amongst themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contrived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order thereunto, *Scot* and *Robinson*, two of their Members, were sent to meet him upon the Way to congratulate his Return, but with private Directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to *London*, before he took his Place in the Council of State.

Of these their Instructions *Clarges* having timely Notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General *Butler*, a List of all the Quarters in *London*, for a Purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

On the 12th of *January*, the House, to testify their Confidence in the General, passed a Vote to approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament; and ordered their Vote to be printed: When he removed from *York*, he sent one of the *Dunkirk* Regiments of Foot, commanded by Colonel *Clark*, and Major-General *Morgan's* Regiment of Horse into *Scotland*, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Consideration thereof. He left Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment at *York*, and disbanded some Companies of *Ashfield's* Regiment, and mingled the private Soldiers thereof amongst his Regiments to fill up the Companies: And then having given the Council of State an Account of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards *London* with four Regiments of Foot, viz. his own, Colonel *Read's*, Colonel *Lydcott's*, and Colonel *Hubblethorn's*; and three Regiments of Horse, viz. his own, Colonel *Knight's*, and Colonel *Cloeberry's*, which made his Number in all five thousand eight hundred besides Officers; that is, four thousand Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse: He came the 19th Day of *January* to *Nottingham*, where *Clarges* came to him the Day following, on which Day also *Scot* and *Robinson* arrived at *Leicester*; and, because the next Day was *Sunday*, they rested there, and met the General upon the Road betwixt *Leicester* and *Nottingham* the twenty second.

At *Nottingham*, *Clarges* having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at *London*, and that they had there two thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; that the Horse were the Regiments of *Okey*, *Hastervig*, *Rich* and *Desborow*: And though they had newly given the last to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, yet all the Officers under him were of the same Mould as the former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by *Ayres*, *Markham*, *Streater*, *Fitch*, *Moss*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley* and *Fagg*; of all which he could have no Assurance but of the two last: For *Morley's* Men were firm to him, deserted their Officers in the North, and declared for him; and *Fagg's* was a new Regiment, raised about *Portsmouth* in his Behalf. He told him, that except he could get all these Horse and Foot out of *London*, (except *Morley's* and *Fagg's* Regiments) and disperse them

The Oath opposed by several of the House.

He disposed of several Regiments and Companies as he came along.

*Clarges* gives the General an Account how Affairs stood at *London*.

And gives his Advice as touching the Regiments that were quartered in *London*.



1659. them into several Quarters, and march his own Men thither, and be Master of London, he could never expect to do any good for his Country; since in all these times it had been experienced, that to whatever was done at London, where they had nine or ten thousand Men to justify their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And if his distinct and absolute Command in Scotland, had not happened in a Conjunction when Fleetwood and Lambert, the two Chief Officers of the Army, were in a Jealousy of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have stood against them; and although there was that Jealousy, and the Principles on which he declared were such, as most of these in Command favoured; yet how slowly did Ireland and the Fleet join with him? And even the Council of State themselves (who had the Temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear, 'till they saw a Distraction in the other Counsels, for fear, as some of the Chief of them alledged, least the King's Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any. These Considerations took such Impression in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about, 'till Clarges told him there were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his Wishes, which he proposed thus: He told him, The Council of State consisted of such only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; and 'till he should take that, they would be so diffident of him, that whatever he desired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied: That the major Part in Parliament were against the Oath; and therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himself to them; and therefore that his best way would be to write them a Letter to this Purpose: That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that so many of the Soldiery now in London, lately in Rebellion against them, should be trusted with their Guards, 'till the present Officers by them placed upon them, should have by Discipline reduced them to perfect Obedience. The General agreed to this, and a Letter to that Effect was drawn up and signed, but was not to be delivered 'till he came to St. Alban's, that it might seem to come with the Privy of Scot and Robinson; and that the near Approach of the General with his Army might add the more Weight to it.

The next Morning the General marched towards Leicester, and he met Scot and Robinson, the Parliament's Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him 'till he came to London.

At Leicester the General expected to be attack'd about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. Clarges told him, "He had a plain and fair Answer to make to them, which was, That he heard many Men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath; and 'till he came to London, to hear the Reasons on both Sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it. This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. Scot and Robinson at their first Interview told him,

The General's Answer concerning the Oath of Abjuration

Scot and Robinson's Message to him from the House.

"That the Parliament had ordered a thousand Pounds a Year for ever to be settled on him, and appointed them to acquaint him with it; and to let him know the Sense the Parliament

had of his great Services, and that they were providing Monies for his Soldiers, and were glad to hear of his repairing to London.

The General was never more put to it than in this Journey to dissemble his Inclinations; for these Men watched every Moment of his time. At Harborough Alderman Fowke, Alderman Vincent, and Mr. Bromfield, met him as Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London; and at the same time Sir John Norris, with many of the chief Gentry of Northamptonshire, welcomed him into their Country.

The Citizens, after a congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. Bromfield, in a handsome free Speech, after the Enumeration of the several Calamities it lay under, as the best Remedy, proposed the Re-admission of the secluded Members, that the Parliament might be made full and free. Scot was so impatient at this, that he took the Words out of the General's Mouth, and would not permit him to answer them. He told them, "Now the Parliament had subjected the military Power to a due Subordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Case of the secluded Members, it did not become them to insist on their Re-admission. Fowke endeavour'd to qualify what Bromfield had propounded, by saying, "He conceived they were not obliged by their Instructions to desire the General's Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, since it was unreasonable that they should be governed by a Parliament where they had not their Representatives.

This Discourse, on all Sides, was managed with some Heat; and the General was forced to comply with Scot and Robinson, in their Extravagancies, to preserve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him somewhat unsatisfied, and so they continued, 'till he sent Clarges privately to give them a better Understanding of his Intentions. But Sir John Norris, and the Northamptonshire Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at Northampton, with an Address, were so much discouraged, that they thought to decline it, 'till Doctor Barrow requested Mr. Philip Howard to advise them to proceed in their Intentions, and to assure them,

The General seems to comply with Scot and Robinson.

Sir John Norris, and the Gentlemen of Northamptonshire, make an Address to him.

"That though they had not a satisfactory Answer, they might be sure it would produce a good Effect". At Northampton Sir John Norris delivered his Address; and as he marched to St. Alban's, several of the same Nature were presented to him from the Gentry of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, and almost all Counties, which did all agree in the same Matter, viz. "For the Restitution of the Members secluded in the Year 1648. and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or else for the calling of a full and free Parliament". All which were answered with much respect by him, although he durst not discover his Approbation of their Desires: And it is very observable, that in all the Counties so much Caution was observ'd, that no Gentlemen signed any of these Addresses that had ever been engaged in his present Majesty's, or his Royal Father's Cause, nor scarce any of the Sons of such.

At



1659. At *Dunstable* the General consulted Major *Knight* and *Clarges*, about the filling up the Blanks in the Letter prepared at *Nottingham*, having had Thoughts to send it by *Clarges*, *Knight*, or *Clark* his Secretary; but upon further Consideration, it was thought convenient not to part with *Knight*, because his Presence would be requisite with his Troops, if any Disorders should happen upon their March to *London*; as for *Clark*, he was so necessary to be with the General, for the issuing out Orders, that he could not be spared; and for *Clarges*, it was judged more expedient, that he should be sent before to prepare a Party in the House, so that *Lydcott* was chosen to be sent as one very grateful to the Speaker, to whom he was near allied; and *Friday* was the Day inserted for his March into *London*: And upon the next Day's Consultation, which was *Saturday* in the Evening, the 28th of *January*, he was dispatched away: And on *Monday* the Letter was delivered, which caused a long and violent Debate: *Hastlerig* told them, the Council of State had before agreed, that four Regiments of those in *London* should march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he said against the General's Letter: So that after Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the House consented to his Desire.

*Lydcott* made choice of for the carrying of the General's Letter to the House, about the sending of their Soldiers out of the City.

*Lydcott* returns to the General with the welcome News of these Votes, as well might it be so to him; for from the Moment of the Execution of them (which gave him the Possession of *London*) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

The General hath constant Intelligence of all Affairs in Ireland by means of Capt. *Cuff*.

Captain *Cuff*, an Agent from Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland*, had attended the General in all his March from *Newcastle* to *London*, and given him from time to time, an Account of all Occurrences; by which means the General kept a strict Correspondence both with him, the Lord *Brog-hil*, and several others of the Chief Officers there; who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the Parliament, were nevertheless suspected by them; and *Scot* insinuated to the General, "That notwithstanding all their Pretences, he had good Grounds to believe they had some other Interest in their Aim, than that of the present Parliament."

The General diverted this Jealousy with Assurances of their Fidelity, and that he would undertake for them, which allayed the Suspicion for that time, or at least so raked it up in Ashes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

A Mutiny among some of the Soldiers, that were to depart out of the City. A Rising in the City dispersed by the Soldiers.

The Regiments that were to march from *London* to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Month's Pay assigned them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their Departure, especially those that quartered at *St. James's* and *Somerset-House*, which was not without great Industry of the Officers appeased; upon which followed about Midnight an Insurrection in the City, where about six or seven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to join with them for a free Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in Expectation to have the Soldiers join with them; but two Troops of Horse

1659. suddenly dispersed most of them, and took the rest (about eight and thirty) Prisoners, which were the next Morning committed to *Lambeth-House*. This Insurrection, together with the Disorders of the Soldiers, so frightened the Council of State, that in the Beginning of the foregoing Night, they had sent to the General to march with all haste into *London*; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning; and in the Afternoon, the others being all marched out, Tumults quieted, and all, both within and without, in a great Calm, he marched with his Army by *Gray's-Inn-Lane* into *Holbourn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and so through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand*, to *White-hall*. The three Regiments of Horse marched first, and he in the Head of them gallantly mounted, with his Trumpets richly habited before him, and several led Horses after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and several Persons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot. The Speaker of the House met him in the Street near *Somerset-House*, where they complimented each other: After which the General marched on to *White-hall*, and the Speaker went to the Rolls. As soon as the Soldiers were quartered, and all the Guards set, the General was visited by several of the Council of State; and being invited to take his Place there, he went in Compliance with them: But when the Oath of Abjuration was tendered, he refused it, for the Reasons before-mentioned, and was therefore not admitted; whereupon he returned to his Apartment. The next Day was spent in Visits to him from all the Members of Parliament, and many other Persons of the highest Quality. Mr. *Scot* told him, *The Parliament did intend on Monday, publicly in their House, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he should there make publick Professions of his Affections to their Interest and Authority, and his Dislike of the Addresses to him for the secluded Members and a free Parliament.*

Gen. Monk marcheth with his Forces into the City of *London*.

He refuseth the Oath of Abjuration

*Scot* instructs him how to receive the intended Gratu-lations of the House.

He made little Answer to him, but that he was much obliged to them for the Honour of so great a Respect; and should endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his just Resentments of it.

It is observable, that from this time in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commissioner *Monk*, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had superseded the Commission of Commander in Chief, sent to him by the Council of State, they allowed him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little Notice, but proceeded as before in the sole Exercise of the Command of the Army. He was somewhat perplexed how to behave himself in the Parliament, in reference to the great Professions and Protestations they expected from him of his Aversions from the King and his Party, to balance his refusing the Oath of Abjuration: But he resolved to act in that Occasion, as moderate as the Season would bear; and yet to temper his Speech so, as not altogether to fail their Expectations.

The Stile given him in their Orders, not General, but only Commissioner *Monk*.

On *Monday February* the 6th, he was brought with great Ceremony to the House of Commons, where



1659. where a Chair was set for him within the Bar; and he was desired to sit down: But he modestly declined this Honour, and desired Leave to stand behind it. Then the Speaker, after a Compliment in the Style of those Times, returned the hearty Thanks of the House to himself and his Officers and Soldiers, for the Part they had in restoring the Parliament to their former Place and Dignity. The General returned his Thanks for the great Honour they had shewed him for doing only his Duty. But afterwards he took Occasion to observe to them, that the fewer Oaths and Engagements were imposed, the sooner would the Settlement they proposed be attained. He told them, this would reconcile the sober Gentry to them, and enlarge their Interest; and moved them to keep not only the Cavalier, but the Phanatick Party out of Power. He then added some Things relating to Ireland and Scotland, with which he concluded.

His Speech excepted against by Scot and those of his Party. Scot and some others were much offended that he assumed so much in this Speech, and were once thinking to interrupt him. They complained to their Confidants, *That he was too positive in undertaking for the Officers in Ireland, of whose Affections to the Parliament in the present Constitution of it, there was just Cause of Doubt; and that in the whole Speech he seemed to affect Popularity, and gave the Cavaliers a Possibility of being received into the Exercise of Trust, with a total Exclusion of the more strict Parliament-Party, under the Notion of Phanaticks.*

The City continue Male-content. But that which at this Time more disquieted these Men than the General's Speech, was the discontented Carriage of the City; for the Common-Council had been in very high Debates about the Government, and were resolved to pay no publick Taxes, 'till the House were filled up with equal Representatives. This they looked upon as drawing towards a Contempt of their Authority, and thought they could not better provide for their own Securities, than by opposing in Time, and punishing such Contumacies; They therefore on the 8th of February, in the Evening, at the Council of State, Order the General to go into London the next Morning with a good Part of the Army, and to seize upon Eleven of the most Active of the Common-Council, and commit them to the Tower; as also to pull down the Posts and Chains, and take down the Gates and Percullices of the City, and Quarter his Soldiers there, 'till they were reduced to Obedience.

The General ordered to march into the City, and pull down the Gates. The General was surprized at this Command, and debated many Things with them in Mitigation or Suspension of it, 'till near One in the Morning the next Day, but nothing could divert their Resolution; so that he was forced to obey their Orders, or quit his Command, for he had no longer Time to deliberate than that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution; insomuch, that after three or four Hours Repose to refresh himself, he marched into the City, and pulled down the Posts, and Chains, and took into Custody Nine of the Citizens, which he had Orders to secure, the other Two absented themselves. The Nine imprisoned, were Mr. Lawrence Bromfield of Tower-Street; Alderman Vincent; Alderman Bludworth; Mr. Thomas Brown of Wood-Street; Mr. Daniel Spencer in Friday-Street, Mr. Penning in Fenchurch-Street, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Cham-

He obeys their Orders, tho' unwillingly.

berlain, and Mr. Richard Ford. The City was much alarmed at this Proceeding: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and several of the chiefest of the Citizens applied themselves to him to moderate his Actions. All the City indeed seemed as People confounded with Wonder and Anxiety: And Colonel Hubblethorn, and others, the General's own Officers, were many of them so much troubled, that they came to him to offer up their Commissions, rather than be employed in such an Action: They told him, *The Honour and Respect they had to his Person, engaged them never to serve against him, or dispute his Orders: But in this, since they could not without Horror obey them, they with Tears prayed him to dispose of their Commands to some more necessary Persons.* He was moved much at these their passionate Expressions, but privately informed them of his own Dislike of what was commanded; and therefore conjured them to continue their Confidence in him, and execute what he had given them in Charge, as that from which better Effects would ensue than what was convenient at that time to be explained. With this they went away somewhat better contented, tho' not fully satisfy'd. He took his Quarter at the *Three Tuns* in *Guild-Hall-Yard*, where, notwithstanding this Accident, he received with much Civility those which came to him: Among whom one Mr. Jolly, a discreet Citizen, with Modesty and Temper represented to him the Inconveniences of what he had undertaken, and told him, "The Affections of the City to him were such, that whatever he reasonably could desire of them, should be easier obtained by Persuasion than Force: That the Controversy between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill treated by Friends was very grievous. When Hewson marched into the City with a greater Number, he could not compass his Ends, but received Opposition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Person and Party: But when he came, a general Calm and Kindness was seen in the Countenances of the People; and now that he had put his most rigorous Orders in Execution, they seemed rather amazed with Astonishment to receive it from his Hand, than provoked to resent the Indignity of it".

Mr. Jolly's prudent Speech to the General

This Prudent Speech made great Impression on him, insomuch, that he told them thereupon, "That he had Orders to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Posts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the Parliament to mitigate their Commands". And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, "That he had secured all the Persons given him in Charge to imprison, except two that were absent; and that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a Meeting of the Common-Council, where they doubted not that things would be composed to their Satisfaction, and the Assessment be paid, (which was the chiefest Cause of his March into London) so that thereupon he had forbore to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, 'till he should receive further Orders, because such severe acting would highly incense the City, and he hoped by mild Means to reduce them to Reason". This Letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates,

The General writes to the House to mitigate their Commands.



1659. and pull down the Percullices, they now command him to destroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the Common-Council, they ordered, *That the present Common-Council of the City should be dissolved*; and declared them null and void. And without any other Answer, they sent these Votes to the General.

They so much the more stirred up, send more rigorous Orders than before.

The General commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

A Petition to the House from the Sectarian Party of the City.

Clarges counsels the General to endeavour the speedy Recovery of the City's good Opinion.

Dr. Barrow urges the Danger of Delay in this Business.

Upon this Return, he was not a little perplexed in Mind, and very thoughtful what to do; but at last he resolved fully to execute his Orders, that the House might not take Occasion from his Dispute of them, in the unsettled Condition of the Soldiers, to vacate his Commission; and thereupon commanded his Soldiers to break all the Gates and Percullices in Pieces. Which done, on *Friday* in the Evening he came back to *Whitehall*; but at his Return, *Scot* and *Hastlerig*, and some others of their violent Friends were very much moved, as if he had disobeyed his Orders, by which they said he was to continue with his Army in the City, 'till several Designs of theirs, for the further humbling them to their Purposes, should be effected; and there was a Whisper, as if he were to have been questioned for it. It was also artificially contrived, that the same Day the Gates were pulled down, a Petition from a factious Phanatick Party of Citizens was presented by one *Praise-God Barebone* to the House, to countenance the Action, and to press an Oath of Renunciation to be taken by all that should be employed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheless, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they had the Thanks of the House for their Moderation in this time of Disorder in the City.

That Evening *Clarges* privately went to the General, and represented to him the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in *London*, "And that the Influence that City had by Commerce, and other Occasions, all over *England*, would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fact: And all the Cities and Towns would be alarmed, believing if that great City should be made a Village, all their Franchises and Privileges would be quickly subverted: So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a free Parliament". The General, though he demurred a little upon this Counsel, yet he seemed very sensible of the Contempts they at *Westminster* had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolved after a Day or two's private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain their Esteem he had lost; for the Performance of which, he said, *He would take time but 'till Tuesday Morning*. This was the Effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, *Dr. Barrow* came to *Clarges*, earnestly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, setting forth, "That Delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his Power the doing what he intended; and that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater Dislike of what he had done the Day before, as that to which the Necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) pressed him to". Whilst they were in this Discourse, two Officers of the Army in whom the General then had much Trust, came in to them, and they all together went to him again, and, with the same

Arguments reiterated, dissuaded him from Delay; 1659. adding, "That they had certain Intelligence that the Council of State began to be jealous of him, for that little Favour he shewed to the City in the Execution of his Orders; and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety". *Barrow* was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; and the General with *Clarges*, *Thomson*, *Saunders* and *Barton*, which two last were advised with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admission of the secluded Members, consulted what to offer to the House as a ground for their March into *London*: At last waving all Thought of making any Excuse for marching into the City, they conclude, that Orders should be privately issued for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greatest Confidence, to meet at six the next Morning at the General's Quarters; and for the drawing of some Men together before *Whitehall*, to be ready to march; and that a Letter should be sent to the House in the Morning, signed by the General and a select Number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,

"That they gave too much Countenance to *Lambert*, *Vane*, and several that engaged with the late Committee of Safety; and that they had permitted *Ludlow*, and some others, to sit in their House, that had been by Sir *Charles Coote*, and some of the Irish Officers, accused of High-Treason; and had countenanced too much a late Petition to exclude the most sober and conscientious, both Ministers and others, by Oaths, from all Employment and Maintenance: And in Conclusion, to request, That by *Friday* next they should issue out Writs to fill up their House; and when filled, should rise at their appointed time, to give Place to a full and free Parliament.

The General having agreed to these Heads, retired to his Repose, whilst the rest penned the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the Name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next Day the Officers, who had been sent for to meet at *Whitehall*, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced, and read to them, (the General being present) and by all of them approved; whereupon the General signed it, and with him several Colonels; viz. *Saunders*, *Read*, *Lyd-cott*, *Knight*, *Cloeberry*, *Redman* and *Hubblethorn*, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was *Ethelbert and Lydcott Morgan*, who commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and six Majors, *Johnson*, *Bar-ton*, *Smith*, *Bannister*, *Pryme*, and *Nicholas*. *Cloeberry* and *Lydcott* were sent with the Letter to the House, and *Clarges* at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City, and to dispose him and the City to give him a favourable Reception.

These things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to *Finsbury*, where he drew up his Soldiers, 'till he should hear from *Clarges* how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserved, and averse to the General's coming, as terrified with his Actions the Day before, had applied himself to Alderman *Robinson*, and some others that he durst trust, and acquainted them privately, that the

The General upon Advice with some of his Officers, concludes to return immediately.

The Substance of his Letter to the House.

The Letter being signed by the General, and several Officers, is sent by *Cloeberry* and *Lydcott* to the Lord Mayor, who marches to *Finsbury*.

*Clarges* finding my Lord Mayor distrustful, applies himself to Alderman *Robinson*.

Gene-



1659. General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom, but did not instance in the Particulars of what was in Agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, 'till it was known how they at *Westminster* should receive the Letter: Nevertheless, *Robinson* sends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidants, and with these they go to the Lord Mayor to mollify him, but without any Effect for the present: Nevertheless, *Clarges* told him, the General was resolved, though he quartered not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner: And accordingly he sent to the General, to desire him to march with all his Men to *Leaden-Hall-Street*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While Matters were thus carried on in the City, the House was in great Disorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized so far, as to shew no publick Dislike at it, but ordered,

The House dissemble their Re-  
sentment of the General's Letter, and give him good Words.

'That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his faithful Service in securing of the City; and that, as to filling up the House, the Parliament were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatched in due time; and that Mr. *Scot*, and Mr. *Robinson*, should attend him with their Votes, in Answer to his Letter'.

The General troubled at the Lord Mayor's Diffidence of him.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, 'He was very welcome to his House, but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions of his sudden Return, after such violent Actions as the Day before his Soldiers had been employed in'. The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another Mind in a few Hours*. Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what Hindrance this Coldness he found might give to his Designs; inasmuch, that he called *Clarges* aside, and check'd him, as one who had over hastily pressed him on upon so little time of Consideration, to so great an Enterprize. To which he answered, *That he was now too far advanced to go back; and that the best Advice he could give him was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the Aldermen and Common-Council to meet him at four a Clock at Guild-Hall, and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Desires of the whole Kingdom*.

Requests the same of a Common-Council.

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out: But in the mean time, *Scot* and *Robinson* came to him from them at *Westminster*, with the before-mentioned Answer to the Letter.

Scot made Protestations of the Parliament's Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: But Colonel *Bridges*†, an Officer of *Ireland* that stood by, told them, *The General had no Reason to credit their fair Speeches, since their Words and their Practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempt of those his Friends in Ireland, who for his Sake hazarded themselves in their Service; and now when he came from the Irish Army to impeach Ludlow and Jones of High Treason, he could have no Justice, but was put off from Day to Day, when Praise-God Barebone could be heard, and admitted with a Seditious Petition the first Moment he came to the Door of the House. And Cloe-berry told them, The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew jealous of them, and that they went about to balance them with such as had been their Enemies, which made it*

high time for them to consult for their own Safeties. 1659.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they strictly observ'd the Advice of the Letter, and issued out Writs on Friday next for filling up their House*.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among five Commissioners; namely, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, the Colonels, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, my.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress; at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General *Monk* should always be one of the three for the Quorum: But upon putting the Question, 'twas carried in the Negative. When Word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council being met at *Guild-Hall* about five of the Clock, the General told them, 'That the Employment whereon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ungrateful to him that he ever undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Employment; nor did he value his Commission out of any Respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as he, to the Settlement of these Nations. That what he had now to tell them was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, to issue out Writs within seven Days for the filling up of their House; and when filled, to sit no longer than 'till the 6th of May, to give Place to a full and free Parliament'.

The News of this was quickly dispersed thro' all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bon-fires and ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a House in *Cheapside*, to give Order, for the quartering of his Soldiers, and went himself to lodge at the *Glass-House* in *Broad-Street*, 'till *Drapers-Hall* could be accommodated for his Reception.

The Monday after his Stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, to desire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation; to which he the next Day returned Answer: *That 'till the Oath should be taken away, which put a Bar to him, and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there: And withal, he informed them, That the Distractions of the City were increased by the Continuance of Arms in the Hands of the Phanaticks, and Persons disaffected to the Parliament, who had seven Thousand lately out of the Stores delivered to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recal these Arms; and withal, to excuse his Stay in the City for some longer time, 'till the Minds of the Citizens were composed*.

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to *Whitehall*) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him; or them, that he remove; for that they

An Act for constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

The General excused his late Proceeding in the City before the Common-Council.

The City joyfully receives the News of a free Parliament.

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

The City and Chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from heark'ning to the Parliament's Invitations to return back to *Whitehall*.



1659. they had certain Information, that many private Letters were sent from *Haslerig* and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Soldiery from him; and that certain Men were employed to several Regiments to debauch them. This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel *Allured* came from the Council of State, to persuade him against staying in the City, he acquainted him with what he had heard.

Col. *Allured* laboured to infuse a Belief in him, of his having been mis-informed of those things. It was answered by the General, *That he put no greater Stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Actions and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the Belief of them, 'till time should evince the Truth.* But he assured him, *He was advertised from Persons of good Fame; that notwithstanding that Lambert was proscribed, and Vane put out of this Parliament, and ordered to leave the Town; yet the Stay of the latter was connived at, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, and several others, corresponded with them both.*

*Sir Arthur Haslerig* writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the Admission of the secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them, he receiv'd Visits from some of the secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations.

The General is importuned from all Partsto admit the secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him of the sitting Members, with some of the secluded.

In this Method he so far proceeded, as on the 18th of February, to have a Conference before him, of some of the secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the sitting Members were, *St. John, Haslerig, Morley, Thomson, Ashley-Cooper, Weaver, White, Fielder, Hutchinson, and Rawleigh*; but *Scot* and *Reynolds* also were intended by the General to be there; but for want of some Notice they came not. The secluded Members that met them, were, *Sir William Lewis, Sir John Evelin, Sir John Holland, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Colonel Popham, Mr. Annesly, Mr. Knightly, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trevor, Colonel Hawley, Colonel Norton, Sir John Temple, and Colonel Birch.* They discoursed of many things in order to a mutual Accord for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their Consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally, all of them, who were then present, seemed well satisfied with that Moderation and Temper which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done by common Consent, he resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army consent to the Admission of the secluded, upon certain Conditions. \* Mr. Clarges and others, appointed

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on Condition they would promise to declare for a Commonwealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Possession of their Lands, disposed of since their Seclusion; and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, \* Mr. Clarges, Colonel Cloebery, and Dr. Gumble, were appointed

to treat with some of them, who, when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter.

The secluded Members declared, as to Government, they intended no Alteration in it, or to act further than in Preparation for a Parliament to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summons, but by Writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next Parliament, to pass an Act for their Confirmation; and for the time of their sitting, they were contented it should determine in a Month's time. Cloebery urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the Price of their Blood; and tho' their not disturbing such Possessions in *England*, might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of *Ireland* was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Soldiers. To this it was replied, That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousy of their Actions, they would consent to be limited to the chief Heads of what they should consult, during the short time of their Continuance.

When the Conference ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the secluded Members, except the not Confirmation of publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of Parliament: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, Clarges told the Officers, they could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of Respect to their own private Interests: He said, the greatest Part of his own Estate was in *Ireland*, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of publick Estates was in that Kingdom; yet he would, for his own Part, submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament, rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the Hazard of the publick Peace. And as to that of publick Acts, he told them, he doubted not but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be but by an Act.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied, upon which all the rest assented. And it was agreed, that the secluded Members that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the four Heads following:

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.

2. For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in Scotland and Ireland, and to take Care for the issuing of Writs for the summoning of a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 20th of April.

4. To

to treat with some of the secluded concerning the safe Conditions.

The Consultations upon what the Members had delivered of their Intentions.

The General and the Officers agree upon admitting the secluded Members.

The chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.



1659.

The General meets them at Whitehall in order to their Admission into the House.

4. To their own legal Dissolution.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on Tuesday following in the Morning, the General gave them a Meeting at Whitehall; whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations; with Assurance, *That he would impose nothing on them*, they went to take their Places in the Parliament; being conducted thither by Captain Miller who commanded the Guards.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about London, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in England, Scotland and Ireland, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the secluded Members; which was referred to a Committee to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfy them, *That nothing was intended for Alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a free State and Commonwealth.* This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as Affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and so many Clerks were employed, that Copies of it were that Night signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

These Transactions were managed with so much Secrecy, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, 'till they saw the secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surprized, were at first at a Demur amongst themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the House; 'till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a Commonwealth, well knowing that it would not be in their Power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the House, resolved, since they could not hinder them the partial Possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined staid behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members; who in the first Place applied themselves to vindicate the Honour of their House, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all Votes whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein. Next, they order Mr. Vincent and Mr. Bromfield, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the Council of States Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where imprisoned upon Sir George Booth's Rising, or for making Addresses for the Admission of the secluded Members. Moreover, they constituted General Monk by Act of Parliament, Captain General of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and repealed that Act which made him only a joint Commissioner with Colonel Morley, Haslerig, Walton, and Allured, for Government of the Army.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first Admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which Number was Mr. William Morrice, whom Mr. Nicholas Monk, the General's Brother, knowing him to be a prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the

good of his Country, writ to Clarges to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be assistant to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily persuaded, having had long before, by his Brother's Report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. Clarges acquainted Mr. Nicholas Monk with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the General to Mr. Morrice, to acquaint him with his Admission of the secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the Parliament; where he arrived whilst they were sitting, and took his Place in the House; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in promoting and carrying on of the General's Affairs in relation to his Majesty's Interest.

The Parliament repealed the Act for the former Council of State, and the Oath of Abjuration, and passed an Act for another Council to consist of one and thirty Persons: Which were, General George Monk, William Pierpoint, John Crew, Esq; Colonel Rossiter, Richard Knightly Esq; Colonel Popham, Colonel Morley, Lord Fairfax, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Sir John Temple, Lord Commissioner Widdrington, Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, Sir William Waller, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Montague, Colonel Edward Harley, Colonel Richard Norton, Arthur Ansley, Esq; Denzel Holles, Esq; Colonel George Thomson, John Trevor, Esq; Sir John Holland, Sir John Potts, Col. John Birch, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, John Swinfin, Esq; John Weaver, Esq; Serjeant Maynard; most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel Rich was about St. Edmund's-Bury, and having actually debauched two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment; he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Col. Ingoldsby to command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in Defection with the rest of the Troops under Lambert, and had not been mustered since the Restauration of the Parliament, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief: And therefore the General thought fit at this time to model that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain Philip Howard, making Mr. Robert Harley his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. Henry Monk, Cornet; who were so active, that in six Hours time they displaced all of whom they had any Suspicion, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant Men; who immediately marched towards Suffolk, to execute the General's Orders upon Colonel Rich; but he having Notice of the marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and the Regiment quietly received Col. Ingoldsby to command them, who by the General's Appointment, put out all such Officers as were of froward and seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

And to reduce North Wales to a more settled Condition than it was in at that present; the General gave Colonel Carter a Commission to be Governour of Beaumaris Castle, (the Soldiers whereof had been placed there by Colonel John Jones) with Authority to raise Forces to reduce Denbeigh and Conway, which had been in very ill Hands, and to settle that Country in quiet; which he did in a very short time, to the great

A new Council of State chosen.

The Life Guard modell'd, and conferred upon Captain Philip Howard.

Rich's Regiment submit to the General's Orders.

The General takes care for the settling of North Wales.



1659. Satisfaction of all the Gentry and People in those Parts.

The late Commonwealth Parliament before the Admission of the secluded Members, had given *Desborow's* Regiment to Colonel *Walton*; but the General disposed of it to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he also made Governour of *Carlisle*.

The Parliament passed an Act of Assessment for a hundred thousand Pounds a Month for six Months, and proceed with much haste to settle the Militia both in the City and all other Parts of *England* and *Wales*, having vacated the former Act made before their Admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over *England*, were Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in *London*, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; the Parliament by Proclamation commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's License, should return forthwith to their last Quarters formerly assigned, or to such others as should be assigned them by Directions from the Lord General.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the Parliament, Colonel *Overton* was designing to make Disturbances in *Yorkshire*; he drew up a Letter to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and Colonel *Smithson*, which he caused to be subscribed by all his Officers; exhorting the Soldiers to be watchful, and guard themselves against the abandoned Interest of *Charles Stuart*, which was now reviving, and would introduce the Bondage they had freed themselves from: With more to the same Purpose.

Many Copies of this Letter was dispersed amongst the Soldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these Words: *This is Overton's and the Officers of the Garrison of Hulls Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Concurrence of all our honest Fellow-Soldiers, who have been engaged in the good old Cause against the Interest of a King and single Person.*

If Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithson*, and *Bethel*, had not been very active, this Practice had perverted many Soldiers, but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon Knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to *Overton* by Colonel *Allured* and Major *Smith*, to give him Satisfaction in his Proceedings here; and the Council of State, upon his Motion, did the like. Major *Smith* was well known and beloved in *Hull*, and, the General having a Design to remove *Overton*, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Soldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; and as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel *Fairfax* (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of *Hull*) to draw some Companies to *Beverly*, and writ to *Overton* to repair immediately to him.

Colonel *Overton* was surprized at the Receipt of this Letter; but finding himself in no Capacity to dispute the Order for his Delivery up of *Hull*, he submitted to it; and sent to Colonel

*Fairfax* to acquaint him with that his Resolution; and himself at eleven a Clock the same Night, began his Journey towards *London* to the General.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. *Clarges* to be Commissary-General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and to Mr. *Maurice* to be Governour of *Plymouth*; and to Major-General *Morgan*, to be Commander in chief of the Army in *Scotland*.

*Morgan* was already upon the Place, but wanted sufficient Authority, till he had his Commission sent him; and all the Army there submitted to the General's Actions in Reference to the secluded Members, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of *Orkney*, commanded by one *Watson*, which was reduced by Captain *Man* and *Watson*, and his Officers imprisoned, and his Company disbanded.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that sat in the Lord's House a little before the Death of the late King, to be admitted to sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in Regard, the Army was already so jealous upon the sitting of the secluded Members, that he had Difficulty enough to moderate them.

Every Post brought the General Addresses from all the Regiments in *England*, of their Consent to his Actions: And Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland* had with many other Officers, upon the same Day that the secluded Members were admitted, declared at *Dublin* for them, and had secured Sir *Hardress Waller*, that had dissented from him.

Those of the former Members who staid in the House after the Admission of the secluded Members, that they might engage the General against the King, promoted an Act for the settling of *Hampton-Court*, with all the Parks and some other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which so troubled him, that he used all the Friends he had to divert it; and at last an Expedient was found out, by giving him by Act of Parliament a Present of twenty thousand Pounds in Money, and the Custody or Stewardship of that House, and the Parks for his Life. They also conferred upon Commissary *Clarges* the Hamper-Office; and about the 13th of *March* they ordered, that the Engagement, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament in these Words: *viz. I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without King or House of Lords*, should be taken off the File, and made null.

*Scot*, *Haslerig*, and some others, were much alarmed at this Proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognostick of introducing the King; and though they so much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they chose rather to have the General take the Dominion of the three Kingdoms upon himself, than to have the King restored. They consulted privately with some of the Officers of the Army, whom they trusted most, and these approved so well of the Expedient, that the General was treated with about it in *Whitehall*, where *Haslerig* told him, 'That many of his Friends were much troubled at the Parliament's Actions, which tended both to the Ruin of him, and all the good People of the Nation, since it was evident, that by what they had voted the Day before, nothing was

The Army in Scotland well satisfied with the General's Actions.

An Act proposed for the settling of Hampton-Court upon the General.

The Engagement abrogated.

The Commonwealth Faction desire the General rather to take the Government upon himself than to bring in the King. They treat with him about it.

The General sends Col *Fairfax* to take Possession of *Hull*.

The Colonel submits to the General's Orders.



1659. 'was intended but the Restitution of the King. His Overthrow, they said, must needs succeed the Admission of the King; for a Merit too great to be rewarded, could have no Recompence but Death; whereof frequent Examples are to be found in all History, and in none more pregnant than our own; where it is recorded, that the same Stanley, who placed the Crown upon Henry the VIIIth's Head, had his own struck off, upon a very frivolous Pretence, when the Reason was only Excess of Merit. They told him likewise, They found a Commonwealth Government, not agreeable with the Disposition of the People, who are always bad Judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore since a single Person was necessary, there could not be one fitter than he for that Office: To which they had very good Grounds to believe all the good People of the Nation would concur with them".

The General told them, 'He himself was not well pleased at the late unnecessary Vote of Parliament concerning the Engagement, but many of the most discreet Members had been with him, and satisfied him, that they had no Design in it, but to keep themselves free against the next Parliament; for in regard, they said, that he had consented that the final Determination of Government should be referred to that, they were unwilling to anticipate their Councils by determining of it by that Engagement, which would be too great a Snare unto them: Still urging, 'That they knew not any Cause he should have of Fear, for that the very Writ of Summons of the next Parliament, did sufficiently defend the Government, in restraining their Debates to it. As for the Government in his own Person, he said, The Experience of Cromwell's Fate gave him Reasons to avoid the Rock on which that Family was split".

They replied, 'That Oliver Cromwell usurped the Dominion against the Suffrage of the Army, and the Consent of all the good People; whereas he should have it by their unanimous Consent, and under what Name and Title he pleased to accept it".

The General would by no means hear more of these Temptations, resolving not to lose the Honour derived to him from as antient a Stock of Gentry as any was in England, by so treacherous a Prostitution of it.

A little before these Men went to the General, Commissary Clarges had been tampered with by them, to the same Purpose; and observing them to go from him to his Lordship, he deliberated how to extricate him from further Applications of this kind, and punish the Insolency of these Undertakers.

The Council of State sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the Place where it was transacted, he sent in to the Council to Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, and informed him of what he knew, and what he further suspected: Upon which it was agreed, that as soon as the General should depart from them, and come into the Council, he should move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Counsellors, should withdraw, and the Doors be locked, and then declare, that he had had Information of a dangerous Design in some seditious Persons, who were contriving to make Disturbances in the Nation; and that they had

proceeded so far, as to make some indecent Overtures to him, of which he desired that the Council might receive a full Discovery, that thereupon they might apply themselves to prevent the Consequences of it.

But the General being unwilling to expose those Men to ruin, tho' they deserved not his Favour, because his Purposes were designed to be effected by the most peaceable Ways, told the Council, That there was not so much Danger in Agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, some had been with him to be resolved in Scruples concerning the present Transactions in Parliament, but they went away from him well satisfied.

Thus the goodness of the General was abused, for these unreasonable Men, when they saw they could not allure him to their Ends by the Temptation of Power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by some of them to the General, to oblige him, with his Army, to declare for a Commonwealth, and engage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a single Person; and that he should send to the Parliament to join with them in this Declaration.

Commissary Clarges and Mr. Clark, the General's Secretary, where with him when this was brought to him, and observing great Trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any Opinion of it 'till the next Morning, because then the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to join with him. One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. Morris an Officer of the Army, was to have his Aid in Consultations at such times as these: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers, and one of so good Judgment and Elocution as he, could not but persuade much; so that he had been the fittest Person that could been thought on, had not his being unused to such Assemblies made him not care to be present at them.

The next Morning a great Concourse of Officers met at St. James's, and Colonel Okey opened the Council, with a long Speech, Of the Fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and if great Care was not used to prevent it, Charles Stuart would be introduced: And that the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the Parliament, to oblige them to declare and engage for a free State and Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords: And if they refused to do it, to take such a Remedy as God should put into their Hearts to save the Nation from Destruction.

Commissary Clarges answered, That he saw no Cause for those Fears that were insinuated; and that if they sent to the Parliament in such a manner, they would find no pleasing Return from them; for if these Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been fourteen of them impeached at one time of Treason, and two hundred secluded at another; and the first thing they would probably do, upon the Receipt of such a Message, would be to dissolve themselves, and then there would be no Government; but instead of the single Person they were

The General in favour of those Persons mitigates the Matter.

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to sign.

Okey's Speech at the Council of Officers.

Commissary Clarges's Answer.



1659. so much afraid of, they must necessarily have recourse to Richard Cromwell, and expose themselves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with so much Scorn put upon him and his Family.

And as for the General (applying himself to him) he said, he knew he would not assume the Government, having heard him profess, (on Occasion of these Alterations) he would rather be drawn in Pieces with wild Horses, than be so treacherous to the Nation.

The General's Determination of the Latter.

The General concluded, and told them, 'The time of this Parliament's ending was so near, they could not do the Ills some of them (he hoped) causelessly feared: And that from the next Parliament he doubted not they would receive better Satisfaction than they had in this, since it was provided in the Act for their Assembling, that none should be elected that had been against the Parliament since 1641. Withal, He confirmed what Commissary Clarges had said, 'That if by this violent Proceeding they should make the Parliament hastily dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation in Confusion, they must not expect he would take upon him the Government, which he had rather lose his Life than accept.

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; only one said, *That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new Parliament, for they themselves being to be Judges of them, it might so happen, that the major Part might be of such as were not themselves qualified.*

The General knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this Reason he pressed for a new Parliament on any Terms) but was unwilling to hear more Discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, *Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpose in Civil Things:* And from that time he forbid them to assemble again; and within a few Days after, that is to say, on the 17th of March, the Parliament by Act dissolved it self, having before summoned a Parliament to succeed them the 25th Day of April following; and passed two Votes to keep the Royal Party out of both House and Army. The Royal Party, who had suffered so much in the Defence and Service of the Government, and who had behaved themselves so honourably in their Endeavours of extinguishing all Animosities, upon this hopeful change of Affairs; little, I say, did they expect to see themselves turn'd out of Doors by such a Preclusion from publick Office or Employment, upon the very Test of their Fidelity to their Sovereign. But these Votes were little heeded by the Electors, the People having so great an Esteem for the Royal Party, that almost generally wheresoever they stood, they carried it, and kept their Places too in the House of Commons, notwithstanding a Contrivance there also, to have ejected them after they were met.

The Conference between Monsieur de Bordeaux, and Commissary Clarges.

Monsieur de Bordeaux, the French Ambassador, then Resident in London, was very desirous to interest Cardinal Mazarini in this great Revolution of Government; and having had Acquaintance with Clarges, expected by him to discover all the General's Designs; and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, to desire him to move the General to have Licence to give him a Visit, and to confer about some Overtures he had to make to him.

Clarges, upon this Intimation, went to the Ambassador, who carried him into his Closet, and

they two being alone, he told him, 'That it was visible to all, that the General had some great Design in Projection, and that most wise Men believed it was, either to advance himself to the Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the King; and that in either of these, he had the Advantage of being more serviceable to him than any other; for if he should use any Englishman in so important an Intrigue, if he should not have Success, that would be brought in Evidence against him to his Destruction; whereas he as a Stranger, and a publick Minister, could not be questioned. He further said, what he proposed, was not only in Reference to himself, but to Cardinal Mazarini, who would be glad to have the Honour of his Friendship, and assist him faithfully in all his Purposes. He said moreover, that he could not undertake to determine, whether it was not best for him to dignify his Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or to restore the King to them; they were both Actions of much Glory; and if the latter were as easy, the Honour of it would be as great: But that he might be confident of the Cardinal, he did assure him, that Oliver Cromwell kept so strict a League with him, that he did not assume the Government without his Privy, and was directed Step by Step by him in the Progress of that Action: And therefore, if he resolved on that Course, he should not only have the Cardinal's Friendship and Counsel in the Attempt, but a safe Retreat and honourable Support in France, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit the King, and put the Manner of it into the Cardinal's Hands, whatever he would desire for himself of Security, or Honour from the Crown, he would undertake to obtain, and in such a manner, that it should rather seem by the Cardinal's Advice, than his particular Inclinations; and the King would gladly receive it, and France should be the Place to which (if he agreed) the King should presently retreat; where he should have a Train provided proportionable to his Greatness, that his People here might, with greater Reverence, apply themselves to him; and by this Way (he said) the General might not only oblige the King of England, but the King his Master also, by making him a Mediator and Instrument in his Restauration".

To this Clarges answered, 'That the Matter was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in regard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the Danger of having such a Secret known to any second Person, a Native of England.

But nevertheless, to satisfy him, he assured him, that the General did not intend to take upon him the Government, but submit all to the Determination of the next Parliament".

He then replied, 'That a Parliament in England was a kind of tumultuary Council, so various in their Debates, that no certain Measure could be taken from them; and therefore for not taking this Course which he advised, he might be hurried by their froward Proceedings, to some sudden Enterprize, neither safe for himself, nor good for the People; and that with him, in any Misfortune, all his Relations would be ruined".

To this Conference Clarges put an End, by telling him, 'He would take a sudden Occasion to sound the General's Inclinations, and tho' he would not directly tell him what had pass'd betwixt them, he should nevertheless guess, whether



1659. whether it might be fit for him to impart it to him: The only difficulty that remained, was the General's want of the French Tongue, which the Ambassador said, 'Was not necessary, for, that he had English enough to be understood, and to understand all that should be said to him; and thus they parted'.

The General refuseth to treat with the Ambassador, or the Cardinal. Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. Morrice, and to the General himself, who absolutely refused to have any Commerce with the Ambassador or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contented to receive his Visit, but on Condition, That he should not propose any thing to him in Reference to the publick Affairs of Government.

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the General, making great Professions of his Services to him, on all Occasions, without descending to Particulars.

The manner of Sir John Greenvil's Application to the General. Much more successful was the Application made by Sir John Greenvil, who being an active Agent for the King, and a near Kinsman to the General, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit Person to be employed to him; but he knowing the wary Temper of the General, was much troubled how to get Access to him; till bethinking himself of Mr. Morrice, his Neighbour in the Country, a Person often conversant with the General, he concluded by his Mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the General know he had something of great Importance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the Opportunity to do it.

When Mr. Morrice informed the General of this, he received it with much Strangeness; for although Sir John was his near Relation, yet by Reason of his Youth, and the General's long Absence from his Country, they had little Acquaintance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. Morrice, Except he would send some Information by him, of the Nature of his Business, he could not admit of any Intercourse with him.

Mr. Morrice told him, He had already desired to know that, but Greenvil refused it. The General in his Mind liked well of this Reservedness in Sir John, and bid Mr. Morrice acquaint him, That if he came the next Day at nine in the Evening to St. James's, he would speak with him. And accordingly Greenvil came to him, at the appointed time, which was the next Evening after the Dissolution of the Parliament.

His Reception. When he came, after he had requested Pardon for the Importunity of his Visit, he desired his Permission to deliver a Message he had to him from his Majesty. The General seem'd surpriz'd at this saying; but seeing that there was no Body in the Room but Mr. Morrice, and he at a good Distance from them, he bid him say what he pleased:

He then presented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, 'That his Majesty had great Confidence in his Affections to him, and since he had complied so far with the Desires of all the sober Part of the Kingdom, for the Admission of the secluded Members, in order to a free Parliament; the Consequences of that could not but give sufficient Evidence of his Inclinations to his Majesty's Service and Restitution, which would naturally flow from his Endeavours, in Conjunction with their Counsels'.

The General replied, 'That he had long lamented the miserable Distraction of his native Country, and waited a fit Occasion to contribute his Assistance to the Redemption of it: And when Lambert and those with him had interrupted the Parliament; considering that the Army had been newly in a great Measure by that Parliament modelled, he supposed by a Declaration for their Restitution he might gain a Power in his Hands for better Purposes, and, as the better to bring these his Purposes about, he resolved if by his Arms the Parliament should be restored, together, with those few Members which sat at their Interruption, to admit those also who had been secluded; intending to that End, by Degrees, to put his Army into such Hands as would favour his Intentions: That it was well known to all, how he was disappointed in that Design, and thro' what Difficulties he arrived to the Station he was then in; nor was he even at that time secure from great Danger of Disappointment, if he should not manage his Affairs with more than ordinary Secresy.

As to the King's Majesty, he said, none wish'd him greater Felicity than he, nor desired his Restauration with more Passion; but if it were not cautiously attempted, it would be out of his Power to serve him in it, since in Counsels of so nice Concernment, there would not be room for two Errors. The People, he told him, had been long seduced by seditious Insinuations, and the Army in the Hands of such, as had always been against his Royal Father; and many of them even against Monarchy it self: But nevertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same Security under his Majesty's Government, as they had under the Usurpers of it, he might not despair of their Reduction to Obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble Advice, that his Majesty should prevent their Fears, by declaring a free and general Pardon to all his Subjects, and engage himself to give it under the Great Seal, to all that should submit to his Authority, except such as should be exempted by the Parliament.

And that he would consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament, that should be presented to him for the Settlement of publick Sales and Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Soldiers, and others; and the Payment of the Soldiers Arrears: As also for Toleration of Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects; and that none should be punished for Differences in Matters of Religion who should not disturb the publick Peace'.

Sir John asked him, 'What he would give him in Command for himself, and if he would write to his Majesty? Which he excused at that time, saying, 'If his Letter should be intercepted before he had compleated the Reformation of the Armies, it would be impossible for him to keep them in Temper, or hinder the Subversion of all he had hitherto done; adding, 'That he sought not his own Advantage in his Endeavours for the publick Benefit of his Country; and that having with much Hazard brought Matters near to a fair Issue, in pursuance of the general Suffrage of the Nations, he was unwilling, by Indiscretion, to venture a Relapse, but would chose to involve himself in the same Condition with the Generality of the People, in Expectation of what the next Parliament should bring forth, to the Happiness of his Majesty, and all his Kingdoms'.

The General's Answer.

A further Discourse between them confirming the Sincerity of the General's Intentions.



1659. Sir John Greenville writ down the Substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to maintain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in Pieces, and conjured him to acquaint no Person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, *To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of Spain's Dominions to Breda, or some other Place under the Government of the States of the united Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of Spain's Ministers, if he stayed in his Dominions.*

And at Sir John's parting from him, he told him, *He was glad that this Occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an Effect of his Diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Master's Service; of which he had before some Experience when his Brother Nicholas came from him into Scotland.*

Sir John takes his Journey towards Brussels.

He promised to observe all the General's Instructions; and when he came to Ostend, (where he arrived the 23d of March) he put all that had passed betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into Form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole Affair, he was so secret, that the Lord Mordant, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

He gives his Majesty an Account of his Negotiation, and the Effects thereof.

At Brussels he retired to a private House, to which his Majesty (upon Intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great Satisfaction received the Intelligence he brought, but because he could not prosecute the General's Desire (as to his Removal) without Advice for the Manner of executing it, he consulted the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, being Persons in whom, from just Reason and Experience, he had most intire Confidence; by whose Assistance the Matter was so ordered, that in two or three Days, he took his Journey to Breda; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation to return to the Transactions in England of that busy time.

The King removes to Breda.

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of Tumults and Disturbances.

The Council of State took Care to have the Act put in speedy Execution throughout England, for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and for putting the Militia into sober Hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published a Proclamation to forbid all Persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any Dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present Government, to endanger the Peace of the Nation, giving Power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid: And for the better Encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared and promised to give to the Discoverer of any such Person, who should apprehend and secure such Offenders, the Sum of ten Pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published at the Head of every Regiment, Troop and Company of the Army, to the Intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual Execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill Humours amongst the Soldiers, which made Commissary Clarges consult privately with the General, about some other more

Commissary Clarges draws up an Engagement

effectual Course; he proposed to frame an Engagement for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next Parliament should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that Night alone he framed it, and immediately advised with Colonel Howard, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Mr. Ansley, and Colonel Knight, (who all of them with one Consent approved it, being all Persons of great Credit with the General) about putting it into Execution. Colonel Knight undertook by the next Day at Noon, to get it signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the General's Regiment of Horse, and the Life-Guard; and Colonel Howard did the like for his Regiment which lay about Croydon; for he had so modelled it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time being accordingly effected, they met together at Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper's Lodging; and glad to see their Business so well advanced by the Subscription of these three Regiments, they, in the next Place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments in London, to be summoned to meet that Evening at St. James's, which was accordingly done: And they being all met, it was moved to them by Colonel Knight,

1659. to be subscribed for acquiescing in the Determinations of the next Parliament

The Officers of three Regiments subscribe:

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many disaffected Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publick Testimony of their Affections and Inclinations; and in order thereunto, some Officers having shewed him an Address, which they had framed to be presented to the General, to testify their Resolution of Obedience and Duty to the Powers God hath placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Attestations to it, and some more had done the like, it being intended by those who had first advised it, to be tendered to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great Part here, they had by the General's Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

The Substance of Colonel Knight's Speech to the Officers at St. James's, encouraging them to subscribe the Engagement.

Colonel Knight and Clarges had before prepared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from Scotland, so that they made no Difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of other Regiments to induce them: Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the Privy and Permission of the General, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. So that at that very time this Engagement was signed by Lieutenant Colonel Morgan, and all the Officers of the General's Regiment of Foot; by Colonel Hubblethorn, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel Cloeberry, Colonel Lydcott, Colonel Read, and the rest, with all their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had signed before, ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-Guard, and all the General Officers. Also Colonel Fairfax, and Colonel Bethel, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four Days had returned to the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, that Colonel Howard, with forty Officers, should present it into Scotland to the General, which was done at St. James's the 9th Day of April, and was with much Satisfaction and Content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General Morgan

The Address signed by all the Officers about London, and those of two other Regiments.

Presented to the General by Col. Howard. Sent into Scotland to M. General Morgan.



1659. *Morgan* in *Scotland*, to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in *England*, with an Account of what had been done in *London*, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concurred in it.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Soldiers in *Scotland*, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General *Morgan* might confide in, to assist him, if Need were, to model the rest. In Conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions returned to the General; only some Officers refused it, and were immediately displaced, and the General took that Opportunity of giving to the Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Roffiter*, and General *Montague*, to each of them a Regiment of Horse, and to Colonel *Sheffield* a Regiment of Foot. And whilst he was thus employed in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the Militia in all the Cities and Counties of *England* and *Wales*, wherein such Care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands, that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the Council of State, to be by the General and them approved.

These Preparations engaged many factions People to design against the Government, inso-much, that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Colonel *Howard* presented the above-mentioned Address to the General, Colonel *Lambert* having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party that had been lately engaged against General *Monk*, and some others of fanatick Principles: These held a Council in *London*, but were not so private in their Consultations, but the General had from time to time Intimation of much of their Proceedings. They sent some busy Men to all the Regiments in *England*, and those Officers that refus'd the Address, had intic'd many of the Troopers to steal after them: but such was the Vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above seven or eight Troops of Horse in a Body to join with *Lambert*, and but one Company of Foot.

On *Wednesday* the 18th of *April*, the General, upon Advice from Colonel *Streater*, of *Lambert's* hovering in the North Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters, sent for Colonel *Ingoldsby* to him, and told him, He must be at *Northampton* with his Regiment on the *Saturday* following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Colonel *Roffiter's* Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Colonel *Streater*, a Person whom he could trust, was with some of his Companies at *Northampton*, whom he would find ready to join with him. The Colonel told him, That his Regiment was dispersed in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, but he would do his Endeavours to get them together. And he was so diligent herein, that by the *Friday* following he got his Regiment to *Cambridge*, and on *Saturday* in the Evening to *Northampton*.

The General also sent Colonel *Howard* with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards *Worcestershire* and *Warwickshire*, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards *Coventry*, which *Lambert* had a Design to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by ordering three Companies of Colonel *Streater's* Regiment to Quarter in that City:

The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shew'd them *Lambert's* Orders to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Colonel's Orders, marched intire with great Speed, stood upon his Defence, and opposed them twice in his March thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declared *Lambert* and his Adherents Traitors, and the General was careful the very next Day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One *Merry*, a disbanded discontented Officer of Col. *Smithson's* Regiment, had inticed forty of Captain *Peverel's* Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on *York*, but by the Care of other Troops they were dissipated; and one *Everard*, and Captain *Lockier*, two discontented Officers that had been lately in Custody, and released upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the publick Peace, did nevertheless march thro' *Nottingham*, with a seditious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain *Sherman* of Colonel *Saunders's* Regiment having Notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain *Craddock's* of *Hacker's* Regiment, to engage them; but immediately *Craddock's* Troop joined with the Enemy, which made *Sherman*, (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to *Nottingham*, to secure that Place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready Assistance. This News made the General give Orders, that the late Address signed by the Officers, should be tendered to all the private Soldiers also, which made so thorough a Reformation, that in many Regiments thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it; and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in *London*, that marched with him from *Scotland*, there were but two Dissenters.

On *Easter-Eve*, Colonel *Ingoldsby* joined with Colonel *Streater* at *Northampton*, where he was at that Time, and had been some Days before: The Earl of *Exeter*, who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the Number of near one hundred Horse, with much Resolution offered to assist Colonel *Streater*: Likewise the Trained-Bands of that Town were in Arms at the same time, in order to the securing thereof, in a Case of Necessity of Colonel *Streater's* attending *Lambert's* Motion: The Colonel purposing that Night, if Need had been, to have mounted four hundred Foot of his Regiment, with the Horses that came into the Town that Day (against the Fair on *Monday* following) and to have beaten up *Lambert's* Quarters.

On *Easter-Day* early Intelligence was brought to Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Streater*, that *Lambert* was at *Darventry*; upon which they marched towards him: When they came to *Darventry*, they heard *Lambert* was marched two Miles from thence, and therefore hastened to meet him; which they did in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him besides the Troops of Horse before-mentioned, these

Two more Regiments sent to Scotland.

All disaffected Officers displaced, and others put in their Rooms.

*Lambert* escapes out of the Tower.

The General takes great Care for the suppressing of *Lambert's*.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Streater* march against *Lambert's*.



1659. these Persons, viz. Colonel Okey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Cobbet, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, besides divers private Soldiers, who were Anabaptists.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four Hours, during which time, Colonel Ingoldsby, and Colonel Streater, spent their time, partly in their vigilant Observation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in encouraging of the Horse and Foot under their Command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary Resolution in both Horse and Foot: In the mean time, Lambert sent out several Scouts towards them; but Ingoldsby would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himself riding up towards them, had many Discourses with them: Ingoldsby was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Soldier, dealt so effectually with them, by laying open the Danger of their Action, that twenty five Troopers, with a Quarter-Master, came over to him. The Colonel dismounted and disarmed them for the present, because they were unwilling to engage in his Party, but afterwards restored their Horses and Arms to them.

Lambert's delay in engaging being observed by Col. Streater, he advised that both Horse and Foot should immediately advance, and put the Business to an Issue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot especially: And withal desired Col. Ingoldsby, That if he should be routed, he would rally with what Speed he could; for that he should be confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground. Colonel Streater's Foot being about five hundred; two compleat Companies, the rest commanded Men out of Several Companies, most Pikes, which in that Champion Ground would serve well to secure the Body against the Horse.

When the two Bodies came near, just as Col. Ingoldsby was going to charge, Colonel Streater commanded six Files of Musqueteers to advance, one File gave Fire and hurt one or two of Lambert's Horse; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given strict Command that his Musqueteers should not fire till they came as near as push of Pike. But Lambert's Men held the Noses of their Pistols towards the Ground, and Nelthrop's Troop came off to Ingoldsby; Haslerig's Troop having deserted him before; for Colonel Ingoldsby sending Captain Elsmore before him with a Party, as he marched to find Lambert, met Captain Haslerig, and took him Prisoner; but releas'd him upon his Parole, to send his whole Troop over to join with Ingoldsby, which he faithfully perform'd, sending it to them by his Quarter-Master, but retired himself: Colonel Ingoldsby told Lambert, He was his Prisoner: Whereupon Creed and the rest earnestly intreated him, to do what he pleased with them, but to permit Lambert to escape; acquainting him, That his Life could be of no Advantage to him, which Ingoldsby absolutely refused, telling them, He would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him by such an ungenerous Act: Lambert then turned about his Horse, and attempted to escape, but Ingoldsby pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to Pistol him, if he did not immediately yield. Lambert in great Depression of Spirit, twice pray'd him to let him escape; but when he saw he could not prevail, submitted as all the rest did, except Okey, Axtel, and Cleer, who escaped.

Defeats his Party, and takes him Prisoner.

General Montague, who had been some time before by the General's Advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General Monk being himself the other) and sent to take Charge of the Fleet, sent an Account to the Council of State of the Condition of it; how that Vice-Admiral Lawson, and with him the whole Navy, had received him with great Satisfaction, and were all fix'd in Obedience to their Authority, with Resolution to submit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Tuesday after this Defeat of Lambert, all the Militia of the City of London drew into Hide-Park; there were six Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blue, the Yellow, and the Orange, besides several Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Col. Bateman Alderman; the White by Col. Wale Alderman; the Green by Col. John Robinson Alderman; the Blue by Col. William Vincent; the Yellow by Col. William Broomfield; and the Orange by Col. Thomas Bloodworth; all Men of Courage and good Affections to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all twelve thousand Men: The General, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great Concourse of Noblemen and Gentlemen were present at the Appearance. And that Evening, Col. Lambert, Col. Cobbet, and Major Creed, were brought Prisoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next Day the rest of the Prisoners were brought by Captain Parry to the General, and by him committed to the Marshal-General.

The Defeat of Lambert did not make the Fanatics leave the Pursuit of their Mischiefs, several seditious Pamphlets being published in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People; and Tickers were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Soldiers. But none of them appeared to have been pen'd with more Virulency and Malice, than that vile supposititious Paper which they scattered about, carrying in its Frontispiece, *A Letter from Brussels*, &c. with which some of his Majesty's most implacable Enemies attempted to poison, or palliate the now high Expectations and Impressions of his good Subjects: And it was in truth so fatally timed, and so subtly contrived, that it had like to have done a great deal of Mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate and unparallel'd Inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their Forwardness for his Restoration, and to remit of their former Zeal: But this Hydra was dexterously cut off by Mr. Evelyn, whom we formerly mentioned, in a Reply which was printed, to the intire Satisfaction of all that read it. But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the General's Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers, more watchful for the publick Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errors, by several publick and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Endowments of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispersed amongst them, of the Implacability of all those of his Party, of whom it was said, if they had Power they would shew themselves full of Rancour and Revenge against all that were engaged in the late War against them: And observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for

Gen. Montague acquaints the Council of State with the Condition of the Fleet.

The Appearance of the City Militia in Hide-Park.

Col. Lambert, Col. Cobbet, and others sent Prisoners to the Tower.

Several seditious Pamphlets published and dispersed.



for their Elections, many strange Doubts possessed them; and amongst other Effects of their diseased Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesty's Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilst they were in the midst of these various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of England, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeased their Minds; wherein they declared, 'That they resolved to adhere to the 'largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all 'Persons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt such as should now unite with them, 'and those who first engag'd in the same Persuasion 'with themselves'.

The Parliament assembled.

These Declarations were wholesome Preparations to usher in the Parliament, which met at Westminster, on the 25th Day of April. The Lords chose the Earl of Manchester to be their Speaker, and the House of Commons Sir Herbottle Grimstone; where after the Appointment of the usual Committees for Privileges and other essential Matters usual at their first Assembling, they gave all due Acknowledgement to Gen. Monk, for his eminent Services and great Wisdom in subduing his Enemies without Blood; magnifying the Mercies of God, that made him so instrumental to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appear'd whence Deliverance should arise.

Sir Arthur Haslerig being suspected by the General, clears himself.

Sir Arthur Haslerig was by the General suspected to have contributed towards the Insurrection of Lambert, but upon Notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident Proofs to the Contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the General's Dispose, together with the Garrisons of Berwick, New-Castle, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth.

Sir John Greenvil presents the General with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the Council of State.

On the 27th of April, Sir John Greenvil attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and the Council of State, with a Commission from his Majesty to constitute him Captain-General of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland; informing him likewise, that he had Letters from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the City, and the Navy.

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the Parliament was adjourn'd for three Days, advis'd him the next Day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the Council of State, to the Council at their next sitting; which he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the Parliament's Directions, and took Caution of Sir John Greenvil to attend the House at their next sitting. At which time, by the General's Advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the House of Lords, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir John Greenvil attended at the Door with a Letter from his Majesty, the Earl of Manchester went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a Declaration inclosed in it; which were both read in the House: The Letter first, which was in these Words: viz.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved Cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved Cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved; We greet you all well. We cannot have a better Reason to promise Ourselves an end of Our common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our own just Power and Authority will, with God's Blessing, be restor-

to Us, than that We hear you are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth, and the fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your Help in the composing the confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our selves: And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with what Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your Experience, how one Violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good Success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour, of King, Lords and Commons, upon that Foundation which can only support it; and We shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so We shall hold Ourselves oblig'd in an especial Manner to thank you in particular, according to the Affection you shall express towards Us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the House of Commons, which We suppose they will communicate to you: And We pray God to bless your joint Endeavours for the good of us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th Day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The Declaration was next read, which was Intituled;

His Majesty's gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, greeting. 'If the general Distraction and Confusion which 'is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not 'awaken all Men to a Desire and Longing, that 'those Wounds which have so many Years together 'been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can 'say will be to no Purpose: However, after this 'long Silence, We have thought it our Duty, to declare how much We desire to contribute thereunto: 'And that as We can never give over the Hope in 'good time to obtain the Possession of that Right 'which God and Nature hath made Our due; so 'We do make it Our daily Suit to the divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to Us and Our 'Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings; remit, and put Us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that Our Right, with as little Blood and 'Damage to Our People as is possible: Nor do We 'desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all 'Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by 'a full and intire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where 'it is wanted and deserv'd.

'And to the end that the fear of Punishment 'may not engage any Conscious of themselves of 'what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their 'Country, in the Restauration both of King, Peers,

His Majesty's Declaration.

and



1659. and People to their just, antient, and fundamental Rights, We do by these Presents declare, that We do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within forty Days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: Those only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against Us, or our Royal Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or Term of Distinction from the rest of any of our best Subjects; We desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our Protection, for the Resettlement of Our just Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be advised.

And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted or called in Question for Differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And because in the continued Distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise willing that all such Differences and all Things relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

And We do further declare, that We will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the Purposes aforesaid, and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

*Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 14th Day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the reading of these, the Lords ordered Thanks to be given to Sir John Greenvil, for bringing that gracious Declaration and Letter, and resolv'd by Vote, That they do own and declare, that accord-

ing to the antient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords and Commons. 1659.

Sir John Greenvil came then to the House of Commons; who were before his coming acquainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majesty. The Letter had in it a Duplicate of the same Declaration which was inclosed in the Letter to the Lords: The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was superscribed;

To our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. In these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities under which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, We cannot think of a more natural and proper Remedy, than to resort to those for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and observed the first Beginning of our Miseries, the Progress from bad to worse, than the Mistakes and Misunderstandings which have produced and contributed to Inconveniences which were not intended; and after so many Revolutions, and the Observation of what hath attended them, are now intrusted by our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, and to provide proper Remedies for these Evils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness and Security of the Kingdom.

We do assure you upon Our Royal Word, that none of Our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem of Parliaments, than We have in our Judgment, as well as from Our Obligations; We do believe them to be so vital a Part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that We well know neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable Degree happy without them: And therefore you may be confident, that We shall always look upon their Counsels as the best We can receive, and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to our self, and most necessary for Our own Preservation.

And as this is Our Opinion of Parliaments, that their Authority is most necessary for the Government of the Kingdom: So We are most confident, that you believe and find, that the Preservation of the King's Authority is as necessary for the Preservation of Parliaments; and that it is not the Name, but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby establish their Peace and Security. And therefore we have not the least Doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of any thing that may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property; which is best preserved by preserving the other.

How far We have trusted you in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and People as happy as they ought to be, you will find by Our inclosed Declaration, a Copy of which we have likewise sent to

The Vote of the House of Lords upon the reading of the King's Letter and Declaration.

His Majesty's Letter to the House of Commons



1659. to the House of Peers; and you will easily believe that We will not voluntarily, and of Our selves, have reposed so great a Trust in you, but upon an intire Confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due Consideration of us who have trusted you, that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which We have Assurance of) and repairing to you for more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would be freed from, nor sorry that We have bound up Our own Interest so intirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it to the same Persons to take Care of Us, who are trusted to provide for them.

We look upon you as wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the same Prosperity will again spring from those Roots from which it hath heretofore and always grown: Nor can we apprehend that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any thing from Us, but that We are as ready to give as you to receive.

If you desire the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion, We have, by our constant Profession and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession, (of both which We have had abundant Evidence) could in the least Degree startle Us, or make Us swerve from our Zeal and Affection for it, to which We will not readily consent. And we hope in due time our self to propose something to you for the Propagation of it, that will satisfy the World, that We have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring Disadvantage to it.

If you desire Security for those, who in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those Bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each others Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just Computation of what Men have done, and suffered, as near as is possibly, to take Care that all Men be satisfied, which is the surest Way to suppress and extirpate all such Uncharitableness and Animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which for the present, might seem established.

If there be a crying Sin for which the Nation may be involved in the Infamy that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the Nation from the Guilt and Infamy, as we can be.

If you desire that Reverence and Obedience may be paid to the fundamental Law of the Land, and that Justice may be equally and impartially administered to all Men, it is that which We desire to be sworn to Our self, and that all Persons in Power and Authority, should be so too.

In a Word, there is nothing which you can propose, that may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not contend with you to compass; and upon this Confidence and Assurance, We have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this Distance, see our Heart, which when God shall bring Us nearer together, (as We hope he will do shortly) will appear to you very agreeable to what

We have professed; and We hope that We have made that right Christian Use of our Affliction, and that the Observation and Experience We have had in other Countries, hath been such, as that We, and We hope all our Subjects, shall be the better for what We have seen and suffered.

We shall add no more, but our Prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your Counsels, and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided for, and the Peace, Honour and Happiness of the Nation, may be established upon those Foundations which can best support it: And so We bid you farewell.

*Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th Day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the reading of this Letter and the Declaration, his Excellency the Lord General desired the Letter that was directed to him, to be communicated to the Council and the Army, might also be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was also the former Declaration inclosed, and the Address of the Letter was:

*To our trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

CHARLES R.

**T**Rusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well: It cannot be believed, but that We have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as We can, by all Endeavours, to improve the Affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery of that Right, which by the Laws of God and Man is unquestionable, and of which We have been so long dispossessed, by such Force, and with those Circumstances, as We do not desire to aggravate by any sharp Expressions, but rather wish, that the Memory of what is passed, may be buried to the World. That We have more endeavoured to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our Subjects at home, for Our Restauration, than to procure Assistance from abroad, to invade either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the World: And We cannot give a better Evidence, that We are still of the same Mind, than in this Conjuncture, when common Reason must satisfy all Men, that We cannot be without Assistance from abroad, We chose rather to send to you, who have it in your own Power to prevent that Ruin and Desolation which a War would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happiness, Security, and Glory it shall enjoy, to your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have complied with their Obligations for which they were first raised, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land; and that you have vindicated that Trust, which others most perfidiously abused and betray'd.

How much We desire and resolve to contribute to those good Ends, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration, which We desire you to cause to be published for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not desire a further Effusion of precious Christian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only support it; an Unity of Affections



1660. Affections amongst our selves, an equal Administration of Justice to Men, restoring Parliaments to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the Land to their due Veneration.

'You have been your selves Witnesses of so many Revolutions, and have had so much Experience, how far any Power and Authority that is only assumed by Passion and Appetite, and not supported by Justice, is from providing for the Happiness and Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obedience from them, without which no Government can provide for them; and that you may very reasonably believe, that God hath not been so well pleased with the Attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the Confusion, by giving all the Success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without Effect, which the Designers have proposed as the best Means to settle and compose the Nation: And therefore We cannot but hope and believe, that you will concur with Us in the Remedy We have applied, which to human Understanding, is only proper for the Ills We all groan under; and that you will make your selves the blessed Instruments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People; it being the usual Method in which Divine Providence delighteth it self, to use and sanctify those very Means which ill Men design for the Satisfaction of private and particular Ends and Ambition, and other wicked Purposes, to wholesome and publick Ends, and to establish that Good which is most contrary to the Designers: which is the greatest Manifestation of God's particular Kindness to a Nation that can be given in this World. How far We resolve to preserve your Interests, and reward your Services, We refer to Our Declaration, and We hope God will inspire you to perform your Duty to Us, and to your native Country, whose Happiness cannot be separated from each other.

'We have intrusted our Well-beloved Servant Sir John Greenvil, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an Account of your Reception of it, and to desire you, that it may be published. And so We bid you farewell."

*Given at our Court at Breda this 14th of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the reading of these Letters, his Excellency desired their Permission to answer it, and to communicate that his Majesty's Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily consented to.

The Parliament present his Majesty and his two Brothers with the Sum of 65000l.

And then they took into their Consideration, that his Majesty having been deprived of his Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies, and therefore ordered, that the Sum of fifty thousand Pounds should be presently raised and presented to his Majesty from that House, and ten thousand Pounds to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and five thousand Pounds to the Duke of Gloucester.

The Lords sent down a Message to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houses appointed Committees to draw up their several Answers to his Majesty's Letters, and resolved that the Supercription should be,

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

And the Commons ordered, that all the Journals should be searched, and those Acts and Or-

ders ras'd out, which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords and Commons: these were the chiefest Transactions in Parliament that Day.

In the Evening his Excellency summoned all his Officers that were in and near the City, and communicated to them his Majesty's Letter and Declaration; upon the Reading whereof, Colonel Lydcot first spake; addressing himself to his Excellency then present; he said, *They were all bound to bless God for the Happiness of that Day, which made them Witnesses of his Majesty's great Goodness and Clemency to all his Subjects expressed in that Declaration, and for his particular Kindness to them manifested in his most gracious Letter.*

He said, *It was most true, that they had been Witnesses of many Revolutions (as it is therein expressed) and experienced to their Sorrow the Inconveniences of them; that at the Beginning of the Wars, the safety of the King's Person, Protestant Religion, Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, were Principles that many good Men with them thought they might safely engage for, but by Degrees, after they came into Blood, some implacable Spirits improved their Successes to make the Divisions irreparable, and many Men were forced to continue their Arms, more for their own Security, than the Justice of them: But that which was his Comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, That they had now, by the Prudence of their ever to be honoured General, the Opportunity to comply with the Obligations for which they were first raised, and they were these whom his Majesty was pleased to own in their Submission to his most just and lawful Authority, to be the Instruments to bring the Blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and People.*

This Speech was approved by all them that heard it: But Colonel Knight desired they might give some written Testimony of their Acknowledgements of his Majesty's Authority over them, to be presented to his Excellency the Lord General; *That since his Majesty's Letter was by him communicated to them, he might, in his Answer to it, return their humble Sense of it.*

This Motion produced a Reference to a Committee of Officers, to draw up an Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesty's Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against six of the Clock the next Morning, and to desire his Excellency's Leave, that they might then meet to give their Consents, and subscribe their Names to it; which his Excellency readily approved. And the next Morning, the Address being prepared, was read to the Council of Officers, and signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

*The Title was:*

To his Excellency the Lord General Monk, Captain General of all the Armies and Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and one of the Generals at Sea.

*The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellency's Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.*

**A**ltho' we cannot doubt of your Excellency's Confidence in our Affections, and our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that Discipline, which by your good and prudent Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord shall place over us, which we hope we have manifested in our last Actions under your Excellency, against all Persons whatsoever, in any ways

The Officers Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesty's Letter and Declaration.

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1660. *W* disturbing the Peace and Settlement of the Nations; altho' some of them have been our Brethren, formerly engaged in the same Cause with Us. As also in our late Remonstrance and Address to your Excellency, wherein as it becomes Us in Duty, we have solemnly declared to acquiesce in what the Lord shall bring forth from the Consultations of this present Parliament.

'Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleased to communicate to Us, a Letter and Declaration from the King's Majesty, full of gracious Expressions, we cannot but acknowledge that the matter of it gives a great Measure of Quiet to our Minds, and more than ordinary Expectations of the Enjoyment of much Tranquility and Happiness under his Majesty's Government.

'The free and general Indemnity offered by his Majesty, with a Liberty to tender Consciences, Satisfaction of Arrears, his Readiness to consent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all Persons now in Possession of the same, is that of which we cannot doubt of the real Performance, being left by his Majesty to the Parliament's Determination; so we believe it is the most probable way to bring the Nations to their desired Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Majesty, and all the World, that we are his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, and that your Excellency, and the Armies under your Command, have complied with the Obligations, for which they were first raised, for the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Prosperity of the Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land."

It is read by the Commons and approved.

In the Morning, at the first sitting of the Common's-House, the General acquainted them that he had communicated his Majesty's Letter, and the Declaration in it inclosed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had presented an Address to him, which he desired they would be pleased to read, which was ordered; and after the reading, it was well approved of.

Commissary Clarges appointed by the General to wait upon his Majesty with this Address.

His Excellency then told them, *He intended to prepare a Letter to be sent to his Majesty, and did, with their Leave, purpose to send that Address to him, that his Majesty might thereby perceive the Armies were at his Devotion; and designing to send it by Commissary Clarges, who was as well a Member of their House, as an Officer of the Army, he requested their Permission for him to go.*

The House then Ordered, he should have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir John Greenvil, to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony of the Respects of the House to him.

After this Alderman Robinson informed them, That the said Sir John Greenvil, with the Lord Morant, had presented a Letter from his Majesty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they commanded him to ask their Leave to return an Answer to it. Which after the reading it in the House was granted; in that Letter also his Majesty's Declaration was inclosed: The Letter it self was directed.

To our trusty and Well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Common-Council of our City of London.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London.

*T*rusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well: In these great Revolutions of late happened in that our Kingdom, to the Wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that we have look'd upon with more

*Comfort, than the so frequent and publick Manifestations of their Affections to us in the City of London, which hath exceedingly raised our Spirits, and which no Doubt hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary Mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to assert that Government, under which it hath so many hundred Years enjoyed as great Felicity as any Nation in Europe, and to discountenance the Imaginations of those, who would subject our Subjects to a Government they have not yet advised; and to satisfy the Pride and Ambition of a few ill Men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like Devices, all the World takes Notice, to the no small Reproach of the English Nation, which we hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those Inventions: How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happiness of our Subjects without Effusion of Blood; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a War, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the inclosed Declaration, which together with this our Letter, we have intrusted our right trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord Viscount Morant, and our trusty and Well-beloved Servant Sir John Greenvil, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-chamber, to deliver to you; to the End, that you, and all the rest of our good Subjects of that our City of London (to whom we desire it should be published) may know how far we are from the Desire of Revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom, should be raised upon any other Foundation than the Affections and Hearts of our Subjects, and their own Consents. We have not the least Doubt of your just Sense of these our Condescensions, or of your Zeal to advance and promote the same good End, by disposing all Men to meet us with the same Affection and Tendernefs, in restoring the fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the Preservation whereof all our Happiness depends. And you will have no Reason to doubt of enjoying your full Share in that Happiness, and of the improving it by our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all Men to do all the good they can for their native Country, and to advance the Honour of it: And as we have that full Affection for the Kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary Kindness for our native City in that Particular, which we shall manifest on all Occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all those Privileges which they have received from our Predecessors; but by adding and granting any new Favours which may advance the Trade, Wealth and Honour of that our native City, for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will in due time receive some Benefit and Advantage in all those Respects, even from our own Observation and Experience abroad. And we are most confident, we shall never be disappointed in our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; and so we bid you farewell.*

Given at our Court at Breda, the 14th Day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the City's joyful Receiving of this Letter, and the Declaration in it, expressed by the grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the reading of them, ordered ten thousand Pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a thousand Pounds to the Duke of York, and a thousand Pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; and that Alderman

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Langham,



1660. *Langham*, Alderman *Reynaldson*, Alderman *Brown*, Alderman *Thompson*, Alderman *Frederick*, Alderman *Wale*, Alderman *Adams*, Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. Recorder *Wild*, Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bidolph*, Mr. *Foord*, Mr. *Bloodworth*, Sir *James Bunce*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *William Bateman*, should from that City attend his Majesty, with a Presentment of their most dutiful Acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took Care, that the Address presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the King's Letter and Declaration, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Dunkirk*; requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were). But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the Remonstrance that went before, that all readily and dutifully complied with this.

Six of the House of Lords, and twelve of the Commons sent to attend upon his Majesty. The Lords House nominated the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Brook*, and the Lord *Berkly*, to attend his Majesty from that House; and the Commons appointed the Lord *Fairfax*, Lord *Bruce*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Castleton*, Lord *Herbert of Worcester*, Lord *Mandeville*, Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Sir *Anthony-Ashley Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and *Denzill Hollis*, Esq; to attend his Majesty from that House, who were ordered to make the quickest Preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

His Majesty's Letter and Declaration to the Fleet, by the Diligence of General *Montague*, had the same Success there, as that in the Army, being gratefully received by all the Commanders and Seamen.

The Letter it self was in these Words:

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's Letter to the Officers of the Fleet.

TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It is no small Comfort to us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries, which the whole Nation hath groaned under; and after so great Revolutions, which have still increased those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command of two Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the Officers and Seamen under your Command, are more inclined to return to their Duty to us, and put a Period to those Distempers and Distractions which have so impoverished and dishonoured the Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to raise their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; which gives Us great Encouragement and Hope, that God Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same Plaster that made the Flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same Method, in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict Us; and that the Manifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Seamen towards Us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that Peace which was first interrupted by the Mistake and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors, which would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that we should not be less delighted with the Manner, than the Matter of it: In this Hope and Confidence, we

we have sent the inclosed Declaration to you, by which you may discern how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and publick Peace: In which, as no Man can be more, or so much concerned; so no Man can be more sollicitous for it. And We do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published to all the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet; to the end that they may plainly discern, how much We have put it into their Power, to provide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have been always understood by them, to be the best and most proper Counsellors for those good Ends. And you are likewise further to declare to them, that We have the same gracious Purpose towards them, which We have expressed towards the Army at Land, and will be as ready to provide for the Payment of all Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several Merits, as We have expressed to the other; and We will always take so particular a Care of them, and their Condition, as shall manifest our Kindness towards them. And so depending upon God's Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions into your and their Hearts, which are best for Us all, We bid you farewell". Given at Our Court at *Breda*, this 14th Day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of Our Reign.

Subscribed,

To Our trusty and well-beloved General *Monk*, and General *Montague*, Generals at Sea; to be communicated to the Fleet.

*Clarges* on the 5th Day of May, began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but to give the King all manner of Assurance of his Fidelity to him, and his Resolution to im- prove all his Opportunities to his Service; desiring him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company, that his Majesty might see that both he, and those so nearly concerned with him in his Restauration, sought more the publick Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit; which he did faithfully observe at that time, and ever after. And three Days after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that Purpose, his Majesty was proclaimed with great Solemnity in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* being present.

Commissary *Clarges* made such Speed in his Journey to his Majesty, that on Tuesday the 8th of May in the Morning, which was the Day after the happy making of this Proclamation, he arrived at *Breda*: There the Governour gave him a very honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to *Breda*; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord *Gerrard* met him with two Coaches and six Horses, and accompanied him to his Majesty, who received him with most gracious Satisfaction: And he presented his Majesty with the General's Letter, and the Address for the Army; for which he was knighted.

The Parliament and City Commissioners, in three Days after their Departure from *London*, arrived at the *Hague*; and on Wednesday the 16th of May, our Stile, they had their several Audiences by



1660. by his Majesty, who received them all with a sweet and serene Countenance, and a Heart full of Content and good Inclinations towards them; and all the City Commissioners were knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Dispatch to Sir Thomas Clarges, and commanded him to acquaint the General, *he intended to take Shipping at the Bay of Scheveling on Monday after, and to sail to Dover, and land there; from whence he would immediately go to Canterbury, and stay there some time to determine of the manner of his Entrance into London.* The Fleet was some Days before in Pursuance of the Orders of both Houses in the said Bay.

*Sir Thomas Clarges returns with Intimation of his Majesty's Resolution.* On Thursday early in the Morning, Sir Thomas Clarges, attempted by Boat from Scheveling, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was so stormy he could not do it 'till towards the Evening; and then General Montague ordered the Norwich Frigate for his Transportation: The Winds were so contrary, and the Weather so stormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in England 'till Monday Morning, at which time he landed at Aldbrough in Suffolk, and immediately from thence sent an Express to the General, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, with Intimation of his Majesty's Resolutions: Whereupon his Excellency, with a great and gallant Company of the chiefeft of the Nobility and Gentry of England, set forward from London on the 22d of May; and for the more Conveniency of Quartering so numerous a Company, he advised them to divide themselves into Troops, according to the several Counties, and the Interest of the Noblemen present. At Rochester he met Sir Thomas Clarges, who presented him with a gracious Letter from the King.

The King intended to have taken Shipping on Monday, but the Crossness of the Winds forced him a little to defer it. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, went on Monday and Tuesday to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High-Admiral: And on Wednesday the 23d, his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal of Orange, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Prince of Orange, went on Board the Naseby, (which his Majesty now named the Royal Charles) where after a Repast, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange, her Son, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet set Sail for England: His Royal Highness the Duke of York came in the London, and the Duke of Gloucester in the Swiftsure, now called the James.

*The King and the Dukes take Shipping for England.* During the time his Majesty had remained at the Hague, and all the way thither from Breda, the States of Holland entertained him with great Magnificence; and at his Departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of seven thousand Pounds Sterling, and as much Linnen as was valued at a thousand Pounds.

*His Majesty's Entertainment from the States of Holland.* On Friday about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in Sight of Dover, whereupon an Express was sent to the General (then newly come to Canterbury) to haste to Dover; which he presently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from Canterbury, advising with the Earl of Lindsey, and some of the other Noblemen that accompanied him, about the Conveniency of his Majesty's Stay at Dover, was informed that he could have no Accommodation there for a fourth Part of his Train, and those that came to wait on him; and therefore he resolved humbly to move him, at his Landing, to

proceed on directly to Canterbury.

1660. About one in the Afternoon, his Majesty landed at the Beech near Dover-Peer, with the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen. All that were present put themselves into Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General. The Admirers of Majesty, were jealous on his Majesty's Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty, fearful on the other Side of an Ostentation of Merit: But such an humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty, kissing and embracing him, that all Parties were satisfied to Admiration. And his Excellency from that time received so great an Impression of the marvellous Goodness of his Majesty, that he resolved what before he had performed out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be forever continued with the same Observing, out of Loyal Affections to his gracious Sovereign.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side towards the Town with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellency's Motion for his going to Canterbury, for the Reasons before expressed, he hasted to his Coach; in his Passage to which he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. Reading their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with gold Clasps: At one end of the Coach next the King, sat the Duke of York, and at the other the Duke of Gloucester, and the General, and the Duke of Buckingham, sat in the Boot. About two Miles from Dover, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his Right-Hand, and the General on his Left: After whom the Duke of Buckingham, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen followed in gallant Equipage.

At his Majesty's Entrance into Canterbury, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. Lovelace the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massy Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained 'till Monday.

The next Day after his Arrival at Canterbury, his Majesty dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter: He was brought up to the King by the Earl of Winchelsea, and the Lord Mordant, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the Garter, and the George: Mr. Morrice was also Knighted, and declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty likewise at Canterbury, conferred the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General Massey, Alderman Robinson, Mr. Daniel Harvey, Mr. Thomas Stewkley, Colonel Rossiter, Captain Philip Howard, and Mr. Robert Paston. Moreover, his Excellency, the Earl of Southampton, and Mr. Secretary Morrice, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

On Monday following, his Majesty came into Rochester, where after he had a little refreshed himself, he went to Chatham, to see the Royal Sovereign, and returned that Night to Colonel Gibbons's House, where he lay, and was by the Colonel presented with a most dutiful and loyal Address from him and his Regiment, which was then quartered in Rochester.

From thence his Majesty marched to Black-Heath, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with

His Majesty's Lands at Dover.

His Reception there.

His Reception at Canterbury.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter upon the General, and the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earl of Winchelsea, the Lord Mordant and divers others.

He is entertained at Rochester by Col. Gibbons.



1660. with the Sight of it; for indeed they seemed all Men of one Age, and one Mind, and were, for their Number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

The Army being drawn up on Black-heath, wel-  
comed his Majesty with great Joy and Acclamation.  
Colonel Knight there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Army's Joy, for the Honour of his Majesty's Presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful Expressions of exalted Gladness for his Majesty's Restauration, they besought, *That his Majesty would have now his great Council about him, who had already given Proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom, both to his Majesty and all his People. They also declared, That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his Sacred Majesty, to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby: so they should for the future cheerfully sacrifice their Lives, or whatsoever could be more dear unto them, in the Service of his Majesty, against all Opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, express themselves better than in Words.*

The manner of his Majesty's triumphal Cavalcade through the City of London.  
When his Majesty came to St. George's-Fields, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen humbly on their Knees revered him, and the Lord Mayor presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him, and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Mayor, his Majesty went towards Whitehall in this Manner.

All the Streets were richly adorned with Tapis-try, from London-Bridge to Whitehall; and as far as Temple-Bar, were equally ranked in good Order, the Train'd-Band-Forces on the one Side of the Street, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From Temple-Bar to Whitehall, the Train'd-Bands of Westminster and the Parts adjacent on one Side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joined a gallant Company of the late King's Officers, commanded by Sir John Stowell.

The Procession was led by Major-General Brown, who had a Troop of three Hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve Hundred in Velvet Coats, with Footmen and Liveries attending them in Purple: Then another Troop led by Alderman Robinson, in Buff Coats, with Cloth of Silver Sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs: And after these a Troop of above one hundred and fifty with blue Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Footmen, in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Footmen in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly cloathed: Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpets: And another of seventy, with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesty's Arms; the Sheriffs Men in Red Cloaks, richly laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half-Pikes in their Hands: Then followed six hundred of the several Companies of London, on Horse-back, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains; each Company having Footmen in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich Red Liveries, with Silver Lace: After these twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse, commanded by the Lord Gerrard: Then three Trumpets in rich

Coats and Satin Doublets; and the City Marshal, 1660. with eight Footmen in French-Green, trimmed with Crimfon and White: The City Waits, and all the City Officers in Order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of London in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings; with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver: The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats: Then the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare; and next to him the Duke of Buckingham, and the General; and then the King's Majesty betwixt the Dukes of York and Gloucester: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white Colours; and after them the General's Life-Guard, led by Sir Philip Howard: Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonel Knight: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his Majesty conducted to his Royal Palace at Whitehall, on the nine and twentieth Day of May, his Birth-Day; and with him, Peace and Happiness remained to his Kingdoms and People.

When the Lord-Mayor had taken leave of him, he went to the Lords, where he was entertained with a grave, but eloquent Speech, of the Earl of Manchester's, and from thence to the Banqueting-House, where the whole House of Commons attending him, the Speaker, in their Names, expressed the joyful Sense they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in Safety, and thereby an End was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.

The King told them, *He was so disordered by his Journey, and with the Noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless He confessed was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired: But added, That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his Heart really set to endeavour by all Means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness, which he hoped by the Advice of his Parliament to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restauration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People, and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a just Assertor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.*

After the Conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to Westminster-Abbey to offer up a Thanksgiving to God for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Day's Action, he was diverted from his Intention of going thither.

Thus did the merciful Hand of God, by a wonderful and distinguished Providence, heal the cruel Wounds our Country had received by a Civil War and Confusion of twenty Years; and restore our happy Constitution, and Peace and Safety with it. The Value of this blessed Change was gloriously inhaunted by this Consideration, that it was not introduced, as has happened in other Countries, by Fields swimming in Blood, and Cities forced and plundered; when the Happiness and Security of one Part of a Nation has been founded on the Ruin and Desolation of another; but by an unknown and unheard of Mercy; by turning the Hearts of three great Kingdoms, as the Heart of one Man, to long for and establish that Felicity they had so madly rooted up and destroyed before. What happened after this great Revolution, how long this delightful Scene lasted, and the Causes that brought on those great Alterations we have since experimented, are to be found in the following Parts of this Work.



# THE REIGN OF King CHARLES II. AFTER HIS RESTORATION.

A.D. 1660.

The King's  
Privy Council.

**T**HE first Care that offered it self to the King, was the Choice of his Counsellors and Servants. In doing this, Policy obliged him to employ several who had been his Enemies, and Gratitude to remember such as had been his Friends. The Privy Council consisted of thirty Persons; namely, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, Sir Edward Hyde, General Monk, Admiral Montague, the Marquis of Ormond, the Marquis of Dorchester, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Berkshire, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Viscount Say, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Seymour, Mr. Daniel Hollis, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Sir George Carteret, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonel Charles Howard, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of St. Albans, the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Colepeper, the Lord Roberts, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir John Barkley, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Morrice. Of these the Duke of York was invested with the Office of Lord High Admiral of England, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports: Monk was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to his Majesty: Sir Edward Hyde was continued in the Office of Lord Chancellor of England: The Earl of Southampton was made Lord Treasurer; the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Steward of the Household; the Lord Say, Privy Seal; the Lord Seymour, Chancellor of the Dutchy; the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the Household; Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Treasurer of the Household; Sir John Barkley, Comptroller; Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain; and Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Morrice, were made chief Secretaries of State; General Monk was made Duke of Albemarle, a Title anciently appropriated to the Royal Blood; Sir Edward Hyde was made Earl of Clarendon; Admiral Montague, Earl of Sandwich; the Marquis of Ormond

was made an *English* Earl, and afterwards a Duke; the Marquis of Hertford was made Duke of Somerset; Mr. Annesley, Earl of Anglesey; and Hollis, Barkley, Cornwallis, and Ashley Cooper, were made Barons and Peers of England.

In the next Place he filled the Benches of the Courts of Judicature: Sir Edward Hyde was made Lord Chancellor, as above; the Lord Colepeper Master of the Rolls, who shortly dying, was succeeded by Sir Harbottle Grimstone; Sir Robert Foster, Sir Thomas Mallet, Sir Thomas Twissden, and Sir Wadham Windham, were placed in the King's-Bench: In the Common-Pleas, Sir Robert Hyde, Sir Thomas Tyrrel, and Sir Samuel Brown; and in the Exchequer, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Edward Atkins, and Sir Christopher Turner: Sir Jeffrey Palmer was made Attorney General, and Sir Heneage Finch Solicitor General. The next Provision to be made was for all military Offices, that the Commands in the Army, and the Governments of the Fortresses and Garrisons might be in the Hands of trusty Persons. These Posts were, by General Monk, conferred upon such Lords, and other Persons of Honour, as the King recommended to him: Lord Lieutenants of Counties were constituted of the chief Nobility of the Land, each having under them as Deputy Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the same Counties as had most eminently shew'd their Affections to his Majesty, by which the Militia was secured.

Those of the Ministry who had the most signal Influence and Authority, were the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Ormond, Secretary Nicholas, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earl of Sandwich; the four first, by their eminent Services to the King, and Loyalty to his Father; and the other two, by the Part they had in the King's Restoration. The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Southampton, and the Duke of Ormond, were united in a fast

The Chan-  
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Friend-



A.D. 1660. Friendship; and never was there, in any Ministry, a more glorious Triumvirate. These excellent Men made Use of all the Authority and Influence their Favour with the King, their high Dignities, and great Abilities supplied them with, only to restore and secure their Country's Happiness, without following any Ends, or indulging any Passions of their own. To the wise Counsels and Management of these worthy Patriots it was owing, that the Wounds our Country had received during the long Civil Wars, were so easily and so quickly closed up; and that our Constitution in Church and State, which they found overturned from its Foundations, rose from its Ruines as beautiful as before.

The Character of the Parliament.

This was the Disposition of the Ministry. The House of Commons in the Convention-Parliament, was composed of Men of different Ranks and Parties. At the Election, the Members were, by the last long Parliament, limited to certain Qualifications; one of which was, that all that advised, or voluntarily aided in the War against the Parliament, in 1641, unless they had since given a Manifestation of their good Affection, should be made incapable (or even their Sons) of being elected Members of this Parliament. The Consequence was, that many who were Enemies to the King, and more who had been so, sat in the House. The Speaker himself, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, had sat in the long Parliament, till he was turned out in 1648 with the other secluded Members. Nevertheless, as the Stream of the People's Affections was turning towards the King, many of the Royal Party got in in Spite of these Precautions. So that the professed Loyalists, joined to those dispassionate Persons who saw that nothing could restore the Nations Quiet but the Settlement of the old Constitution, made a Majority that overpowered all Enemies to Peace. As to the Peers, their Honours and Privileges had been too much insulted and trampled on during the late Times, not to make them seriously desire the Re-establishment of the Crown, on whose Lustre their own depends. So that the two Houses were entirely disposed to concur in any Measures to restore the King's Honour, and the publick Quiet.

Acts passed by the King.

Within two Days after his Arrival, his Majesty, accompanied with his two Royal Brothers, York and Gloucester, Lord Chancellor Hyde, and many other Persons of Honour, went in a solemn Manner by Water to the House of Lords. There the King being seated on his Throne, and the Commons appearing at the Bar, he in a short Speech acquainted them with the Occasion and Cause of his present sending for them, namely, to pass those Bills which he understood were prepared for him, all which were very material at this Time. The first was for making the present Convention a Parliament; the second for authorizing the Tax for 70000 Pounds *per Menssem* for three Months longer; and the third for Continuance of Process, and all judicial Proceedings. Which being pass'd, the

A.D. 1660. Lord Chancellor in a handsome Speech told both Houses, with how much Readiness his Majesty had pass'd those important Acts, and how willingly they should at all Times hereafter find him to pass any other that might tend to the Advantage and Benefit of the People; in a particular Manner desiring, in his Majesty's Behalf, that the Bill of Oblivion, in which they had made so good a Progress, might be expedited; that the People might see and know his Majesty's extraordinary gracious Care to ease and free them from their Doubts and Fears, and that he had not forgotten his gracious Declaration made at *Breda*, but that he would in all Points make good the same.

The Convention having now the Effence of a Parliament, tho' not the exact Form, proceeded in the great Affairs that lay before them, with all Diligence and Vigour. They had, among others, three great Points to bring to Perfection, the general Act of Indemnity, the disbanding of the Army, and the settling the publick Revenues. The first was judged most necessary to begin withal: The Commons would not look upon themselves or the People of *England*, as freed from that Guilt and Punishment which the unhappy Times had contracted, unless they laid hold on his Majesty's Grace, mentioned in his Declaration from *Breda*; and therefore they resolved, that the House doth declare, that they do in the Name of themselves, and all the Commons of *England*, lay hold on his Majesty's gracious Pardon, mention'd in his Declaration, with Exception to such as shall be excepted in an Act of Pardon. And accordingly a Declaration was drawn up, and solemnly presented to the King in the Banqueting House, by Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. Another of the same kind was presented by the House of Lords; both of which were graciously accepted by the King.

About that Time he issued out a Proclamation, declaring, That all such of the late King's Judges, as did not render themselves within fourteen Days, should be excepted out of the general Pardon. Upon this several surrender'd themselves, while some made their Escapes, and others were taken in their Flight. At the same Time several of the most eminent Officers under the Usurpation, for their greater Security, got their particular Pardons exemplified under the Great Seal of *England*: And the King, out of his own good Nature, and by the Advice of those excellent Ministers he had about him, was very ready to grant those Pardons, as an Earnest of that free and general Amnesty, which he promoted with so much Solitude, the Act of Oblivion. About the same Time he published a Proclamation to suppress and discourage Vice, Profaneness and Debauchery, which the immoderate Joy of the Times had but too much propagated. It only were to be wished, he had better enforced his Proclamation by his own Example.

The King's excellent Conduct.

He was now one of the greatest and happiest Princes that ever lived, reigning over a loving and a loyal People; adored at home, and

His Felicity.



A.D. 1660. and feared and respected abroad. He was daily receiving the Addresses of his People, and the Congratulations of foreign Princes and States, for the Blessings that Providence had showered upon him. The Stream of Affairs returned with Rapidity into its former Channel. Those Towns and Corporations that had bought out their Fee-farm Rents formerly belonging to the Crown, which by the Commonwealth had been alienated from it, sent their Deputies to the King, with a voluntary Surrender of them. Others presented him with Sums of Gold, and other Gifts, according to their respective Abilities. And that the Splendor of outward Appearance might answer to the real and solid Happiness of the Times, himself, with his two Brothers, his Privy Council, great Officers, and the Houses of Parliament, were upon a solemn Invitation entertained by the City of London at Guildhall, with a publick Magnificence, suited to the Wealth and Greatness of that renowned City, and the Dignity of the illustrious Guests.

The Act of Oblivion obstructed.

The Parliament in the mean Time proceeded with the Act of Oblivion, but met with several Obstructions, arising from the Animosities of some, who remembering the Injuries they had formerly received, were unseasonably severe to the Authors of them. The King was too well counselled to suffer private Passions or Resentments to stand in the Way of so general a Good, and applied himself with great Assiduity to remove the Difficulties attending it. He was the more concerned to expedite this important Act, because some ill affected Persons had in Pamphlets aspersed him with Insinuations, that he intended nothing less than the Performance of his Promises from *Breda*. This caused him to send a Message to the House of Commons by Secretary *Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the Act of Indemnity. This Message was couched in those obliging Terms, in which the King corresponded with his Parliament at this happy Time. The Scope of it was, to let them know his earnest Desire to see this Act perfected, and to acquaint them with one particular Reason that made him the more pressing; namely, that the Delay of this Bill gave Occasion to ill affected Persons to insinuate, that he had forgot his Offer of a free and general Pardon, mentioned in his Declaration: That it being so near his Heart, he could not forbear earnestly recommending the passing of it as soon as possible; and that he knew they would do it the sooner for his Recommendation.

The King's gracious Interposition therein.

The Debates of the House of Commons were so much quickened by this Message, that they dispatched the Bill in a very short Time, and sent it up to the Lords. But the two Houses could not agree in the Exceptions to be made to this Act. The Commons had excepted only a few of the most notorious Regicides; but the Lords, among whom there were very few whose Families had not suffered by the Iniquity of the late Times, had a more feeling Remembrance of those

Farther obstructed in the House of Lords.

Injuries. They were besides incited by the Complaints of the Widows and Relations of those who had lost their Lives by the late usurped Powers. So that they entered into a Consultation to except all from Pardon who had sat in a high Court of Justice. But this Severity, which was more just than seasonable, gave the King some Uneasiness. He found that the Debates occasioned by this rigorous Justice, much obstructed the speeding and perfecting the Bill he desired so much to have finished; and therefore *July 27*, he came to the House, and made a Speech upon that Subject; which tended to let them know, that when he sent his Declaration from *Breda*, it was his Intention to pardon all who had not been immediately concerned in his Father's Murther, and that he should take it well, if they themselves would allow of no other Exceptions.

This Speech, at the same Time that it forwarded the Bill, gave great Satisfaction to the People, who were extremely delighted to see, that the King, who had been most injured, was the readiest to forgive.

At the same Time the King took no less Care of the Benefit and Revenues of the Church, especially with Relation to poor Vicarages, and other Endowments, and wrote Letters to all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters in the Kingdom, testifying his Will and Pleasure, That no Lease be granted of any Rectory or Parsonage, belonging to any of them, or their Successors, unless they first provided, that the respective Vicarages, or Curates Places, where no Vicarages are endowed, have so much Revenues in Glebe Lands, or other Emoluments, as commonly will amount to eighty Pounds *per Annum*, or more, if it will bear it: And where the Rectories are of small Value, and cannot admit of such Portion to the Vicar or Curate, that then one half of the Profits of such Rectory, be reserved for the Maintenance of such Vicar or Curate, &c. All which being communicated to the House of Commons, new Thanks were returned by them to the King, in which they particularly testified the great Joy they took in the Goodness and Favour he had expressed to his People in general, and the Church in particular; after which they proceeded to prepare such a Bill as should best answer the King's pious Intentions.

A.D. 1660.

The King again interposes.

The King's Care of the Church and Clergy.

For which he receives the Thanks of the Commons.

Within a few Days after the Parliament completed the much desired Act of Indemnity. By this Act two Things were intended; the first to give Quiet and Security to such various and numerous Offenders as must needs be found after so universal a Defection; the second, to bury for ever the Remembrance of the past Troubles and Divisions. In order to blot out the Memory of former Animosities, a Clause was inserted, "That if any Person objected against any other any Words of Reproach, tending to revive the Memory of the late Differences, he should pay ten Pounds, if a Gentleman; and forty Shillings, if one of a more inferior Degree". The Indemnity given by this Act was almost universal, the

The Act of Indemnity completed. The Purport and Use of it.

Excepti-



A.D. 1660. Exceptions respecting only those who had had an immediate Hand in the Murther of the late King; as *Roe, Garland, Harvey, Smith, Martin, Waller, Titchburn, Fleetwood, J. Temple, Wait, Meyn, Heveningham, Pennington, P. Temple, Lilburn, Millington, Potter, Wogan, Downs, Scroop, Lisle, Say, Walton, Harrison, Whally, Barkstead, Ludlow, Livesey, Okey, Hewson, Goffe, Holland, Chaloner, Carew, Jones, Corbet, Clement, Scot, Cawley, Love, Dixwell, Blagrove, Cook, Broughton, Dendy, Hewlet, Peters, Hacker, Axtell*, and those two disguised upon the Scaffold the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, 1648. All these, with Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel John Lambert, were wholly excluded for Life and Estate. The Estates of *Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride*, and one and twenty others who were dead, were made liable to such Penalties and Forfeitures, as by another Act should be ordained. Some other Exceptions of less Importance were also made.

An Act to confirm Judicial Proceedings.

Another Law was exceedingly requisite at this Time, to confirm the Judicial Proceedings that had passed since the Beginning of the Rebellion, under Commissions from the different usurping Powers. The endless Confusions that must arisen from the unsettling the judicial Sentences of twenty Years together, are too obvious to be insisted on. Therefore the Wisdom of the Parliament provided such an Act, as a proper Attendant on that of Indemnity.

An Act to pay off the Soldiers and Mariners.

By this all Proceedings in Law, Equity, &c. since the first of May, 1642. were confirmed, notwithstanding any Defect of legal Power, or Difference in Style or Title; but with some Restrictions, especially as to Crown and Church Lands. This was attended with a third Act for a Provision of Money, to pay off the Armies and Navy, which was by an extraordinary Poll, variously comprehending Persons of all Ranks and Conditions. To these was added a fourth, for restraining the taking of excessive Usury, which made it highly penal to any that should take above six Pounds for the Loan of a hundred Pounds for a Year; and to any Scrivener or Broker that should take above five Shillings for the same, or above twelve Pence for the making or renewing a Bond or Bill. A fifth Act was for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth Day of May, the Day of his Majesty's Nativity and Restoration.

An Act for a Thanksgiving on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May.

The Army disbanded.

After these Acts were passed, the Parliament had yet several Affairs of Importance to proceed with. The first was to disband the Army and Garrisons, and to pay off the Wages due to the Fleet; the second, the settling the Revenue of the Crown. The first was necessary even before the other, it being natural to consider, that the same Army which brought the King in, might send him away again. And he was now so firmly settled in the Hearts of his People, that as he needed not the Military Power to secure him, so it was dangerous to be subject to their Caprice. It was indeed great Pity, that it should be so necessary to disband that noble Body of Men, who did Honour to their Country,

from their resolute Courage, their regular Discipline, and exemplary Sobriety. With a Military Skill and Bravery that would carry Victory through the World, they lived like good Citizens in the City, and like good Husbandmen in the Countrey, and were nowhere terrible but in the Field. Those Vices which are now so frequent among the Soldiery, were either unknown or detested in that Army. But the Danger and Expence of maintaining such a Force, were very just as well as powerful Reasons for dismissing it.

The settling the Revenue of the Crown was like to take up so much Time, that it could not be finished before the Recess which was expected. It was therefore put off till the next Meeting, and in the mean Time the Parliament went upon other Bills of less Importance; which being finished, and having received the Royal Assent, the Parliament adjourned themselves for two Months.

During the Parliament's Recess, those of the Regicides who could be taken, or had surrendered themselves, were brought to Trial. Two of them pleaded Guilty, and the rest were easily convicted. Ten of them, namely, *Harrison, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker and Axtell* were executed, either for the Flagrancy of their Crimes, or their Justification of them at their Trial. The rest having acknowledged their Offences, and throwing themselves on the King's Mercy, had their Lives spared.

The Regicides tried and executed.

The King and his Ministry had another Care besides those hitherto mentioned, which required their utmost Dexterity and Attention; namely, the giving Satisfaction to those of the several religious Persuasions. The Dissenters had great Hopes of kind Usage, from the Lenity and Tenderness of the King's Declaration from *Breda*; and the Affection and kind Concern for his Subjects, which appeared in all his publick Acts hitherto. The Presbyterians had more particular Encouragement from the Respect and Civility the King shewed them when in *Holland*. To give Quiet to this Part of the Nation, the King published a healing Declaration on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October, in which he made the following Orders by Way of Concession to the Dissenters. 1. For the more strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and to encourage the frequent Preaching of Bishops. 2. For appointing Suffragan Bishops, especially in the larger Dioceses. 3. That no Bishop ordain or exercise Church-Censure, without the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters; and that Lay-Officers be excluded in Matters purely Spiritual. 4. That Deans and Chapters be better fitted to afford Counsel and Assistance to the Bishop in Ordinations, and other Spiritual Matters. 5. That rural Deans be assisting in Confirmation, Admission to the Lords Supper, and Catechising. 6. That no Bishop exercise any Power, or impose any Thing, but according to the known Laws of the Land. 7. To appoint some learned Men to review and amend the Liturgy; and to prohibit any Punishment for the

A healing Declaration issued by the King.



A.D. 1660. the Difuse of it. 8. To leave Persons at Liberty, as to kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience.

In the mean Time the Church of England and Episcopacy, gradually revived in the Nation; tho' the Bishops themselves, by Reason of the Act of Parliament in 1641, remained still excluded from the House of Peers. It is observable, that only nine of the old Bishops survived the Times of Confusion, who now all recovered their Episcopal Sees; William Juxon, Bishop of London; William Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxford; John Warner, Bishop of Rochester; William Roberts, Bishop of Bangor; Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; Henry King, Bishop of Chichester; and Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Of these in a short Time, Juxon was translated to the See of Canterbury, Frewen to that of York, Duppa to Winchester, and Skinner to that of Worcester. Seven or eight others were consecrated this Year, and appointed to their respective Bishopricks; as John Cosens to that of Durham, William Lucy to St. David's, Benjamin Laney to Peterborough, Richard Sterne to Carlisle, Hugh Lloyd to Landaff, Brian Walton to Chester, and John Gauden to Exeter. About the same Time several of the Presbyterian Ministers were invited to Church Preferments; Mr. Calamy had the Bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry offered him, Doctor Reynolds that of Norwich, and Mr. Baxter that of Hereford: Doctor Manton was offered the Deanry of Rochester, Doctor Bates the Deanry of Litchfield and Coventry, and Mr. Bowles the Deanry of York. But all refused on the Account of the uncertain Continuance of the Terms of the Declaration; except Doctor Reynolds, who accepted the Bishoprick of Norwich, and continued about sixteen Years in that See. These Bishops, tho' they were still kept from their Places and Votes in Parliament, were fully restored to their spiritual Jurisdiction, and all other Rights and Ordination, Institution, Censures, &c. So that the established Church daily recover'd its former Authority, and began to shine with its usual Splendor.

The Duke of Gloucester dies.

Meeting of the Royal Family.

On September 13. died of the Small Pox, Henry Duke of Gloucester, third Brother to the King, about the 22<sup>d</sup> Year of his Age, with the hearty Grief of all good Men; he being an excellent young Person, Religious, Brave and Prudent, and endued with all those Accomplishments that promise a wife and happy Ruler. This great Loss cast a Cloud over the Joy arising from the Meeting, which happened soon after, of the whole Royal Family, now restored to Happiness and Security, after a long Train of Misfortunes and Distresses for almost 20 Years. The Day after his Death, the Princess of Orange, Mother of the late King William III. came over into England to visit her Royal Brothers; and having had so great a Share of their Troubles, to take some Part also of their Prospe-

rity. She was soon succeeded by the Queen A.D. 1660. Mother, who arrived here a few Days after from France, with her Daughter Henrietta Maria. These were on the second Day of November conducted to Whitehall. This last was a Visit not only of Kindness, but of Policy; her Business being to promote a Match between her Daughter, and Monsieur, the French King's Brother; and also to help forward another for the King himself. She is said to have proposed the famous Hortensia Mancini, Niece to the Cardinal Mazarin, with a Portion of twenty Millions of Livres. But that Match being below the King's Dignity, and otherwise improper, she promoted the Match with the Infanta of Portugal, which had been set on Foot before. During her Stay, she made her utmost Efforts to get Chancellor Hyde removed, but to little Effect, which made her uneasy. She continued here about three Months, at which Time she returned to France. The Remembrance of the Misfortunes her Pride and Bigottry helped to bring upon the Nation in the late Reign, made her Presence very little desired, or her Absence regretted by the Generality of the People.

September 30. At the publick Entry of the Swedish Ambassador, happened a terrible Rencounter on Tower-Hill, between the French and Spanish Ambassadors, in a Dispute for Precedence. In this Skirmish, the Spaniard got the better: but the Resentment of the French King broke out so furiously, that to prevent a War his Country was not able to sustain, the King of Spain was obliged to pacifie him by a formal Resignation of the Precedence upon all other like Occasions.

The Parliament met November 6. according to the former Adjournment; and one of the first Things done by the House of Commons was, the Appointment of a Committee to attend the Queen Mother with a congratulatory Message, representing the Joy and Contentment this House had received on Occasion of her Majesty's Return to England. To which the Queen in her Answer, acknowledged with Thankfulness the Expressions of the House; desiring the Continuance of their Respects, which, she said, she should never fail to do what lay in her Part to deserve. The Compliment of the Commons was seconded with a Present of ten Thousand Pounds, made to her Daughter Henrietta Maria; as likewise the same Sum to the Prince of Orange, which proved very acceptable at this Time. They proceeded next to disband the Army, whose Continuance was both dangerous and expensive. After that they began with considering of the Revenue to be settled on the King, and agreed upon the Sum of 12000000 *l.* yearly. For this Vote they received the King's particular Thanks, with Assurance, that he would employ his Revenue for the good of them and the Kingdom. It was at the same Time ordered, that the Bodies of Oliver Cromwell, John Bradshaw, Henry Ireton, and Thomas Pride, should be taken out of their Graves,

The Commons compliment the Q. Mother.

drawn



A.D.1660. drawn on a Hurdle to Tyburn, there to be hanged up, from ten of the Clock till Sun-set, and then be buried under the Gallows. They made besides, an Act for attainting the Blood and Estates of these four, and also the nineteen Regicides who were fled. These last were adjudged guilty, and attainted of High Treason.

A remarkable Transaction.

While the King's Revenue was settling in Parliament, a remarkable Accident happened. Some Persons, whether over-zealous Loyalists, or servile Parasites, had laid a Project to settle by Parliament such a Revenue on the King during Life, as should make it needless for him to depend upon a Parliament for more. The King, and all the unthinking or ill designing Courtiers came into it; and even the good Earl of Southampton, out of perfect Affection to the King, joyned in the Project. But Chancellor Hyde opposed it, which produced a Conference between himself and the Earl. The Chancellor being earnest to bring the Earl to his Opinion, told him, that his long and intimate Acquaintance with the King made him better acquainted with his Temper, than the Earl could be: That he knew the King so well, that if such a Revenue were once settled, they two would become useless; and few Sessions of Parliament were to be expected afterward. This brought over that hearty and unbiassed Patriot; but it coming out, as the most secret Things sometimes do, stuck so by the King, that it induced him to abandon the Chancellor to his Enemies some Years after.

The Parliament dissolved.

Act passed for taking away the Court of Wards.

After a Session of two Months, the King came to the House of Peers December 29. to pass the Bills ready for his Assent, and to dissolve the Parliament. One remarkable Act amongst them, was for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, together with Tenures in Capite, Knights Service, and Purveyance. This put a final End to those many slavish Customs and Dependances that had shackled our Country so long; which having been before broke into, and made to give Place to better Constitutions, were at this Time entirely taken away in this last Remnant of them, and left the English Nation perfectly free and independent.

The Felicity of the Time.

Thus ended the famous Convention about eight Months after the first Meeting, and seven after the Restoration, when it received the Name of Parliament. In the happy Correspondence that appeared at that Time between the King and Parliament, the English Constitution shewed it self in the Perfection of its Beauty; a King blessed in his People's Love, and a People in their Prince's tender Care. The Hearts of the Subjects were so entirely the King's, that they seemed to think nothing too much for them to grant, or him to receive. And the King, surrounded by some of the best Ministers that ever Prince or Country was blessed with, was not wanting in any Demonstration of reciprocal Affection. And those excellent Counsellors not only cultivated this mutual Kindness, but with the utmost Prudence took Care

to watch against all future Inconveniences. The A.D.1660. over-flowing Joy of most Men pushed them on to make, or to allow, such great Concessions to the King, that our Liberties had been utterly ruined, if by a Chance, not very frequent, the Government of the Nation had not been directed by some of the best Men in it. But these worthy Patriots saw the Danger that few other Men observed, and by all prudent Methods opposed such pernicious Loyalty. And to the unspeakable Benefit of both Prince and Country, the Influence of these great Men continued, till a firm and secure Establishment was made of our happy Constitution in Church and State.

While the King was busily employed in settling and establishing the grand Affairs of England, in this memorable Year, he was no Ways negligent with Respect to the Peace and Happiness of his two other Kingdoms Affairs of Scotland. As to Scotland, the English Commissioners having been employed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continued for some Time after the King's Restoration, they were at Length, by Letters from the Duke of Albemarle, acquainted with the King's Pleasure, That from the 22<sup>d</sup> of August they should cease to act in this their judicatory Power, in Regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduced to its antient Form of Government; in order to which, Proclamation was made in the King's Name, for the speedy convening of the Committee of the Three Estates of Scotland; and a Parliament also was to be called there within a few Months. In the Interim, the chief Ministers of State were constituted: The Earl of Glencarn was made Lord Chancellor; the Lord Crawford Lindsey, Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Cassiles, Justice General; the Earl of Lauderdale, chief Secretary of State; and General Middleton, the King's Commissioner; with several others. The Committee of Estates being assembled, made it their first Care to keep all Things in Peace and full Obedience to the present Government. For notwithstanding the late Unanimity of the People at Edinburgh, as well as at other Places, in the publick proclaiming of the King; yet after a short Space, a Spirit of Discontent began to discover it self among certain prime Ministers of the Kirk Party, as appeared by their meeting together at an appointed Place, for the drawing up, a Remonstrance concerning certain Things, in which they thought themselves aggrieved: Of which the Committee of Estates having Notice, sent immediately to apprehend them, and secured them in Prison: And to prevent the like Disturbance for the future, they set forth a Proclamation against all unlawful Meetings and seditious Papers. The like Imprisonment happened also to their Countryman, the famous Marquess of Argyll; who notwithstanding that he came to the English Court, with other of the Scotch Nobility and Gentry, upon Pretence of rendering his Service to the King, was found so culpable, that he was committed to the Tower for Tower.



A.D. 1660. for High Treason, and afterwards sent to be tried in his own Country.

But to make a perfect Settlement of the Peace and Prosperity of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, the King thought it necessary to summon a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12<sup>th</sup> Day of *December*. And to prepare the Way, he issued out a Proclamation in that Kingdom, which shew'd him to be of the same Disposition in all his Dominions. By this he solemnly declared, that he rely'd so much on the Loyalty, Prudence and Care of his Parliament, as absolutely to commit to them the trying and judging the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his Parliament, or Committee of Estates. To whom in the mean Time, he recommended the ordering and preparing that Affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interested, might freely, and should only, make their Application; assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown once asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, such an Act of Indemnity, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace and Plenty under his Government.

Affairs of  
*Ireland*.

As to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the King very early issued out his Proclamation against all Disturbers of the Peace in those Parts, and with good Effect; and Colonel *Eyres*, who had endeavoured to raise a Party there, was soon reduced by Sir *Charles Coot*. The Convention that had assembled in that Kingdom upon the Change of Government, as soon as they had taken Order for the settling of the publick Affairs, and had appointed certain Commissioners to wait upon the King with their congratulatory Addresses, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in Expectation of the King's Pleasure for the calling of a full Parliament, and to make Way for the ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determined by the King and his Council. But in the mean Time, for the present Government of that Kingdom, the King made Sir *Maurice Eustace* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; Roger Earl of *Orrery*, Lord President of *Munster*; and Charles Earl of *Montraith*, Lord President of *Connaught*, to be Lords Justices, who managed and governed there with great Candor and Moderation. So that there was now a general Quiet throughout the King's Dominions.

Insurrection  
of the Fifth-  
Monarchy  
Men.

While the Nation seemed to be in Peace and Tranquillity, in the Beginning of the new Year there happened a strange Disturbance in *London*, which took its Rise from the following Cause. Among the Extravagancies which the Confusions of the late Times produced, there sprung up a Set who were called Fifth-Monarchy Men, from the Kingdom said to be set up by God, *Dan. ii. v. 44.* which was to succeed the four great Monarchies that have been in the World.

These Men took it in their Heads to expect A.D. 1660. this Kingdom in a visible Manner, in their own Times; and moreover, that they themselves were to be the Instruments of beginning this Reign of the Saints upon the Earth. In Consequence of this Expectation they became utter Enemies to all Monarchies of any other kind; and had formerly made an Attempt against *Cromwell's* Government, but escaped very unexpectedly. The Head of them was one *Thomas Venner*, sometimes a Wine-Cooper, who by the King's Indulgence held a Conventicle in *Coleman-street*. At this Place he and others used to preach. And because ignorant Enthusiasts chuse to descant upon those Parts of Scripture which they are least capable of understanding, the Subject of their Discourses used to be the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Revelations*. From these Scriptures *Venner* persuaded himself and his Congregation, that the Time of our Saviour's visible Reign on Earth was come, and therefore that it was their Duty to take up Arms for King *Jesus* against the Powers of the World; that no Weapon formed against them should prosper, but that one should chase a Thousand, and two put ten Thousand to Flight. 'Tis hard, if not impossible, to broach an Opinion so absurd, that will not find Followers. These mad Exhortations wrought so upon his Auditory, that they seriously undertook this wild Enterprize; and fewer than sixty Men set themselves in good Earnest about conquering the World. They first got a Declaration printed, entitled, *A Door of Hope open'd*; in which they declared that they would never sheath their Swords till *Babylon*, as they called Monarchy, became a Hissing and a Curse, and there be left neither Remnant, Son, nor Nephew: That when they had led Captivity Captive in *England*, they would go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, &c. And rather dye than take the wicked Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance: That they would not make any Leagues with Monarchists, but would rise up against the Carnal, to possess the Gate of the World, to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron. It is strange that Men who could have so little Wisdom as to enter upon so extravagant a Design, should have so much as to take any sober Measures for the compassing it. Yet these Men had the Policy to begin to put it in Execution when the King was absent from *London*, being gone to attend his Mother and Sister to embark at *Portsmouth*, for their Return into *France*. Accordingly on Sunday the 6<sup>th</sup> of *January*, being fully animated by the Sermon which hinted to them, that they had been praying and preaching, but not acting for God; they sallied out well armed from their Meeting-House, and marched to *St. Paul's Church-yard* in the Dark of the Evening. Here they mustered their Party, amounting to above fifty, and placed their Centinels for the Time. One of them kill'd a poor innocent Man, who being stopped and asked who he was for, made Answer, He was for God and King *Charles*. This alarmed

Their Declaration.

Their first Appearance.



A.D. 1660. alarmed the City; and the Train'd-Bands being upon the Guard, the Lord-Mayor sent some Files of Men against them. But these desperate Men quickly routed them, and then marched on to *Bishopsgate*, where they passed without Opposition; and from thence to *Cripplegate*, where they came into the City again, and so to *Aldersgate*. Here threatening the Constable who was weakly attended, they were let out again. Then they declared themselves for King *Jesus*, and thus proceeded to *Beech-Lane*, where they killed a Headborough that opposed them. Thence they went to *Cane-Wood*, about four Miles from the City, between *Highbury* and *Hampstead*, where they spent their Time for that Night.

The Noise of this extraordinary Insurrection caused the General to send thither a Party of Horse and Foot the next Day, who drove them out of the Wood, and took some of them Prisoners, who were committed to the *Gate-house*. The rest having rallied again, on *Wednesday* Morning appeared in *London*, with Assurance by *Venner* their Leader, that no Weapon formed against them should prosper: Therefore that they might look upon the Example of *Gideon*; for it was the same Thing to God, whether he saved by a few or a Multitude. Their first Appearance was in *Threadneedle-street*, behind the *Exchange*, where they were met by a Party of the Guard whom they beat back. But upon the Advance of more Forces, they retreated to *Bishopsgate street*; where after a sharp Encounter, two of each Side being slain, they gradually slipped away and disappeared. A while after they were seen again at *Colledge-Hill* and *Maiden-Lane*, where they designed to murder the Lord-Mayor. But missing of him, they cross'd *Cheapside*, and pass'd into *Woodstreet*. Here they were met by the Trained-Bands, and there began a cruel Fight, in which these wild Enthusiasts shewed great Skill as well as Valour; and having ruffled some Train'd-Bands, and repelled the Horse Guards that came to assist them, they would not give Way, till *Venner* was knock'd down, and severely wounded; and *Tuffney* and *Cragg*, two of their fiercest Preachers and Combatants, were slain: but the greatest Part of them retreated to *Cripplegate*, yet firing in good Order in their Rear upon the Train'd Bands, as they pursued them. Ten of them were lodged in an Alehouse near the *Postern*, where getting into an upper Room, they obstinately maintained their Post. Some of the Soldiers untiled the next House, and shot in upon them, but they still refused Quarter. At the same Time another Party of Musketiers got up the Stairs, broke the Door, and entered their Garrison. Six of them had been killed before; another refusing Quarter, was first knocked down, and then shot with a Musket: The rest were made Prisoners. These being asked why they did not beg Quarter before, answered, they durst not for fear their own Fellows should have shot them. In this Insurrection twenty of the King's Men were slain, and as many of

the Rebels. Those taken were *Venner* himself, *Hodgkins*, *Gowler*, *Allen*, *Pym*, *Ashton*, *Prichard*, *Fall*, *Hopkins*, *Wells* and about as many more not much worth the naming; who blasphemously alledged, that if they were deceived or misled, 'twas God that deceived them.

These, to the Number of Twenty, were soon after arraigned at the *Old-Bailey* for Treason and Murder; which being fully proved, with all the forementioned Particulars, they were all found guilty except *Hopkins* and *Wells*, against whom the Evidence was not full; and against one *Patshul*, only a single Witness. At the passing of the Sentence and Execution, they all behaved themselves with the same Extravagance with which they began their Undertaking; one young Man excepted, who shewed great Signs of Repentance.

April 22. The King was crowned with a Magnificence answerable to the Wealth and Greatness of his Realms, and the Happiness and Glory of the Times. To this End he made several Peers and Knights of the Garter, together with sixty eight Knights of the *Bath*. We omit the Names of these Gentlemen, and an Account of the Ceremonies of the Coronation, as not consistent with our intended Brevity.

About that Time a very laudable Design was set on Foot; namely, the procuring a friendly Conference between the Divines of the Church of *England*, and those of the Presbyterian Persuasion. It was hoped that the Peace of the present, and the Remembrance of the Miseries of the past Times, might so dispose Men to a healing Temper, that the Differences in Religion, which had so great a Part in the late Confusions, might be amicably compromised. The King issued out a Commission directed to twelve Bishops, and nine Episcopal Divines as Assistants, on one Side; and to twelve Presbyterian Divines as Principals, and nine others as Assistants on the other Side. The Bishops were *Frewen* of *York*, *Cosens* of *Durham*, *Sheldon* of *London*, *Warner* of *Rocheſter*, *King* of *Chicheſter*, *Henchman* of *Salisbury*, *Morley* of *Worceſter*, *Sanderſon* of *Lincoln*, *Laney* of *Peterborough*, *Walton* of *Cheſter*, *Sterne* of *Carlisle*, and *Gauden* of *Exeter*: Their Assistants were Doctor *Earl*, Doctor *Hexlyn*, Doctor *Hacket*, Doctor *Barwick*, Doctor *Gunning*, Doctor *Pearson*, Doctor *Price*, Doctor *Sparrow*, and Mr. *Thorn*. The twelve Presbyterian Divines were Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Tuckney*, Doctor *Conant*, Doctor *Spurſlow*, Doctor *Wallis*, Doctor *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Newcomen*: Their Assistants were Doctor *Horton*, Doctor *Bates*, Doctor *Jacomb*, Doctor *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Collins*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*. All these were commissioned by the King to act for four Months from the 25<sup>th</sup> of *March*; and more particularly to advise upon, and review the Book of Common-Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been

They encounter the Trained-Bands, but are all killed, or taken Prisoners.

A.D. 1660.

They are tried convicted and executed.

A.D. 1661.  
The King's Coronation.

The Conference at the Savoy.



A.D. 1661. been us'd in the Church in the primitive and purest Times, and to take into their serious and grave Considerations the several Directions and Rules, Forms of Prayer, and Things in the said Book of Common-Prayer contained; and to consult and advise upon and about the same, and the several Objections and Exceptions which shall now be rais'd against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the Restoring and Continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under his Majesty's Government and Protection. And to certify to his Majesty in Writing under their several Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon they shall so determine.

The Bishop of London's Lodgings in the Savoy were appointed to be the Place of Conference; where they accordingly assembled. But this excellent Design did not meet with a suitable Issue. Some few Alterations were made in the Liturgy, at the Motion of the Presbyterians. But whatever the Reason was, there was so little Openness and so much Distrust on both Sides, that after much vain Altercation, they parted in about two Months, farther from Agreement than they met. To pass Sentence in this Case on either Side as blameable, would be not only invidious but presumptuous. If we suppose in both Parties a great Mixture of humane Infirmary, we shall probably come nearest the Truth.

The Parliament met on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, which continued with several Intermissions for seventeen Years; whence it had the Name of the Long Parliament. Its Appearance was fair and promising, the House of Commons being filled with some of the greatest and wisest Men in the King's Dominions; true Friends to their Prince, and hearty Lovers of their Countrey. The Commons having first waited on the King, returned to their House and chose Sir Edward Turner Speaker; a worthy and eloquent Person.

The King having acquainted the Parliament in his Speech, that he had Thoughts of marrying the Infanta of Portugal, both Houses came to a Vote and Resolution concerning the King's intended Marriage, and accordingly attended him at Whitehall with their humble Acknowledgment and Thanks, for the free and gracious Communication of his Resolution to marry with the Infanta of Portugal; which they conceiv'd to be of so high a Concernment to this Nation, that they receiv'd it with great Joy and Satisfaction, and did with all Earnestness beg a Blessing upon, and a speedy Accomplishment of it; and they cou'd not but express their own unanimous Resolutions, which they were confident wou'd have a general Influence upon the Hearts of all his Subjects: That they should upon all Occasions be ready to assist his Majesty in the Pursuance of these his Intentions, against all Oppositions

whatsoever. To which the King return'd A.D. 1661. his particular Thanks, declaring, that he did in the Matter of the intended Marriage, as much study their Good as his own.

While this was transacting, the House of Commons order'd all their Members to receive the Sacrament according to the prescribed Liturgy, within a certain Time; upon Pain of being prohibited the House. Then proceeding with the same Zeal, and joining with the House of Peers, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May they order'd, that the Instrument of Writing that had caus'd so much Mischief, call'd the solemn League and Covenant, should be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman, in the Palace-yard at Westminster, in Cheapside, and before the Old Exchange, on the 22<sup>d</sup> of May; and be forthwith taken off the Record in the House of Peers, and all other Courts and Places where the same is recorded; and that all Copies thereof be taken down out of all Churches, Chapels, and all other publick Places in England and Wales. All which was perform'd in Triumph. A few Days after, on May 28, the Act for erecting a High Court of Justice, for trying and judging of Charles Stuart, was burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman in the midst of Westminster-Hall, while the Courts were sitting. Likewise the Act for subscribing the Engagement against a King and House of Peers; another for declaring the People of England to be a Commonwealth and Free State; another for renouncing the Title of Charles Stuart; and also another for the Security of the Lord Protector's Person, were all burnt with the same solemn Abhorrence and Detestation.

During the Debate of the House of Commons on these Subjects, and Matters of the like Nature, the warm Mr. Prynne, against the Privilege of the House, could not withhold from publishing certain Reasons against an intended Bill for regulating Corporations, as contrary to Magna Charta. This was so resented by the House, that after a severe Censure he was obliged to make a publick Submission and Recantation, which, to the Surprise of all that knew his turbulent and obstinate Spirit, he yielded to. And had not his Services in the King's Restoration been very signal, he had scarce escaped so easily.

The good Correspondence between the King and the Parliament made some late Offenders apprehensive. They feared that the King might be moved to call them still to account for former Transgressions; and that the Shelter of the late Act of Oblivion might be taken from them, under Pretence that the Parliament that enacted it was not called by the King's Writ. Therefore they solicited the King for a Confirmation of it by the present Parliament; which his Majesty, who had no other Intentions than to observe it, promised to procure for them. To this End June 20. the King sent the House of Commons a Letter to remind them of this Act, and to recommend to them the Confirmation of it.

This Letter had its intended Effect in prevailing

The Solemn League and Covenant burnt.

And other Acts of the late Times.

Mr. Prynne censured.

A new Act of Oblivion.



A.D. 1661. vailing with the Commons, and obliging the People. But before they entered upon it, they resolv'd to look to the King's Revenue, in order to settle upon him so much as might maintain the Splendor of the Regal Office, and preserve the Crown from Want and the Contempt of its Neighbours. They therefore order'd, that there be provided forthwith a plentiful Supply for his Majesty's present great Occasions, as well as a Settlement of a constant and standing Revenue; and accordingly order'd a Bill to be brought in, to enable his Majesty to send out Commissions to receive the free and voluntary Contributions of his People towards his Majesty's present Supply.

This Bill, and that for Confirmation of the Act of Oblivion, being gone thro' the Houses, the King pass'd them on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July.

All this Time the Parliament proceeded with Vigour in finishing the other Bills projected and intended; and tho' the Act of Indemnity was the King's Favourite Act, yet they resolv'd to consider the Honour of his injur'd Father in some Particulars, and so proceeded to the Confiscation of the Estates of twenty one Regicides deceas'd, viz. *Pelham, Skippon, Edwards, Constable, Dean, Danvers, Moore, Alured, Stapeley, Fry, Allen, Maleverer, Blakestone, Hammond, Burchier, Horton, Purefoy, Norton, Ewer, Ven, and Andrews*. They likewise order'd the Lord Mounson, Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Robert Wallop, who had been favour'd, as the others had been reserv'd in the Act of Indemnity, to be brought to the Bar of the House of Commons; where confessing their Crimes, a Bill was order'd to be brought in to confiscate their Estates, as also of Sir James Harrington and John Phelps, not yet apprehended: And it was farther order'd, That the Lord Mounson, Sir James Harrington, and Sir Henry Mildmay, should be degraded of their several Honours and Titles, and that those now in Custody, and the other two, when apprehended, should all be drawn upon Sledges with Ropes about their Necks, from the Tower of London to and under the Gallows at Tyburn, and thence convey'd back to the Tower, there to remain Prisoners during their Lives. Which Sentences were solemnly executed upon the 30<sup>th</sup> of January following.

Bishops Seats  
in Parliament  
restored.

Parliament  
prorogued.

By the 30<sup>th</sup> of July the Parliament had prepared other Bills for the Royal Assent. Of these two were particularly remarkable; the first to restore the Bishops to their Seats in Parliament; the second, to declare the sole Right of the Militia to be in the King; and they were pass'd by the King into Acts the same Day; after which the Parliament was prorogued.

The passing the Bill for restoring the Bishops to their Seats in Parliament completed the Re-establishment of the Church. Before the first Meeting of the present Parliament, it had been debated whether the Convocation should be called at the same Time; and the Arguments us'd against it had almost pre-

vail'd. Dr. Heylyn, a Divine eminent for his great Parts, and high Notions of Church Power, is said to have removed the Hindrances that stood in the Way of the Meeting of that Assembly, so that the King sent out his Mandates for a Convocation of each Province; and they met accordingly the same Day with the Parliament. The Convocation at the Savoy promis'd them much Business, in the Consideration of those healing Schemes which were expected from the Divines there assembled. But it was the unhappy Fate of that Assembly to be haunted with a Spirit of Mistrust and Contradiction; and they were so far from agreeing upon any thing, that neither Side seems to have thought of doing so. So that the Convocation was only employ'd in drawing up a solemn Thanksgiving for the King's Birth-day and Restoration, the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, and another special Form of Prayer to be us'd on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January. This done, the President intimated to the Assembly the Want of a particular Form in the Liturgy for the Ministration of Baptism to those of riper Years; and referr'd it to a select Committee of both Houses.

They likewise proceeded to examine the Canons already made, and to consider of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Regulation of spiritual Courts and Officers; as also to form a Book of Articles of Enquiry to be us'd in the Visitation of every Bishop; with some other lesser Matters. Lastly, since the granting of Money was then their inherent Right, they made a particular Subscription for a Royal Benevolence to be presented to the King, and so broke up at the same Time with the Parliament.

Examine the  
Canons.

Break up.

While Affairs were carry'd with so much Ease and Success in England, the Parliament in Scotland proceeded with no less Satisfaction to the Court and loyal Party. And first they proceeded to rescind that great Engine of Trouble and Confusion, the Solemn League and Covenant; in which Case they expressly declar'd, that there is no Obligation upon this Kingdom by Covenant, Treaties, or otherwise to endeavour by Arms a Reformation of Religion in the Kingdom of England, or to meddle with the Government or Administration of that Kingdom. They commanded that none of his Majesty's Subjects presume, upon Pretext of any Authority whatsoever, to require a renewing or swearing to the said League and Covenant, or any other Covenants or publick Oaths concerning the Government of the Church or Kingdom, without his Majesty's special Warrant and Approbation. They next proceeded to declare the Power of the Militia to be in the King's Majesty alone, and after that they put a particular Brand upon the Act of the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 1647. which related to the Sale and Disposal of the King's Person, and declared that it was carried on and concluded by a prevalent Party, against the Judgment of many of his Majesty's loyal Subjects; and that it was a most sinful, disloyal, and unworthy Act, contrary to the Will

Solemn  
League and  
Covenant re-  
scinded there.



A.D. 1661. Will and Commandment of God, contrary to all Laws divine and humane, contrary to the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects, contrary to all the Rules of Justice, Honour, Gratitude and Humanity, and highly reflecting on the Honour of this ancient Kingdom, and the Reputation of his Majesty's good Subjects therein. And therefore they do hereby annul and condemn the same for ever; and ordain it to be expung'd out of all Records, and never to be remember'd again but with due Abhorrence and Detestation.

Episcopacy  
restored in  
Scotland.

Episcopacy likewise reviv'd in this Kingdom as well as in *England*: In order to which Mr. *James Sharp*, Mr. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Barwell* and Mr. *Leighton*, all in Presbyterian Orders, came to *London*; where after being ordain'd Deacons and Priests, they were consecrated Bishops by the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Assistance of two other *English* Prelates. At the Solemnity they expressly disclaim'd the Validity of their former Ordination; and likewise procur'd a Proclamation declaring the King's Pleasure for restoring the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it was establish'd in the Year 1637. It was likewise signify'd in this Instrument, That his Majesty had nominated Arch-bishops and Bishops to their respective Sees, to exercise the same Authority with which the Prelates govern'd that Church in the Reign of his Royal Grandfather. Pursuant to this Proclamation, the Privy-Council of *Scotland* strictly discharg'd all Ecclesiastical Meetings, as Synods, Presbyteries, &c. till they should be authoriz'd by Arch-bishops and Bishops. Not long after, on the 8<sup>th</sup> Day of *May*, the Restoration of Episcopacy, was confirm'd by Act of Parliament. Another Statute was made, which enacted Obedience from the inferior Clergy to their Diocesans, and likewise prohibited all Meetings or Conventicles in Houses for religious Exercises. Another Act was made for reviving the Right of Patronages, which had been seiz'd by the Presbyterian Party. Besides all these, Provision was made by another Act, that all Persons in publick Trust or Office, should sign a solemn Declaration against the National Covenant in 1638. and the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643; in which they declar'd it unlawful to Subjects, upon Pretence of Reformation, or other Pretences whatsoever, to enter into Leagues and Covenants, or take up Arms against the King, or those commission'd by him, &c.

The Marquis  
of *Argyle*  
tried.

The same Mercy was shewn to Offenders in this Kingdom, as had been in *England*. The Marquis of *Argyle*, and one *Guthrie* a Minister were the only Persons we find executed at this Time. The former had so great a Part in the Confusions of the late Times, and so intimate a Correspondence with *Cromwell*, as laid him open to that Sentence. He made upon his Trial a very notable Defence which was seconded by his Counsel, and other able Men; so that he was not unlikely to get off. So difficult is

it sometimes to find legal Proofs of the most notorious Facts. But at length some Letters of his which were produced turned the Scale against him; and he was condemned to be beheaded; which Sentence was soon after executed. Some Reflections were made up-Executed. on the Death of this Nobleman, as if he had been hardly used by the Duke of *Albemarle*, who made the Letters publick which were written to him in Confidence. Be that as it will, one can't help thinking his Misfortunes justly deserved, by the barbarous Insolence with which he treated the great *Montrose*; and look upon them as one of those Retaliations which wise Men have observed in the Ways of the divine Providence.

At this Time an Accident happened, which gave the disaffected an handle for Reflections. The Depredations of the *Algerines* upon our Merchants, occasioned the King to send the Earl of *Sandwich* with a Fleet into the *Mediterranean* to repress them. He set Sail on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *June*, and *July* 29. came before the Port of *Algier*; whence he sent to the Dey to come out and confirm the League made with *England*. A Treaty was begun, but those Pirates were so insolent in their Terms, that the Admiral weigh'd, and stood into their Harbour. But this being fortified with a new Mole with Forts and Batteries, the Admiral, after firing some Ships, found it adviseable to bring off the Fleet. So leaving Sir *John Lawson* his Vice-Admiral to block up the Port, he went away with a Part of the Fleet to *Lisbon*. The Republicans upon this took Occasion to make triumphant Remarks, that the Naval Power of *England* under a Monarch was sunk from its former Glory when under a Commonwealth. And to say the Truth, whatever might be the Reason, there was a publick Spirit and Bravery among the Soldiers and Seamen of those Times, which has hardly been since found.

A Fleet sent  
out against  
the *Algerines*.

After a Recess of near four Months, the Parliament met again *Nov. 20.* it being now complete by the Addition of the Bench of Bishops. The King came to the House of Peers, and in his Speech laid before them the Business of that Session; which consisting of two Parts, a Motion for Supplies, and an Information of seditious Practices, the Parliament set themselves to proceed accordingly. And first, both Houses immediately agreed to Petition for a Proclamation for disarming the disbanded and cashier'd Officers and Soldiers, and to command them to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*, for such Time as his Majesty shall think fit. And the Commons to shew their Readiness to assist the King in his Wants, on the same Day voted that the Sum of twelve hundred Thousand Pounds shou'd be speedily paid and rais'd, for the Supply of the King's Majesty's present Occasions, and so proceeded accordingly. For this the King soon after return'd his hearty Thanks, and particularly express'd how exceeding much he was beholden to the House of Commons for their great

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.



A.D. 1661. great Gift, and the Manner of it in giving to freely.

Some of the Regicides brought before the House of Lords.

The first Parliament having respited the Punishments of several of the Regicides, as well those that lay under Condemnation, as others not so flagrantly guilty of that Crime, the House resum'd the Matter, and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November those Regicides that came in upon Proclamation were brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, to answer what they cou'd say for themselves, why Judgment shou'd not be executed against them. They severally alledg'd, that upon his Majesty's gracious Declaration from *Breda*, and the Votes of Parliament, and his Majesty's Proclamation publish'd by the Advice of the Lords and Commons then assembled in Parliament, they did render themselves, being advis'd that they shou'd thereby secure their Lives; and humbly crav'd the Benefit thereof, and the Mercy of the Houses, and their Mediation to his Majesty in their Behalves. *Harry Martin* briskly added, that he had never obey'd any Proclamation before this, and hoped he shou'd not be hang'd for taking the King's Word now. New Debates arose about them, and a Bill was brought in for their Execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropt; and so they were all sent to their several Prisons, and but little more heard of them.

The King passes the Money Bill.

The next Day, which was the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, the Money Bill, and three other Bills being ready for the Royal Assent; the King came to the House of Peers, where the Commons Speaker presented to his Majesty, a Bill for granting twelve hundred and sixty thousand Pounds to the King, to be levy'd by an Assessment of seventy thousand Pounds by the Month for eighteen Months. At the passing of this Bill, the King in a short Speech gave very hearty Thanks to the House for their great Present, and declar'd that he had receiv'd the Benefit of it before he had it; the Reputation thereof having given him Credit both at Home and Abroad: And that he was not more willing to give his Royal Assent to that Bill, than he shou'd have been to have pass'd any Bills whatsoever which that House should present to him for the People's Good. At this Time he pass'd a notable Bill called an Act for regulating Corporations; by which every Officer in any Corporation was obliged to take an Oath, declaring that it was not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that he did abhor that traitorous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or those commissioned by him.

And the Corporation Act

Reflections on that Act.

This Act did evidently serve to the Purpose intended by it; to keep Men of Antimonarchical Principles out of the Government of the Corporations. But there were some Things in it, which appeared to considering Men of dangerous Consequence. The Position of the absolute Unlawfulness of taking Arms against the King, was a very high Strain of Loyalty, considering the possible Cases in which no other Course but resisting

the King can save a Nation. But to extend this Privilege to those commissioned by him was carrying the Matter very far. Nevertheless, the Remembrance of the late Troubles was so fresh, that it left Men no Eyes for any Thing but Precautions against the Renewal of them. It was propos'd indeed in both Houses upon another Occasion, that the Word *Lawfully* should be set before the Word *Commissioned*: But this was overruled, and it was answered, that the Word *Commission* did import it; for if it was not lawfully issued out to lawful Persons, and for lawful Reasons, it was no Commission. But as to the utter Illegality of Resistance of the King himself, the over-strained Loyalty of the Times would not suffer a Suggestion to the contrary. This Act gave the first Birth to the famous Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; which was first set on Foot by honest Men with a good Design, cultivated by ill Men for wicked Ends, and having first brought our Religion and Liberties into the utmost Danger, proved the Ruin of a Prince who leaned too much upon it. Upon the passing of these Acts the Parliament was adjourned to the 10<sup>th</sup> of January.

The Republican Party were still busy; and Projects were laid, and Meetings held by them to carry on their wild and impracticable Designs. Upon the Meeting of the Parliament according to the Adjournment, the Lord Chancellor informed them of these Things; which incited the Commons to proceed against *Vane*, *Lambert*, *Waller*, and some others who were still under the Power of the Law; and to hasten the Bill for insuring the Militia to the Crown, and that for settling Uniformity in the Church.

In the mean Time the King's Revenue was not so well attended by the Commons as his Occasions required; so that he thought it proper to send for them on the first of March to *Whitehall*. He there in an obliging Speech, let them know his Necessities and pressed them to a Supply. This so wrought upon the Commons, that a Bill pass'd the House to enable the King to raise a Tax of 70000*l.* a Month for the three ensuing Years. To this was added another Bill to grant to the King a Duty of 2*s.* per Ann. on every Fire Hearth in all Houses in the Kingdom. This Tax was called Chimney Money, and continued till the first Year of King *William III.* In the settling the King's Revenue, they took into Consideration the Wants and Necessities of the Loyal Cavaliers, and appointed 60000*l.* to be distributed among them.

While the Parliament was thus employed, the Convocation was busied in reviewing the Book of Common-Prayer in order to prepare it for the Act of Uniformity. They added a new Office for the Baptism of those of riper Years, one for the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, and one for the 29<sup>th</sup> of May. They added also the Declaration which is now at the End of the Communion-Service; which had been first inserted in the Time of King *Edward VI.* and

Additions made to the Liturgy by the Convocation.



A.D. 1661. and was taken away under Queen Elizabeth; three Prayers were also added, that for all Conditions of Men, the General Thanksgiving, and the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament. This last, in it self highly proper, became liable to Censure, by the Title of Religious there given to the King. It was objected, that if this Title was ever so well suited to the Prince then reigning, it was not certain it would belong as well to every one of his Successors. Besides that, in Truth, it could fit no Man worse than the present King, which increased the Impropriety. The Work being finished, in other Respects beyond all Exception, was approved by the Members of each House; and the Lord Chancellor returned the Thanks of the Peers to the upper and lower House of Convocation, for their Care and Labour therein.

Act of Uniformity passed. A.D. 1662. The King married. The Act of Uniformity, and several others being ready for the Royal Assent, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May the King came to the House to pass them.

Two Days after, the King was married to the Infanta of Portugal, Donna Catharina. This Marriage having caused many Speculations and Conjectures, we shall here give the Reader an Account of what appears most reasonable to be believed relating to it. Till the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, the French had assisted the Portuguese, who had shaken off the Spanish Yoke in 1640, and were at War with the Spaniards ever since. But then the Cardinal Mazarine agreeing not to assist the Portuguese any longer, they were obliged to look out for some other Assistance. Their Ambassador in England had the Address to persuade General Monk, when his Intentions to restore the King appeared, to hearken to an Alliance between the King and the Infanta. Upon the King's coming to England, this was proposed; and coming from the General, it was immediately embraced. The Queen Mother also encouraged it, being engaged by Cardinal Mazarine, who desired to continue that Thorn in the Spanish King's Side without appearing in it.

The Lord Chancellor went with the Stream for some Time, till he received Information that the Infanta was not capable of having Children. This Incapacity was, it seems, publicly talked of among the English Merchants at Lisbon, before she left that Place; and was told to the Earl of Sandwich, when he came to bring her into England. Some Whispers of this coming to the Chancellor, that noble Patriot set himself to oppose it with all his Interest. But the King was so set upon the Match, that the Lord Chancellor's Representations were fruitless; and they served indeed to delay the Marriage, but not to prevent it. So far is it from being true, that this Match was set on Foot by him to make Way to the Crown for the Children of his own Daughter, whom the Duke of York had married. He had indeed the Honour to be Grandfather to two crowned Heads, but without the Crime of seeking it by so wicked a Contrivance.

Upon the compleating of this Marriage,

A.D. 1662. the Queen Mother, with the Earl of St. Albans and others, came over a second Time into England, and had a splendid Court settled for her in Somerset-House; which she proposed to be the Abode of her remaining Widowhood. Another Effect of this Marriage was the Sale of Dunkirk, which happened not long after the Consummation of it; of which the Foundation was laid by the very Treaty it self: For the Portuguese had so far prevailed, that by the nineteenth Article of the said Treaty it was expressly stipulated, that Dunkirk should never be parted with to the Spaniard. Which gave France a fair Opportunity to close with the King, and to make a Bargain with him at a Time when he wanted ready Money for the extraordinary Expences of this Year, and particularly the Payment of his Sister's Portion. Many Reasons were urged for the parting with this important Place; and the first Motive to the King, was the great Expence in the keeping of it, which Rutherford the Governour had increased to an exorbitant Degree since the Dismission of Sir Edward Harley. And the Earl of Sandwich particularly alledged to his Majesty, that the Coast was generally so tempestuous, and the Grounds so rowling upon every Storm, that there would never remain a certain Steerage to that Port. These and other Reasons being alledged in Council, tho' opposed by Chancellor Clarendon, and Treasurer Southampton, the King was content to deliver up the Town and Port of Dunkirk, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition, for the Sum of five hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling; one half to be paid down, and the other in a short Time after. Several Books were written in Vindication of this Sale, shewing how useless the Place was to England, unless Millions of Money were expended upon it; and at this Time we do not find many Complaints against either this, or the Portugal Match. But when the ill Effects of both begun afterwards to appear, as the increasing Power of France, and the Queen's want of Issue, great Outcries were made, and Chancellor Hyde was unreasonably charged with the Scandal of both, when he was really free from the Guilt, or rather Misfortune of either.

Three of the Regicides were at this Time brought over from Holland, Miles Corbet, Colonel Okey, and Colonel Barkstead. These having wandered through many Parts of Germany, came to Delft in Holland; from whence they wrote to their Wives to come over to them. Their Letters being intercepted by the Care of Sir George Downing, the King's Resident, he found Means to seize them; and, what was very extraordinary, to get the Consent of the States to send them to England, contrary to the continual Practice of that Commonwealth. They were brought over here, and committed to the Tower.

Shortly after they were carried to the King's-Bench Bar, and being demanded what they could say for themselves, why they should not receive Sentence according to Law,



A.D. 1662. Law, and the Act of Attainder being read to them, they pleaded, that they were not the Persons there mentioned. Upon this Witnesses being called, and a Jury impanelled, they gave Verdict that they were the same; so that Sentence was passed upon them, and soon after executed. Their Ends were much better than those of the other Regicides, and Colonel Okey's Quarters were given to his Friends to be interred.

Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel Lambert tried.

Soon after, Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert were brought to their Trials, in Pursuance of an Address from the House of Commons. Their Behaviour was extremely different. Sir Henry Vane absolutely denied the Jurisdiction of the Court over him, alleging, that as he was a Member of the long Parliament, no inferior Court could try him. He also urged, that the King before the Restoration, being only King *de Jure*, and not *de Facto*, he could not be guilty of Treason against him before that Time. He insisted moreover, that the two Houses having joined in petitioning the King to save his Life, and the King having consented to it, this Concurrence of the Legislative Power had the Force of an Act of Parliament. But his Pleas were overruled; and the Jury brought him in Guilty. His Behaviour upon his Trial was the same as had been in the rest of his Life, in which much Acuteness of Understanding was joined with great Extravagancies. Colonel Lambert defended himself in a different Manner, urging with a proper Submission and Deference, what he thought for his Advantage, by Way of Defence or Excuse. But his Part in the late Troubles was too notorious to give him Hopes of an Acquittal. He was brought in guilty, and condemned, but was at the same Time reprieved at the Bar; which Favour the Judges said was designed for Sir Henry, had not his contemptuous Behaviour hindered it. Colonel Lambert was confined, during Life, in the Island of *Guernsey*, where he continued a patient and discreet Prisoner above thirty Years.

Sir Henry Vane beheaded.

Sir Henry Vane was beheaded on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June following. What the Reason was that moved the King to take away his Life is uncertain; whether it were the Part he had in the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, or his Behaviour at his Trial, or the Danger arising from a Man whose Temper inclined him to turbulent Designs, and whose great Parts enabled him to carry them on. He died as he had lived, full of Enthusiastick Notions. And as the Blood of the Earl of *Strafford*, in which he had so great a Part, was the first that introduced the shedding of those Streams which were so cruelly poured out on Account of the Rebellion, so his own was the last that closed that horrid Scene.

The next remarkable Transaction we meet with, is the putting in Execution the famous Act of Uniformity. This Act obliged all who held Ecclesiastical Preferments to declare before St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all Things contained in the Book of Common-

Prayer; and to make the Declaration above-mentioned required in the Corporation Act of the Unlawfulness of resisting the King, under Pain of Loss of Preferment. These two Obligations bore hard upon the Presbyterian Divines, who still held their Benefices; and they were indeed levelled at them. Many Consultations were held in City and Countrey, and Resolutions of different kinds taken by those Ministers, as Conscience in some, Humour in others, and Interest in a third Sort, directed. At last upon the Day on which the Term of Consultation expired, about 2000 Ministers chose to leave their Benefices rather than comply with the Act.

A.D. 1662.

2000 Ministers turned out by the Act of Uniformity.

The Justness and Seasonableness of this Law was much debated. On one Side the Convenience of one Form of Worship was insisted on; and the Inconveniencies arising in the late Times from the universal Licence then taken, were an obvious Topick of Declamation. Besides this, it was said, that no Person can reasonably hope to enjoy the Revenues of a Church, to which they are Enemies upon Principle; as they must be who thought its Worship unlawful. That the Conference at the *Savoy* had shewn the Dissenters to be so perverse, that they were not to be satisfied; and therefore since gentle Means would not do, other Courses must be taken. That they were Intruders upon the Episcopal Clergy ejected during the Rebellion; so that they were only obliged to leave what they had unjustly wrested from others. That the solemn League and Covenant which they refused to abjure, was a Seed Plot of Rebellion; and the Consequences of that fatal Engagement were copiously insisted on: And that therefore the King could not be secure, if those who were so fond of it were left with the Authority and Influence that attends the Ministry. On the other Side it was said, that it was unchristian and barbarous to impose Commands so little necessary, and then to turn out so many Persons from the Settlements they had so long enjoyed, into Want and Poverty, because they could not in Conscience comply with them. That it was as imprudent as it was cruel; since these Men who were still by many Persons highly valued, were now obliged by their Circumstances, as well as led by their Inclinations, to set up separate Congregations in Opposition to the Church; by which Means the Schism must be propagated, and grow wider and wider. That an Union of Opinions is certainly very desirable; but that an Union of Charity will serve the same Purpose; and that the latter of these might have been easily brought about, whereas the Nature of Mankind makes the other absolutely impracticable.

Reflections on that Act.

After the Establishment of the Church by the Act of Uniformity, some Consideration was had of the Case of many of the Clergy. It has been, and still is, the Disgrace of our Countrey, that so many of those Men, whom we reverence as Representatives of our spiritual Lord and Master, live in such low Circumstances,



A.D. 1662. cumstances, as renders them mean and contemptible in their outward Appearance, and obliges them to descend too often below the Dignity of their Function. This Abuse it was proposed to remedy by providing a better Maintenance for the Clergy. A Bill was therefore brought into Parliament for Rules and Orders to be observed in the Augmentation of poor Vicarages, and other insufficient Cures. But some interested Persons found Means to refer this Matter to the King's Instructions. The King therefore sent his Letters to the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, requiring them, that Provision be made forthwith for Augmentation of all such Vicarages and Cures, where the Tithes and Profits are appropriated to them and their Successors, in such Manner, that they who immediately attend upon the Performance of ministerial Offices, in every Parish, may have a competent Portion for their Maintenance. These Letters were cheerfully complied with; and considerable Augmentations were made in most Parishes appropriated to Ecclesiastical Corporations. But the Lay Impropiators were more self-interested, and refused to obey the King's Directions. It had been to be wished that some Care had been taken to apply Part at least of vast Sums, that arose at this Time from the Fines paid upon Church Lands, towards this Augmentation. For the Church having been twenty Years deprived of her Possessions, the Leases for Time had most of them determined; and by the Wars that had raged so long, many Leases for Lives too were fallen into the Hands of the Incumbents. The Sums that arose from the Renewal of these Leases, are said to have amounted to a Million and half; which properly applied, might have effectually removed that Scandal from our Church. But this was either not thought of, or neglected; and so this vast Treasure came into the Hands of the Bishops, and other Dignitaries, who got great Wealth into their private Purses, which might have been more usefully employed. Thus all the Hopes and Means of redressing this great Evil vanished one after another. The House of Commons seemed well disposed to a Remedy, and made several good Resolves to that Purpose. But either the publick Affairs requiring their Care, or private Avarice of Lay Patrons and Impropiators, or the Irreligion and Profaneness which began to shew it self at Court, or all together, brought these hopeful Advances to nothing.

We took Notice above of the fruitless Attempt made last Year, to bring the *Algerine* Pirates to Reason. A Resolution was taken to make them more sensible than before of the Power of an *English* Fleet. Sir *John Lawson* sailed with a strong Squadron into the *Streights* upon the same Errand, to demand a Treaty from the Pirates upon the *African* Coast, and their Agreement to former Articles. The King was now possessed of *Tangier*, in the Mouth of the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*; where his Fleets having a near

and safe Retreat, he was like to become a troublesome Neighbour to those Pirates, who could hardly move without Danger of falling in with the King's Ships, so long as he was their Enemy. Therefore when Sir *John Lawson* appeared, they were glad to make Peace upon as good Terms as they could. Upon this Occasion a noble Collection was made among the Clergy to redeem the King's Subjects who were in Slavery at *Algier*. This was carried by two of their own Body, the Archdeacon of *Bath*, and a Prebendary, who ransomed an hundred and fifty *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Slaves: A Charity that cannot be too much admired or commended.

The Corporations were now modelling by Commissioners according to the Act above-mentioned, and the Walls of *Glocester*, *Conventry*, *Northampton*, *Taunton*, *Leicester*, and other Places that had held out against the late King, were ordered to be demolished; the County Troops and Militia attending the Demolition. A Plot was discovered about the End of the Year to destroy the King, the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and Major General *Brown*; to seize the *Tower of London*, and *Windsor-Castle*; and to bring about an Insurrection under *Ludlow*, and other Republican Officers in the late Army. The Persons concerned were Anabaptists, and Fifth-Monarchy Men, all of mean Condition; of which six were taken, arraigned and convicted at the *Old-Bailey*, and four executed. These confessed their Knowledge of the Design; but some alledged they were drawn in by others. The Names of those who were executed were *George Philips*, *Thomas Tongue*, *Francis Stubbs*, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*.

Hitherto the Government of these Kingdoms held on its Course with a prosperous Gale, and fair Weather. But now those Vapours which had so long floated about in the Air, invisible and unperceived, began so to increase, that they could no longer conceal themselves. There appeared a little Cloud in the serene Sky, which, tho' dissipated for a Time, gathered again, and grew at last into so violent and dangerous an Hurricane, that the fair Ship of the *English* Constitution had like to have been shipwreck'd in it. The Causes of this unhappy Change we shall lay before the Reader with all the Clearness we can.

The King, tho' he made hitherto so good an Appearance outwardly, was not at the Bottom the Man he seemed to be. He had given himself up to Lewdness and Debauchery, and had shaken off all Principles of Religion. He hated Business, partly out of a natural and indulged Laziness, and partly because it interfered with his Pleasures. His Aim was to spend as much Time in Amusements or Diversions, as he possibly could; without considering or regarding any other End of Life. There is Reason to believe he had professed himself a Papist at the *Pyrenean* Treaty; not out of any Conviction of Conscience, but in Hopes of getting Assistance from

The Care of the Parliament for the Clergy.

They submit.

A Plot discovered.

Frustrated.

The publick Happiness interrupted.

Another Attempt on the Algerines.

The Causes of this Alteration.



A.D. 1662. from the *French* and *Spanish* Ministers there met together. But that Project failing, this was kept a great Secret, and known to very few. His favourite Companions were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other dissolute Persons; so that by his and their Example, the whole Court became by Degrees abandoned to all Debauchery and Vice. 'Tis no Wonder that a Prince, thus disposed, and thus accompanied, was easily induced to make an Alteration in his Measures for the worse.

Those excellent Counsellors who had advised him hitherto were still consulted by him; but the Earl of *Southampton* being very much incommoded in his Health, began to withdraw from Court; the Duke of *Ormond* was removed, by being made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and Secretary *Nicholas*, another of that excellent Body, was obliged by his Age to resign his Place. The Lord Chancellor, whose Confidence with the King had been entire and absolute hitherto, could not but decline in his Interest, by the Absence of so many kind Supporters and Friends. And besides, his inflexible and strict Sentiments of Virtue and Religion could not be agreeable to the Companions and Sharers of their Prince's unlawful Pleasures, whose Wit and Industry were therefore employed to lessen him in the King's Favour. And the Checks he had given to the inconsiderate Loyalty of some, and the infamous Servility of others, who were for loading the Crown with such Revenue and Prerogative as would have ruined the People's Liberties, had been deeply rooted in the King's Mind; who grew weary of the Courtship necessary to obtain those Supplies of Treasure, which must be by Law the free Gift of his Subjects; and could have been content to sacrifice the Liberties of a brave and generous People that loved him, to a Desire of Ease, and an Aversion to Trouble. This added Force to the other Impressions made to the Disadvantage of this great Man; who by the unavoidable Fate of those high Stations, was envied by all below him, and made to bear the Blame of many Things in which he had no Hand; and by his Virtue and Integrity, became hated by all those vicious and ill-designing Persons, who are too often hovering about the Ears of Princes. But he was now only nodding; his Interest indeed was declining, but it was slowly and insensibly.

The King publishes a Declaration dispensing with the Act of Uniformity.

The King published a Declaration in *December*, in which, amongst other Things, he dispensed with the Penalties imposed by the Act of Uniformity on Dissenters. This was done upon an Application made to the King by the Presbyterians to that End. What the Reason was that moved the King to be so favourable to the Dissenters, was then uncertain. But it has since appeared that it was brought about by the Papists, of whom the Earl of *Bristol* had great Confidence with the King. That Earl, either not apprehending the Opposition that was made to it afterwards by the Parliament, or hurried on by the notorious Impetuosity of his own Temper, pushed

the King upon this disagreeable Step; in A.D. 1662, hopes that the same dispensing Power which was used to the Dissenters, might in Time be extended to the *Roman* Catholicks.

About a Month after this Declaration was published, the Parliament met. The King in his Speech took Notice to them of his Declaration; which he told them he had issued out to cure the Distempers and Differences that were then abroad; at the same Time declaring his own particular Affection for the Church of *England*. But he said, that for the same Reasons that he had issued out his Declaration, he could wish that he were furnished with a Power of Indulgence, to be made Use of upon some extraordinary Occasions. The Parliament heard these Things with less Compliance than the King seems to have expected from them; whether it were that they had any Suspicion of the true Reasons of issuing this Declaration; or whether it proceeded from the little Tendernefs they generally shewed to the Nonconformists; or whether they conceived it was too great a Stretch of the Royal Prerogative, is uncertain. The House of Commons appointed a Day to consider of the King's Declaration Speech; and resolved thereupon, to present to the King their humble Advice, that no Indulgence be granted to the Dissenters from the Act of Uniformity: and presented accordingly their Address, and Reasons against the same. The King was not pleased with this; but received them however with great Civility, and told them he believed he was not rightly understood, but that he would send them an Answer in some Time; which he did in about a Fortnight after, signifying, that he would make no Reply to the Reasons they had given against his Declaration; and thus this little Gust of Wind passed off.

During this Session of Parliament, an Attack was made upon the Lord Chancellor from an unexpected Quarter. The Earl of *Bristol* and He had been great and fast Friends for many Years. In the Lord *Clarendon's* excellent History of the Rebellion, their Friendship is frequently mentioned; the Earl of *Bristol* being then Lord *Digby*. This Lord was a Man of very great Parts, but by an Impetuosity of Temper, he either could not, or would not govern, capable of equal Extravagancies. This Nobleman was of the Church of *Rome*; which though it produced a Difference of Sentiments as to Religion and Politicks, between himself and his Friend, had no Effect while the King was in Banishment, and stripped of his Power. But upon the Restoration, the Chancellor's unmoveable Care of the Church of *England*, and other Differences in State Affairs, began to cool the Friendship of the Earl of *Bristol* to him. At length, as 'tis said, upon a Denial the Lord Chancellor made to a Request of the Earl's which he thought unjust, the Earl broke out into a declared Enmity with him, with all the Fury that could be expected from his fiery Temper, and a long Friendship dissolved. Accordingly he made an artful

An Attack upon the Lord Chancellor.



A.D. 1663. ful and bitter Speech against him in the House of Lords; and July 10. exhibited Articles of High-Treason, and other Crimes against him.

The Articles would take up too much room if they were inserted at Length; which we think besides unnecessary, since they had no Consequence. They were exactly suited to the vehement and ungovernable Passion of the Accuser; for no Man who was Master of himself, would have offered them. They were sixteen in Number; all doubtful, many trifling, others contradictory. The fourth Article is particularly remarkable, and may serve for a Specimen of the rest. He there lays it to his Charge, that in pursuance of the Chancellor's traitorous Designs, some Friends and Dependants of his had said aloud, that were it not for his standing in the Gap, Popery would be introduced into this Kingdom. Had this been ever so true, to make a Minister accountable for all the weak Things his Friends or Dependants may say, would be very strange. In the ninth Article he is charged also with the Discourses of his Emissaries.

Coldly received.

This Accusation was very coldly received, it appearing from the Articles themselves, that it was the Effect of private Rancour, and not of any deliberate Concern for the King's Honour, or the publick Good. An important Question also arose about it; whether this Charge were regularly and legally brought in; for it was directly against a Statute then in Force, that one Peer should bring Articles of High-Treason against another in the House of Lords. So that the Manner, as well as the Matter of this Charge evidently shewed how much the Author was blinded by his Passion.

These Things being so clear, the House instead of entering into the Merits of the Cause, made the following Order: "That a Copy of the Articles exhibited by the Earl of Bristol against the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief Justice; who, with all the rest of the Judges, were to consider whether the said Charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, and how; and whether there be any Treason in it, or no; and make Report to the House."

Rejected.

The Judges shortly made their Report, that by the Laws of this Realm, a Charge of High-Treason cannot be originally exhibited by one Peer against another Peer in the House of Lords; so that the abovementioned Charge was not regularly and legally brought in: And that if the Matters there alledged were admitted to be true, there was no Treason in them. Some Lords who were Friends to the Chancellor inferred, that if it was not regularly and legally brought in, it was a Libel, and ought to be condemned, and the Author of it censured. The Earl of Bristol finding the Effects of his inconsiderate Rashness, endeavoured to extenuate what he had done, by saying he meant it not as a Charge, but as an Infor-

mation. The Lords upon the whole unanimously declared their Concurrence with the Judges; so that the Chancellor came off with Victory and Honour. His Adversary quite lost his Reputation, being ever after looked on as capable of the greatest Extravagances.

These Proceedings were not long finished, when the King resolving upon a Recess, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July came to the House of Peers, and having passed the Bills ready for him, put an End to the Session.

The Parliament breaks up.

The Parliament did not meet again till eight Months after; part of which Time the King spent in a Progress. But about the same Time a Discovery was made of a Plot by some Republicans; the Scene of which lay in the North of England. Their Design was, to re-establish the Long-Parliament, to disannul the Excise and all Subsidies, and to reform the Lawyers and Clergy; and to this Purpose several of them appeared in Arms at Farnley-Wood in Yorkshire. But some of the principal Conspirators being secured, and the Times and Places of their Rendezvous known, the Militia were drawn out, and some regular Troops sent into Yorkshire, which took several of them, and prevented the Execution of the Design. A Commission of Oyer and Terminer was sent down to York, to try the principal Leaders, most of whom were Conventicle-Preachers, or old Parliament Soldiers. It appeared by the Evidence, that the Plot had been in Agitation near two Years; that the Rising was to begin in Ireland, and to follow next in England, and then in Scotland; and that Lambert and Ludlow were to be at the Head of it. One and twenty Persons were found guilty; of which the greatest Part were executed.

A Plot by the Republicans.

This was the only material Occurrence that happened before the Parliament met again. The King in his Speech mentioned to them this Conspiracy; telling them, that though it was disappointed, he was not yet got to the Bottom of it. He then mentioned to them the Act for Triennial Parliaments passed in the late Reign; and in a very obliging Manner, desired them to consider the dishonourable Clauses it contained, and how unsuitable they were to the Dignity of the Crown.

The Parliament meets.

That the Act for Triennial Parliaments, passed in the Time of King Charles I. bore indeed very hard upon the King's Prerogative, may be seen by the Account of it above. The Commons having a Confidence in the King's Honour, or thinking it too great a Diminution of the Crown to be so cramped, obliged the King by passing a Bill for the Repeal of it. By the late Plots against the King, the Dissenters, who were thought by their Principles Favourers of such Disturbances, were exposed to the Resentment of the Houses. Therefore a Bill was passed against Conventicles; by which a pecuniary Mulct was laid on them. For the first Offence the Penalty was five Pounds, or the suffering three Months Imprisonment; for the second, ten Pounds or six Months Imprisonment;

The Triennial Act repealed.

A Bill against Conventicles.



A.D.1664. prisonment; for the third, an hundred Pounds, or Transportation to some of the Plantations.

Reflections thereon.

This Act was variously approved and censured. It was said, that the Dissenters were of so perverse a Disposition, that they would be sooner crushed and extirpated than satisfied. That the Church could never be safe, if her Enemies were allowed the Liberty of drawing unwary Persons from her Communion; which would be continually done by the Dissenters if they could get their Way of Worship tolerated. That the Church and State were so closely united, that the Enemies to the one must be so to the other. That the Injuries the Dissenters offered to the Church in the Times of Rebellion would fully justify any Severity that could be used to them now. All the Disloyalty and Enthusiasm between 1640. and 1660. was remembered with full Aggravation: So that the Conventicles of the Dissenters were looked on as Nests of Sedition; and according to some, it was impossible for a Dissenter not to be a Rebel. It was said, that by a strict Hand held over them for some Time, they would moulder away by Degrees, and the Nation would arrive at that desirable Union in religious Matters, which alone could preserve a State secure and quiet. On the other hand it was said, that imposing a Penalty on a Matter of Conscience, serves only to put a Sword into the Hands of Knaves and Fools; the most violent Prosecutors of such Laws being always fetched out of those two Classes of Mankind. That the Dissenters were a considerable Part of the Nation, and chiefly concerned in Trade; and therefore it would be very impolitick in a Countrey whose Wealth depends on Commerce, to make so great a Number of trading Subjects uneasy, who might be tempted for the Sake of Quiet and Security in their Religious Worship, to go over to *Holland* or to some of our Plantations; which could not be done without inconceivable Damage to the Publick. That admitting a great Perverseness in some of the Leaders, it was both uncharitable and ridiculous to suppose all of that Body to be possessed with such an unaccountable Spirit of Contradiction, as some suggested. That even supposing they were so, such a Prosecution was not the Way to mend them; since the Nature of Mankind is, ever to cling the faster to those Opinions which others seek to extort from them by Violence. That in Matters of Policy the middle Way is always pernicious; Prosecutions for Conscience Sake must be either quite let alone, or be cruel and rigorous to the utmost Degree. In *Spain* and *Italy*, the Inquisition against Hereticks, by stopping their Ears to all the Cries of humane Pity or Christian Charity, have indeed thoroughly rooted out all Differences in Religion. But if this Barbarity appears, as it certainly ought to do, shocking and monstrous, there is no middle Way to be taken; lighter Prosecutions only serving to increase and inflame the Evil; they provoke, but do not terrify.

A.D.1664. And therefore the only Way left was to treat the Dissenters with Gentleness and Tenderness; which, whether it had Success or no, was the only fit Method that could give Hopes of it.

When these Parliamentary Affairs were over, the next Concern that took up Mens Thoughts was, the Probability of a War with *Holland*. In Prospect of this, the King endeavoured to strengthen himself by an Alliance with *Spain*; whither he sent Sir *Richard Fanshawe* as Ambassador. But a weak Prince being at the Head of the Councils there, he found them busied in extravagant Designs. They were entirely bent upon an Enterprize absolutely impossible in their Circumstances, the Reduction of *Portugal*; and their Eagerness that Way, added to the Loss of *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk*, made them deaf to any Overtures of another kind, and especially coming from the King. So that the imminent Danger of their Monarchy from their powerful and ambitious Neighbours of *France*, the dying Condition of their King, and the Prospect of a weak Successor, was not sufficient to waken them from their Dream, or to appease their Resentment so far, as to induce them to accept the Offer of an Alliance with *England*.

The Lord *Hollis* was sent to *France*, to keep as good a Correspondence there as he could. But that Court was now setting forward that great Project of an universal Monarchy, which was for forty Years together the Terror, and afterwards the Scorn and Derision of *Europe*. This Scheme began to be executed by an Agreement with the *Dutch* for a Partition of the *Austrian Netherlands*; which those Provinces came into, without considering that they divided with the Lion. But the Power of *France*, which has since been so formidable, was then in its Infancy; and the Hatred that had continued so long between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* made the former greedily embrace a Project which seemed attended with so much Advantage to themselves, and so much Prejudice to their old Enemy. Therefore the Lord *Hollis* did nothing of Importance at the *French* Court; which was united in Interest with the *Hollanders*. And besides the *French* were well pleased to set on the Quarrel between these two Maritime Powers, in hopes that by the Ruin of the Naval Force on both Sides by a bloody War, their own, which they increased and cultivated with the utmost Industry and Care, might come the nearer to an Equality with them.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of *November* the Parliament met again according to Prorogation. This Session was opened by a Speech from the King; containing little more than usual Civility. When he had finished his Speech, he told the Houses, that he did intend the Lord Chancellor should have made a Narrative concerning the Treaty and Proceedings with the *Dutch*; but that the Chancellor being laid up with the Gout, he had caused the Narrative to be put in Writing, which was delivered to both Houses. The Parliament went

A War with *Holland* approaching. Negotiations with *Spain*.

With *France*.

Fruitless.

The Parliament meets.



A.D. 1664. on with their former Vigour, and the next Day after the King's Speech, both Houses resolved, that their Thanks be given first to his Majesty for his Speech and Narrative, and secondly to the City of *London*, for a Loan of Money they had advanced to the King before the Meeting of the Parliament, to carry on the *Dutch* War. At the same Time the House of Commons resolved, notwithstanding the Difficulty of raising such a Sum, to grant the King a Supply of 2500000*l.* in three Years towards the *Dutch* War. Having spent three Weeks in finding Ways and Means to raise this Money, they adjourned; and during their Recess the King published a Declaration for allowing Letters of Marque, or Reprisals upon the *Dutch*.

War declared against *Holland*. The Parliament meeting again after *Christmas*, and the King having passed the great Money-Bill, a Declaration of War was drawn up by his Order against the States-General, containing in Substance, Complaints of many Wrongs suffered by his Subjects by the Depredations of the *Hollanders*, and of the fruitless Demands made by him for Reparation and Satisfaction. Some Time after, some Bills of no great Importance being made ready for the Royal Assent, the King came and passed them; and prorogued the Parliament to the 21<sup>st</sup> of *June*, after which they were again prorogued to the 1<sup>st</sup> of *August*, and a third Time to the 9<sup>th</sup> of *October*. And here ended the fifth Session of this Parliament. Two Days after their breaking up, the Declaration of War against the *Dutch* was proclaimed with the usual Forms.

The Causes that moved the two Nations to fall out with that Heat and Fury that afterwards appeared, are not so evident. On our Side, the Wrongs received were manifest; otherwise the Parliament and City had not so zealously concurred, the one in granting Supplies, the other in Loans of Money, as they did. Yet 'tis observable that the Chancellor and Earl of *Southampton* were against it, and therefore declined setting their Names to the Declaration of War. The King is said not to have been very warm in it; but the Duke of *York* promoted it with all his Power; and to him, and the ill Arts of Sir *George Downing*, our Minister in *Holland*, this War is chiefly attributed. What it was that moved the *Dutch* to be guilty of those Injuries that so provoked the *English* Nation is not clear. It is most probable, that a Jealousy of the Increase of our Trade from a Spirit of Industry and Parsimony arising at that Time in *England*, more than usual, and their secret Correspondence with the King of *France*, moved and encouraged them to offer those Insults; and the more, because in the Reigns of former Kings such Actions of theirs had passed with Impunity thro' the Weakness or Negligence of our Government.

A.D. 1665. On *March* 4. the King's Declaration of War was published; and the latter End of the same Month, the Duke of *York* set out to go on Board the Fleet. When he arrived there, the *Dutch* were not ready to come out.

They had found themselves mistaken in their A.D. 1665. Measures, and now declined the War they had so inconsiderately provoked. The *French* King being their secret Ally, they solicited his Mediation. Tho' he desired in his Heart the Continuance of the War, he could not refuse them that Appearance of Friendship; and sent two Ambassadors to *England*, whose Arrival stopped for some Time all hostile Proceedings. But the Propositions they made (being, perhaps too, not sincerely insisted on) were not assented to. The Popish Party at Court, whose Influence was great tho' secret, took the Opportunity to encourage such extravagant Demands, as could not but produce a War, which they knew would weaken the Protestant Interest, and perhaps ruin the Commonwealth of *Holland*. It is said also, that some of the Ministers thinking the *Dutch* would submit to any Thing rather than stand a War, encouraged those Demands in Hopes of being bought off.

In *May* the War began; and the *English* Cruisers took several *Dutch* Ships. The Duke of *York* set Sail with 109 Men of War and Frigates, and 28 Fireships and Ketches, and made over to the Coast of *Holland*. They lay some Time before the *Texel*, but a Storm arising so damaged their Sails and Rigging, that they were obliged to return to the *English* Coast. The *English* were no sooner gone than the *Dutch* put out to Sea. Their Fleet consisted of 112 Men of War, and 30 Fire-Ships and Tenders, commanded in Chief by Admiral *Obdam*. They met nine rich *English* Ships coming from *Hamburg*, which they took. The Value of those Ships was between two and three hundred Thousand Pounds.

The Duke of *York* having repaired the Damage done in the late Storm, put out to Sea. He met the *Dutch* Fleet not far from the Coast of *Harwich* on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *June*; but the *Dutch* avoided fighting, because they had received a terrible Overthrow from Admiral *Monk* on that Day twelve Years. Next Day the Fight began at three in the Morning. The Fleets charged thro' each other several Times, without any remarkable Advantage. At last they came to a close Fight. The Duke of *York* in a Ship of eighty Guns, and Admiral *Obdam* in one of eighty four, fell Side to Side, and a fierce Engagement arose between them. The Duke was in great Danger. The Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry* and Mr. *Boyle* standing by his Side, were all killed by one Cannon-Ball. At last in the Heat of the Fight, the Powder aboard the *Dutch* Admiral taking Fire, the whole Ship with all that it contained, was carried up into the Air in a Moment. Out of five hundred Men that were aboard only five were saved; all the rest either perished by the Blast, or were thrown into the Sea and drowned. About the same Time the Earl of *Sandwich* with the blue Squadron, fell into the Centre of the *Dutch* Fleet which put them into Confusion. Four of their Ships, one of sixty, one of

The *French* King mediates.

To no purpose.

The beginning of the War.

The *Dutch* Admiral blown up.



A.D.1665. of fifty, one of forty four, and one of forty Guns, fell foul on each other; which the *English* perceiving, sent out a Fireship, which, as they were so entangled, burnt them all together. Soon after, three others of the best *Dutch* Ships suffered the same Fate. A Ship of seventy five Guns, being disabled, was also burnt by the *English*. So many of their Ships flaming on every Side, made it seem as if the whole *Dutch* Fleet were on Fire, and they had lost their Admiral and two Vice-Admirals; so that being now no longer able to withstand the Fury of the *English*, they sought their Safety in their Flight. About eight in the Evening thirty or forty of their Ships went off, and left the rest to follow as well as they could. The Loss on both Sides is, as usual, differently represented. It is certain that the *Dutch* received a terrible Defeat, and that their Loss was vastly greater than that of the *English*.

The *Dutch*  
fly.

The Victory  
ill pursued.

This Overthrow was so entire, that if the *English* Fleet had pursued the *Dutch*, their whole Fleet must have been destroyed. But the Cause of that Omission is variously told. Some say that the Wind blew cross, and besides that the *English* had spent all their Fire-Ships. Others say, that the Servants of the Duke of York had Directions to keep him as much as could be out of Danger. That the Duke being fatigued with the Labour of so long and fierce an Engagement, laid him down to Sleep, ordering all the Sail possible to be made after the *Dutch*; and that he should be waked when they came up with the *Dutch* Fleet. But one of his Domesticks remembring his Directions in *England*, took upon him to order Sail to be slackened in the Duke's Name, without his Knowledge. So it came to pass, that when the Duke awaked, the *Dutch* had made so much Way before him, that it was in vain to follow.

This Victory brought great Honour to the Duke. His Personal Courage, which was truly remarkable, being set off by the Varnish that is always used to the Actions of Persons of his Rank, gave him universally the Character of an Hero. At the same Time it filled *Holland* with Consternation. The Pensionary *De Witte* was obliged to appease it, by laying this Defeat to the ill Behaviour of the Officers. Some of them were punished with Death, and some with Ignominy; and he resolved to go aboard the next Fleet in Person.

While the Losses sustained in the last Action were repairing in *England*, it was agreed not to suffer the Duke of York to hazard himself any more. Therefore the Command was now given to the Earl of Sandwich. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of July he weighed from *Solebay*, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, to wait for the *Dutch* Admiral *De Ruyter*, then upon his Return home from an Expedition he had made against some of our Factories and Colonies in *Africa* and *America*. But he having Intelligence of this, went round by the North of *Scotland*, and crept home by the Coast of *Norway* and *Denmark*.

A rich Fleet from the *Streights* and the *East-Indies*, of the Value of some Millions, took the same Course as *De Ruyter*, not daring to venture thro' the Channel. When they were come into the *German* Ocean, they had Intelligence of the late Defeat of their Countreymen at Sea, which making their Return home dangerous, they chose to take Shelter in the Port of *Bergben* in *Norway*, under the Protection of the King of *Denmark*, till a secure Convoy could be sent them.

A.D.1665.  
An Attempt  
upon the  
*Dutch* *East-India* Fleet in  
the Harbour  
of *Bergben* in  
*Norway*.

The Earl of Sandwich hearing this, detached Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* with twelve or fourteen Men of War, and three Fireships, to attack them, himself following them. The *Dutch* had Notice of his coming beforehand, and provided themselves to receive him. They raised Batteries on the Shore, ranged their largest Ships in a Line to defend the rest, presented the *Danish* Governor with 12000 Rix-Dollars to make him more hearty in their Defence, and assisted him in fortifying the Citadel and Fort. *Tiddiman* came before the Place, and boldly went in with his Squadron. But when he had gained the Entrance of the Port, the Wind chopping about obliged him to drop Anchor within half Musket Shot of the Citadel; where he began to fire upon the *Dutch* Ships in the Harbour. The *Danish* Governor of *Bergben* was obliged to defend the *Dutch*, to preserve the Honour of his Master, under whose Protection they had put themselves. So that the *English* were not only shot at from the *Dutch* Ships and Batteries, but from the *Danish* Citadel and Fort. The Fight was furious and obstinate. But the Citadel stood so low, and the *English* Ships were obliged to anchor so near it, that the Cannon there battered them so terribly that they could endure it no longer. Several Men of War were disabled, and *Tiddiman's* own Ship was just ready to sink. The Wind that hindered their farther Entrance into the Port, proved now an Advantage, by giving them an Opportunity of getting out; for if they had continued there a little longer, the Ships had been all destroyed. So they slipped their Cables, and made haste to join the Grand Fleet.

The *English*  
retire.

This is the Account given at that Time of this Transaction. But it is now known, that the Kings of *England* and *Denmark* had agreed to share between them the Spoils of that rich Fleet. To this End it was concerted, that as soon as the *English* attack'd the *Dutch*, the *Danish* Governor should at first storm and threaten furiously, but afterwards under Pretence of his Inability to resist the *English*, abandon the *Dutch* to them. But this Project, which was no very honourable one, was disappointed by the *English* Commanders, who looking upon the *Dutch* Fleet as a sure Prey, would not wait the Arrival of the Orders from *Copenhagen* to the Governor. This obliged him to defend the *Dutch* in the Manner he did; since without particular Directions, it would have cost him his Head had he tamely suffered such an Affront to

The Secret  
History of  
that Trans-  
action.



A.D. 1665. to be offered to his Master. The next Day the Orders came. The Governor sent Notice of this to the *English*, but at the same Time let them know, that by their Precipitation they had made them useless; for that he must be obliged to send an Account of what had passed the Day before, and wait for the Return of the Express, with fresh Orders for his Behaviour upon this new Occurrence, which could not be done in less than twenty Days. However, he said, if they would stay so long, he would engage to keep the *Dutch* there. But the *English* Captains were fullen upon their Disappointment, and sailed away. These rich Ships were afterwards fetched off by the whole *Dutch* Fleet of Men of War. But in their Return home they met with such a violent Storm, that many of them fell into the Hands of the *English*, being parted from the main Body by Strefs of Weather.

The Plague  
in London.

But while these Things were done abroad, the Nation was visited at home by a dreadful Judgment from above. A fierce Pestilence raged in the City with such Fury, that near an hundred Thousand Persons were carried off by it, in the City of *London* alone. But its Ravages stopped not there, but spread themselves from Town to Town throughout the Kingdom. It first appeared in the middle of *May*, in the City of *London*; being occasioned, as some say, by infected Goods brought from *Holland*. It continued there many Months with so great a Mortality, that the City was turned into a Wilderness and a Solitude; almost all Persons who had Means and Opportunity of escaping, flying into the Country from the fierce Destroyer; insomuch, that the Grass was said to grow in the middle of *Cheapside*. This Desolation continued for six or seven Months in the City; after which Time, by the usual Providence which it pleases God to shew in these Calamities, the Fury of it abated, and a new Face of Things gradually came on. It spread at last into the Country, with a Violence almost equal to that in *London*; and it was not thoroughly over till the End of the next Year.

The Bishop  
of Munster  
joins with the  
King against  
the Dutch.

About *August* the King received Assistance in the *Dutch* War from an unexpected Quarter. The Bishop of *Munster*, whose Territories are contiguous to those of *Holland* on the *German* Side, sent over to the King a Proposal, to enter into an Alliance with him against the *Dutch*. He saw that State engaged with a powerful Enemy, and upon the losing Side: And being a bold and resolute Man, very ambitious, and incited by a mortal Hatred he bore them, for some Injuries real or pretended, he thought it a proper Opportunity to gratifie his Revenge by attacking them, and his Ambition by making a Noise in the World. His Proposal was easily complied with, and the famous Sir *William Temple* was sent over to cultivate the Correspondence.

The Bishop of *Munster* was better furnished with Men, than with Money to pay them; he therefore agreed with the King, upon the

Payment of certain Sums of Money, to take A.D. 1665. the Field with a good Army, and fall upon the *Dutch*. This Undertaking promised great Effects. The *Dutch* so little expected an Attack from that Quarter, that the Bishop had raised an Army of 16000 Men, without giving them the least Umbrage. And their Republick was in a very ill Condition to receive such an Invasion; having more than enough upon them by the War with *England*, and their ill Success in it. But as it often comes to pass, that the Success of Enterprizes does not answer the Expectations conceived, so it happened here.

The War with *Holland* gave Hopes to the Republican Party, who were now busy in concerting Matters with their Friends in *England*, and *Holland*, for an Invasion and Insurrection. But it all ended in Smoke. *De Witte* saw the Impracticableness of any such Undertakings; and besides that, if by any Chance that could not reasonably be hoped for, the Design should succeed, it must end in the Ruine of *Holland*, which had felt before the Power of an *English* Republick. And his Influence was more than sufficient to quash so difficult an Enterprize. Besides, the Court of *England* had such Intelligence of their Designs, that by the apprehending of some here, all Things were kept quiet.

The Parliament met at *Oxford*, *October* 9. The King's Speech to them tended to shew the Necessity of fresh Supplies, and to give the usual Assurances of their being carefully and frugally managed. The Chancellor, according to his Custom, made a long and excellent Speech; in which he took some Notice of the secret Machinations of the Republicans abovementioned.

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

The House of Commons immediately voted their Thanks to the King, in which the Lords concurred with them. And being firmly resolved to maintain the Honour of their Prince and Countrey, they voted a Supply of 1250000*l.* and a Bill was brought in to that Purpose. And upon the Information they had received from the Chancellor of the Transactions of the *English* fugitive Republicans, they ordered another Bill to be brought in, by which they were enjoined to return by such a Day, or be attainted of High Treason. They also brought in a third Bill for a Present of 120000*l.* to the Duke of *York*.

Their Pro-  
ceedings.

But the most remarkable Act passed this Session was, that which is called the Five Mile Act. By this, the Oath abovementioned, of Illegality of Resistance to the King, &c. was imposed upon all the silenced Ministers, under Pain, in Case of Refusal, of not coming within five Miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had served, unless upon a Journey. This Act gave Room for the same Disputations as have been mentioned before upon the other Acts against the Nonconformists. It was also added, that Oaths of a doubtful Nature, enforced by a Penalty, always bring the greatest Inconvenience to those who least deserve it, the sincerely conscientious, and truly

Reflections  
thereon.



A.D.1665. ly religious. That as such Oaths are therefore very improper, so also of little Use; because those who suffer by them, are of all Persons the least obnoxious to Governments, as being so wholly taken up in a silent and calm Provision for a better Life, as to have no Leisure to attend the turbulent Affairs of this. Whereas restless and ambitious Persons who have Designs to carry on, from whom Governments have the most to fear, never suffer those Oaths to stand in their Way. This Act being also passed in a Time of War, and of a general Calamity, made it the more hardly censured. And as it always happens, the Compassion of the Party was so much raised, that those who suffered by it were more plentifully assisted at that Time than ever. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of October the King came and passed these Bills, and others of less Importance, and prorogued the Parliament to February 20.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Bishop of Munster invades Friesland.

The two warring Powers of *England* and *Holland*, were now preparing for the Actions of the next Year. The *Dutch* had very manifestly the worse the last Summer in the Fight at Sea; and they were as hard pressed by Land. For the Bishop of *Munster*, in Consequence of his Agreement with the King, had advanced into *Friesland*, defeated several Parties of the *Dutch*, and taken some Towns. The *Dutch* applied themselves for Succour to the *French* King, on the Score of their late good Correspondence; and to the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as Persons concerned to quench a Fire kindling in their Neighbourhood. The Dukes of *Lunenburg* at first seemed warm, and the Bishop of *Osnabrug* of that Family, threatened to take Arms against him of *Munster*. But afterwards they laid aside these Intentions, and sent to excuse themselves to the King. The Elector of *Brandenburg* was more zealous. Himself, with the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, seeing this Flame break out, which must draw foreign Armies into the Empire, used first their friendly Offices with the Bishop, to prevail on him to make a Peace with *Holland*. But this failing, the Elector of *Brandenburg* drew his Forces into the Field, and resolved by joining with the *Dutch*, to compel him. The *French* added their Interposition to the same End; so that at last a Treaty was begun at *Cleve*. The Payments the King was to make to the Bishop, by several Accidents were not regularly performed: and this had a great Weight in disposing him to Agreement. Accordingly, after a short Treaty the Peace was signed; and thus this great Affair, which had made such a Noise in the World, ended in Smoke.

But soon after concludes a Peace with Holland.

The French King declares War against England.

The *French* King was sensible of the Superiority of the *English* at Sea; and being pressed by the *Dutch* to declare War against *England*, he began to listen to them. The *French* Court, as well as the *Dutch*, were drawn in upon a false Supposition, that the Discontents arising from the severe Treatment of the Dissenters, and the Remains of the ancient Republican Spirit, made the

King so feeble and insecure, that he would neither be able to raise Money, nor dare to enter into a War with two such Powers, who were so able to foment and assist those ill Humours. The Lord *Hollis* presented a Memorial to the *French* King, testifying his Master's Inclination to Peace; but at the same Time with a true *English* Courage, letting them know that he had no Reason to fear a War, tho' against two such mighty Powers. Nevertheless the *French* King published his Declaration of War, which was shortly after followed by that of the King of *Denmark*. This last took its Rise from the following Cause. The *English* Sea Officers, to excuse their own Misbehaviour in the Affair of *Bergben*, had found the Way so to misrepresent that Prince here, that the King thought his Conduct insincere. This Mistake produced a very unkind Remonstrance, reflecting on the Conduct of his *Danish* Majesty, which exasperated the ill Humour that King was already in, upon the Loss of so great a Booty; and laid him open to the Solicitations of the *Dutch*. So that a Treaty was secretly concluded with that Republick, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money. And the Affair being kept close while under Agitation, it was not known till it shewed itself in a dishonourable Seizure of all the Effects of our *English* Merchants throughout the *Danish* Ports. The King of *France* was more honourable, giving three Months Time to the *English* Merchants to transport themselves and their Goods out of his Dominions.

A.D.1665.

And the King of Denmark.

Shortly after this, the Queen had a Miscarriage of a Child; which shewed the Falsity of those Reports that had been spread of her Inability of conceiving Children. So that the Alienation of the King's Affections to her, did not arise from her Incapacity that Way, as is commonly thought; for the Marriage was certainly consummated, and we are told besides, that the King was well pleased with her upon the Wedding Night. But her Person and her Temper being not very agreeable, it could not be expected that they should fix a Man who was naturally a Rover, and made it his only Business and Care to study and gratify all his Inclinations.

The Queen miscarries.

The King now published his Declaration of War against the *French*; and upon this Occasion the *English* Courage shewed itself remarkably. After a devouring Pestilence had carried its Ravages through the Kingdom, they heard not only without Fear, but with the utmost Alacrity, this Declaration of War, which made two of our most dangerous Neighbours our Enemies. The Maritime Countries, with the greatest Readiness and Cheerfulness put themselves in a Posture of Defence; and offered the continual Attendance of their Militia in Arms; but the King would not put them to that Trouble and Expence.

The King declares War against France.

The Season of the Year was now come that called upon both Sides to prepare themselves for Action. The Duke of *Tork* being restrain-



A.D. 1665. restrained from hazarding his Person any more, and the Earl of *Sandwich* being sent Ambassador into *Spain*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, were jointly made Commanders for this Summer.

A.D. 1666. When the Fleet was in the *Downs*, Prince *Rupert* had Orders to go with the whole White Squadron towards the Mouth of the Channel, to meet and stop the *French* Squadron, which were then reported to be coming from *Belle-Isle* to join the *Dutch*. And this Separation of the Fleets was made upon another Report, that the *Dutch* would not be able to come out in six Weeks. But both these Rumours proved false, which had like to have been attended with fatal Consequences. The Duke of *Albemarle* stood over to the Coast of *Flanders*, and found there contrary to Expectation, above ninety Men of War fit for Action; whereas there were with himself fewer than sixty. It was nevertheless debated in a Council of the Flag-Officers, whether he should attack them, or not; and carried that he should. The *Dutch* so little expected such a Resolution, that being taken on the sudden, they were obliged to cut their Cables to put themselves in a Posture to receive him. This was done on the first of *June*, and the Fight was not quite ended till the fourth at Night.

A second  
Fight at Sea.

The first Day.

Sir John Har-  
man's Brave-  
ry.

It began with the most furious Efforts on both Sides. The *Dutch* hoped by the Inequality of Numbers, to revenge upon the *English* their former Losses and Disgraces; and the *English* strove to maintain their former Glory, and to justify by Success the daring Enterprize they had begun. The Battle continued till ten o'Clock at Night, with such loud Roarings of the Cannon on both Sides, that the Thunder of the Fight was heard in the City of *London*. The *English* had the Weather-Gage, by which the Wind cleared their Ships of those Clouds of Smoke, and that insupportable Stench of Powder that arises from the Discharge of the Cannon, and drove it in the Faces of the Enemy. On the other Hand, the Wind being high, bent their Ships so much towards the Side next the *Dutch*, that their lowest Fire of Guns lay so near the Water, that they became useless; whereas the *Dutch* Ships being bent towards that Side which lay from the *English*, could fire their whole Broadfides. *Tromp* pierced furiously through the *English* Squadrons, till his Ship lost all her Masts, and was so shattered, that he was forced to leave her. *De Ruyter* lost his Main-Top-Mast. One *Dutch* Ship was burnt; and Rear Admiral *Staghower* was killed. On the *English* Side, the Vice Admiral of the White, and two other Ships were taken by the *Dutch*, after the Loss of almost all their Men. Sir John Harman, Rear Admiral of the White, was disabled, and forced to retire to *Harwich*, but not without escaping great Dangers. After his Ship had been terribly shattered by the Cannon of the *Dutch* Men of War that surrounded her, they sent a Fire-Ship to complete her Destruction. It came close up to her Side, and being first grap-

pled fast to her, was set on Fire, that they might consume together. There arose at first such a thick Smoke from the Fire-Ship, that it could not be seen where the grappling Irons were fixed. But when the Fire burst out, the Boatwain of the Rear Admiral perceiving by the Light of the burning Ship, where those Irons were fastened, sprang on Board her amidst the Flames, and with incredible Dexterity and Activity got them loose, and having freed his own Vessel, came on Board her again. For this he was afterwards made a Captain. The *Dutch* then sent off a second, which grappled with the Rear Admiral, and set her on Fire. Fifty of the Seamen seeing their Ship on Fire, leaped into the Sea. But Sir John himself, with his Sword drawn, ran amongst his Men, threatening to kill all that should refuse to assist him in quenching the Flames, and getting loose from the Fire-ship. This so roused the Spirits of those who were left, that, surrounded with Enemies, and in a flaming Ship, they took Heart, and at last quenched the Fire. The Enemy seeing this, having in vain summoned him to surrender, sent off a third Fire ship. But before she came to board him, four Pieces of his lower Tire of Guns sent her to the Bottom. And firing another Broad-side, he killed the *Dutch* Vice Admiral *Evertsen*; after which the Enemy left him, and he got off safe to *Harwich*.

It was an extraordinary Thing that fewer than 60 Ships should stand so long against 90: But it was still more so, to find them the Aggressors the following Day: for the next Morning the *English* renewed the Fight. It continued all Day with terrible Destruction on both Sides, but with little apparent Advantage on either.

But the *Dutch* receiving that Evening a Reinforcement of sixteen Ships, the Admiral thought of retiring the next Day. He had held out a long Time against a great Inequality of Numbers. But that Disadvantage increasing by the Loss of his own Ships, and the Recruits the Enemy had received, he found himself unable to hold up against such mighty Odds. He therefore began his Retreat in good Order. But his Rigging was so much damaged, that he found himself under great Difficulties in making it. The *Dutch* had in this Fight made Use of a new Invention, said to be of *M. de Witte*. Instead of a single Shot as usual, they loaded their Guns with two Cannon Bullets, joined together by a strong Chain, which being discharged, spread themselves on each Hand; and carrying the Chain between them, cut every Thing to Pieces as far as that extended. This Contrivance made terrible Havock among the Sails, and Shrouds, and Yards of the *English* Ships; so that their Retreat was very slow, and dangerous; they being close followed by the *Dutch*. The *English* defended themselves like Men who had but little Hopes of escaping, and were resolved to make the Enemy pay dear for Victory. But towards the Evening they were encouraged with an unexpected Reinforcement.

The *English*  
Fleet in Dan-  
ger.

The *English*  
reinforced.



A.D. 1666. forcement. For Prince *Rupert*, directed by the Thunder of the Cannon, which was heard over all the neighbouring Seas, hastened to their Assistance, and was now in Sight, and quickly joined them. And such was the undaunted Spirit of the *English* Seamen, that tho' they were yet inferior to the *Dutch*, upon the Arrival of this Recruit, they turned about and attacked the Enemy. But the Night quickly came on, and parted them.

The fourth Day.

The fourth Day the *Dutch* were almost out of Sight; so that our Fleet, which was still inferior in Numbers, might have easily avoided the Fight. But the *English* Spirit was not yet tamed. Instead of retiring, they fiercely pursued a superior Enemy. About eight o'Clock in the Morning they overtook them, and the Fight began with new Fury; on the *English* Side, to revenge the Losses and Disadvantages of the former Days; and on the Side of the *Dutch*, to keep the Honour they had won. The Battle continued all Day with little Advantage on either Side. But at seven o'Clock a sudden Mist parted the two Fleets, leaving the Victory disputed. They were both so ill handled in the furious Combats they had been engaged in for four Days together, that they were well pleased to leave each other; and so retired to their several Coasts.

The Fleets retire.

The Advantage of the four Days Fight was plainly on the *Dutch* Side. The Courage of the Duke of *Albemarle* in attacking an Enemy so much superior in Number, was certainly to be admired; but the Hazard run by it, made his Conduct justly blameable. But the great Victories he had formerly obtained against the *Dutch*, made him despise them too much; and the same contemptuous Opinion of that Nation was spread through the whole *English* Fleet, which had like to have proved fatal to them. For had not Prince *Rupert* come up to their Assistance, in all Appearance the whole Fleet under the Duke of *Albemarle* had been destroyed, or taken.

The *Dutch*, who had hitherto been on the losing Side, were mightily elevated with the Advantage they had gained over the *English*. On the other Hand, tho' the Loss was on our Side, M. *de Witte* confessed, that the invincible Courage of our Countrymen shewed it self so gloriously in these Engagements, that our Nation got more Honour by these Losses, than by the former Victories. He said, he was sure their own People could never have been brought on the following Days, after the Disadvantages of the first; and that he believed no Nation was capable of it, but the *English*.

Both Parties were busie for some Time in repairing their Damages; and the *Dutch* having received the least Hurt, put out to Sea first. The *English* Fleet was not yet ready; so that the Enemy came before the *Thames*, and with great Ostentation, dated their Letters and Passports from on Board their Ships, in the Mouth of the River of *London*. But they had not been there long, before they saw the *English* Fleet coming down the Ri-

ver to meet them; upon which they immediately retired towards the Coast of *Holland*. A.D. 1666.

The *English* Fleet consisted of about eighty Men of War and Frigates, and eighteen or nineteen Fire-ships. The *Dutch* had eighty eight Men of War and Frigates, and about twenty Fire-ships. The former was divided into three Squadrons; the Red under Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, who were together in one Ship; the White under Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the Blue under Sir *Jeremy Smyth*. The *Dutch* were also divided into three main Squadrons, under the Command of *De Ruyter*, *Evertson*, and *Tromp*.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of July about Noon, the *English* came up with the Enemy, to the North East of the North Foreland. Sir *Thomas Allen* with the White Squadron, began the Fight. He attacked the *Dutch* Vice-Admiral *Evertson*. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke engaged *de Ruyter*. *Tromp* fell upon the Blue Squadron, under Sir *Jeremy Smyth*. Sir *Thomas Allen* put to Flight the *Friesland* and *Zealand* Squadrons under *Evertson*, who was killed, together with his Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral. The Ship of the *Zealand* Vice-Admiral *Bankert* being left, was taken by the *English* and burnt; as also a Ship of fifty Guns. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke were less successful, being obliged to leave their Ship, after a Fight of three Hours, and go on Board another. But being roused by the Example of the White Squadron, they redoubled their Fury against *de Ruyter*, and engaged him, Ship to Ship. And now the Victory inclined to the *English* on this Side also. The Ship *Guelderland* of sixty Guns (one of *de Ruyter's* Seconds) was quite disabled; and three Captains of his Squadron killed. The rest began to disengage themselves and trust to their Sails. *De Ruyter*, and his Vice-Admiral bravely stood the Shock as long as they could, but at last were forced to follow the others. *De Ruyter's* Ship was so disabled, and his Men were so fatigued, that he could make no Resistance.

When *Tromp* attacked the Blue Squadron, they soon gave Way to him. This is supposed by the *Dutch* Writers to have been done by Stratagem, to draw off *Tromp's* Squadron, which was the strongest of the *Dutch*, from the Assistance of his Friends. For the *English* there afterwards fought so well as to kill his Rear-Admiral, and to do much Damage to his Vice-Admiral. The Advantages gained by the *English* against the rest of the *Dutch* Fleet, turned the Scale here also.

Before the Fight ended there fell a great Calm, which hindered the *Dutch* Ships from making off, and the *English* from boarding them. This continued all Night and the next Day. Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle* followed *De Ruyter* close; but not being able to board him for want of Wind, sent a Fire-ship against him, but without Effect. Then they began to cannonade him with great Fury; which he not being able to return,

A third Fight at Sea.



A.D. 1666. return, between Shame and Grief, and Anger, was reduced to Despair. He is said to have cried out, *O my God, am I thus unfortunate? Is there not one Bullet among so many Thousands to put a Period to my Life?* But before the *English* Cannon could destroy his Ship, he was come so near to the Shallows on the *Dutch* Coast, that the *English* were obliged to give over the Chase.

They afterwards sailed along the Coast of *Holland*, alarming the Country, and taking Ships at the very Mouths of the Harbours; the *Dutch* being terribly surprized to find an Enemy they thought entirely disabled from appearing again that Year, insulting them upon their own Coasts in six Weeks after. Intelligence was brought to the *English* Fleet when it came before the *Vlie*, that upon that Island, and the Island of *Schelling*, there were vast Magazines belonging to the States, and the *East-India* Company; besides a great Number of rich Merchant Ships lying at Anchor. Hereupon a Part of the Fleet was detached to destroy them. Sir *Robert Holmes* commanded it, who came the next Day to anchor before the *Vlie*. He sent in a Ketch for Discovery, which returned with an Account of two hundred Sail of Merchant Ships, with two Men of War that had been Convoys, all at Anchor there.

The *Dutch* Ships burnt at the *Vlie*.

It was resolved in the first Place to burn these Ships. The lightest Frigate *Holmes* had with him, was sent with five Fire-ships into the *Vlie*. One of these immediately grappled the largest of the Convoys, and fired her; the *Dutch* Captain being drowned as he endeavoured to save himself in the Boat. The other Convoy was burnt by another Fire-ship; the Captain, and Part of the Crew escaping. The Merchant Ships seeing this, cut their Cables, and sought for Security among the Shallows: But being followed by three other Fire-ships, several of the richest Ships were burnt. And the rest being pursued by twenty Pinnaces, sent off by Sir *Robert Holmes*, with Orders not to lose Time in plundering, on Pain of Death, were almost all overtaken and set on Fire; very few Ships escaping out of this numerous Fleet.

He afterwards endeavoured to make a Descent upon the Island of *Vlie*. But a hard Rain making the Fire-Arms unserviceable, he was forced to lay aside that Design.

On the Island of *Schelling*, he succeeded better. For landing his Men, he laid the Town of *Brandaris* in Ashes; which was the chief of the Island, and contained about six or seven hundred Houses. He had formed a Design against two other Towns of the same Island; but the Execution of it was found to take up too much Time. So he ordered his Men on Board, and rejoined the Fleet.

The Mischief done the *Hollanders* by this Enterprize was prodigious. Their Ships, with their own Ladings, were valued at 1,100,000*l.* Sterling, besides great Quantities of their most valuable Goods, which upon the first Alarm the Inhabitants of the *Vlie*

had put on Board, thinking them safer there than on Shore. The Houses, Goods, and Magazines burnt at *Schelling*, added to this Account, make the Damage vastly greater. All this was done without the Loss of twenty Men, on the Side of the *English*. After these Successes, and the taking of a few Prizes, the *English* Fleet returned home.

The *Dutch* afterwards put to Sea with seventy nine Men of War and Frigates, and twenty seven Fire-ships, under *de Ruyter*, about the End of *August*; and *September* 1. they passed by *Dover*, and made for the Coast of *France*; with Design to join the Duke of *Beaufort*, the *French* Admiral, who lay at *Rockelle* with forty Men of War. The *English* Fleet stood after them, to prevent it. The *Dutch*, to avoid an Engagement, got into the Road of *Bulloign*, and hauled in close with the Shore. The *English* designed to attack them there; and had probably destroyed them, had not a sudden Storm obliged them to leave the Enemy, and stand for *St. Hellen's Bay*. The Duke of *Beaufort* several Times endeavoured to join the *Dutch*, but without Success; and the *Dutch* perceiving that they could not meet, retreated to their own Coasts.

Four or five of the *French* Men of War fell in with Sir *Thomas Allen*, who took two of them; and this Loss gave the *French* a Pretence not to stir out again this Year.

From this glorious Scene of Triumph and Victory abroad, we must look back towards a dismal one of Terror and Destruction at home. In the Beginning of *September* broke out that Fire, which in less than four Days Time, laid almost the whole City of *London* in Ashes.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> Day of *September*, Between one and two in the Morning, a Baker's House in *Pudding-Lane* near *New-Fish-Street*, took Fire from a Cause unknown, and was burnt down; the Master and his Family escaping with great Difficulty. The Wind was at that Time extremely high, the Lane it self was very narrow, and full of old Timber Houses; so that as soon as the Flames made their Way into the open Air, they began to spread themselves with great Fury. The Neighbourhood was alarmed; and all rose out of their Beds in haste, to save their Lives and Goods, and to quench the Fire. But the Wind being very strong, and the Houses old and rotten, and fit Fuel for the Flames, they increased so fast, and spread themselves with that Rapidity, that all Endeavours to extinguish them were in vain; and those who lived near the Place where it began, thought themselves happy in having saved their Lives.

The Morning came, and still the Conflagration went on farther and farther. The Alarm now reached more distant Places, and Assistance came from all Parts: The Pipes under the Streets were broken up, and the Engines began to play. But to increase the Mischief, it came to pass that the Water quickly failed them. That Part of the City was chiefly supplied with Water from the *Thames*, by the Engine at the North End



A.D. 1666. of *London-Bridge*, not far from the Place where the Fire began. This Engine was at that Time not in perfect Order; and besides, after a few Hours, the Wind, blowing from the East, had driven the Fire to that End of the Bridge where it stood; by which the Machine it self was quickly consumed. This Water failing, the Pipes of the *New-River* Water were broken up; but these also proved dry, the Cocks, by some Accident, not being turned into the City, tho' it always had been the Custom on *Sundays* so to do. An Express was immediately sent to *Islington*, to let that Water on running into the City; but some Time was spent before this could be done, and before the Water came.

In the mean Time, the Fire meeting in its Progress with Magazines of Pitch, Tar, Hemp, and other combustible Wares (which Commodities, for the Conveniency of the Shipping, are chiefly stowed and vended in those Parts of the Town) was dreadfully increased in Rage and Strength. All the Water the Engines could furnish, was too little to restrain it; it prevailed over all Opposition, and continued burning all *Sunday*, and *Sunday Night*; spreading it self in that Time to the North as far as *Lombard-street*, to *St. Swithin's Church* in *Canon-street* Westwards; and thence Southward to the *Three Cranes* by the Water-side. On the East, the Wind setting from that Quarter, it went on but slowly; yet it had got as far as *Billinggate* by *Monday Morning*.

The City was by that Time in the utmost Confusion and Distraction, from one End to the other. The Wind was driving the Flames towards the very Heart of it; and the vast Extent of the Conflagration, the Fury with which it still raged, and the fruitless Opposition that had been hitherto made to it, took from the Inhabitants all Hopes and Heart to resist it any longer. They thought now no more of any Thing but saving their movable Effects; in the doing of which, many who lived near the Fire, were prevented by the Rapidity of its Course. Some carried out their Goods into the Fields, where they were obliged to watch them Day and Night; others to the Houses of Friends in remote Places; in many of which, the Fire afterwards overtook them.

The King, the Duke of *York*, and those of the Nobility who were near, came into the City. So terrible a Sight awakened the King from that Lethargy of Pleasure and Indolence he had indulged himself in, and he is said to have been more deeply struck with it, than with any other Accident of his Life. He expressed the utmost Sorrow and Concern, and was continually present, directing and encouraging those who had so much Heart left as to use Endeavours towards stopping the Progress of the Fire.

So many Houses were now burning together, and in so many Places at once, that Water could no longer be had in sufficient Quantities where it was wanted. The only Remedy left, was to blow up Houses at convenient Distances from those which were on

Fire, and to make by that Means void Spaces, at which the Fury of the Conflagration should spend it self for want of Fuel. But this Means also proved ineffectual. For the Fire in some Places made its way, by means of the combustible Part of the Rubbish of the ruined Houses, not well cleared; and in others, by Flakes of burning Matter of different Kinds, which were carried through the Air by the impetuous Wind, to great Distances. And the City being at that Time almost all of Timber, and that generally very old, which had been besides parched and scorched by the Sun the whole preceding Summer, one of the hottest and dryest that had ever been known; it came to pass that wherever any such fiery Matter chanced to light, it seldom wanted fit Fuel to work and feed on, among Wood that had been dried with so great and lasting a Heat.

In this manner the Fire went on from Street to Street, all *Monday* and *Tuesday*; burning to the Southward as far as the *Thames*, and almost to the utmost Bounds of the City on the North; so that it made a Train of Fire of above a Mile long. It proceeded along *Cornhill*, the *Poultry*, *Cheapside*, and *St. Paul's Church-yard*, consuming every Thing in its way. Abundance of People had put their Effects into *St. Paul's Church*, as thinking the Materials of the Fabrick, and its standing disengaged, might save it from the common Fate. But the Fire spared it no more than the rest. The Flames took hold of the Timber Part of the Building, and spread themselves throughout the Church wherever they found suitable Nourishment; while the Stone Work either fell down for want of Support, or cracked and flew with the vehement Heat. So that great Numbers of Persons had the Misfortune to stand by, and see all they were worth consumed there before their Eyes. Thence the Fire went on through *Ludgate-street*, *Fleet-street*, and on both Sides of them to the North and South, laying all waste as it went; and leaving a dismal Track of Ruines behind it.

The Fields about *London* were covered with Crowds of People, who had been driven from their Dwellings by the Fire; some watching the Goods they were able to save; others lamenting the Loss of those they once had. Many of these were forced to spend several Days and Nights without any Covering but the Sky; and those were happy who could get Shelter in any House of the neighbouring Villages. Those whose Houses were yet standing, lived in Expectation of the same Fate; the Wind, which kept the Fire alive and drove it forwards, blowing still from the same Quarter, and with the same Violence. So that it seemed as if nothing was to put an End to this Conflagration, but the open and empty Fields.

But the divine Providence was pleased in Justice to remember Mercy. About ten of the Clock on *Tuesday Night* the Wind slackened, which prevented the Fire from propagating it self into distant Parts, and retarded



A.D. 1666. tarded its Progress in those that were contiguous to it. So that by blowing up of Houses in proper Places, its Course was stopped in many Parts; and in some it went out as it were of it self. It ended to the Westward in *Fleet-street*, the *Inner-Temple* and *Fetter-Lane*; to the North at *Holborn-Bridge*, *Pye-Corner*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripplegate*, the lower End of *Basinghall-street*, by the *Postern*, and at the upper End of *Coleman-street*; to the East, at the End of *Bishopsgate-street* and *Leadenhall-street* in *Cornhill*, in *Fenchurch-street*, *Mincing-lane*, *Mark-lane*, and at the *Tower-Dock*. And thus by *Wednesday Morning*, this dreadful Conflagration entirely ceased, and went out; leaving only a Heap of smoking Ruins in the Place where a great and noble City stood but three Days before.

The Fire extinguished.

On *Wednesday Night*, an Alarm was given by its breaking out afresh in the *Inner-Temple*. But the Duke of *York*, who watched there that Night, gave such seasonable Directions, that before Day it was quite extinguished.

The Loss occasioned by the Fire.

The Damage done by this Fire may be easily supposed in general to be immense and inconceivable; the Particulars are scarcely to be fumm'd up. We have in the late Edition of *Stow's Survey*, an Estimate of no less than ten Millions of Money in Damages, Losses and Expences of one kind or other, occasioned by this terrible Visitation.

Whether by Design or by Accident, examined.

But a Question here arises, which having been so much canvassed, it is necessary to take some Notice of, which is this: Whether this Fire were the sole Effect of the Will of Heaven, or whether the Wickedness of Men was the Instrument of Providence to bring on this dismal Calamity. To prove the latter, it has been observed, that the Extent and Violence of the Fire was so great, and it seemed to break out in so many different Places, as makes it hardly credible that it should have prevailed so far, and after that manner, against the vigorous Opposition made to it, had not the Mischief been propagated by some other Cause than its own Strength. It is certain besides, that there were some Persons of the Republican Party accused of such a Design, and executed for it not long before, namely *John Rathbone*, an old Army Colonel, and some others of the same Stamp, who were convicted of a Design to kill the King, and overthrow the Government; to effect which, they had agreed to set Fire to the City of *London* in several Places; and had pitched on the third of *September* for the Day. There was also one *Hubert*, a *French* reputed Papist, who acknowledged himself guilty of the same, and was hanged by his own Confession, no other Evidence appearing against him. On the other Side, though the Devastation made by the Fire was so prodigious, yet the Causes that propagated it were so numerous and powerful, as to seem commensurate enough to the Mischief done. The Vehemence of the Wind, the Oldness and Dryness of the Houses, and the Narrowness of the Streets, have been above touched on; and it is no great Won-

der that the Fire should become very fierce, A.D. 1666. when it had so great Helps. And though its breaking out in Houses at a Distance from those that were on Fire, seems to intimate that it was industriously carried on; yet it is in Truth no more than often happens upon the like Occasions. When the Town of *Warwick* was burnt about thirty Years ago, several Persons, who thinking themselves safe, went out to assist their Neighbours, found their Houses burnt down in their Absence; the Wind being extremely high, and scattering the Flakes of Fire to such great Distances, as could not have been imagined till it was found by that fatal Experiment. And in a late Fire in *London* a like Accident happened; a low Shed, at the Length of a middling Street from a House that was burning, being set on Fire by some flaming Matter carried thither by a high Wind, as happened within the Writer's Knowledge. As to *Hubert*, the Man appeared to be not very well in his Senses; so that what he said cannot be depended on. Nor does it seem likely that those of *Rathbone's* Party should venture on it, after so many of their Accomplices were put out of the Way; and their Scheme, no doubt, utterly disappointed. For these Reasons, and because no solid Evidence appears to prove the contrary, it seems most reasonable to incline to the favourable Side, and to look upon this Fire as the Act of Providence, intended as a Punishment to those Times and a Happiness to our own; the Beauty, Regularity and Healthfulness of the new City remaining to ours, and as we may hope, to many distant Ages; while the Loss and Calamity of the old one, was confined to a very few Years after this signal Disaster happened.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of *September*, the Parliament met at *Westminster*, with great Expectations from Friends and Foes. The one feared and the other hoped, that the late Devastation of the City, joined to that which the Pestilence had made there before, and was even then making in some Parts of *England*, would have brought our Nation so low, that they could not have born any longer the Weight of a War, against the most powerful of their Neighbours confederate against them. But those who thought so, did not sufficiently understand what the Vigour of an *English* Parliament was capable of.

The Parliament meets.

The King having in a moving Speech set forth his Wants and Fears, in that sad State of Things, the Parliament was so far from being discouraged by the one, or daunted by the other, that the Commons unanimously resolved, "That the humble and hearty Thanks of this House be given to his Majesty for his great Care in the Management of the present War; and that this House will supply his Majesty proportionably to his present Occasions; and that the Concurrence of the Lords be desired to this Resolution;" which that House agreed to. And soon after the Commons voted a Royal Aid of 1,800,000*l.* for carrying on the present War. That invincible

Their noble Resolution.

Spirit



A.D.1666. Spirit we admire in the *Romans* after the Loss of the Battle of *Cannæ*, was equalled by this Resolution and Vote of an *English* Parliament. Four Days after, the two Houses attended the King in a Body, to manifest their hearty Concurrence in the Vote to supply his Majesty with whatsoever was necessary for carrying on the War; and were received by the King with reciprocal Kindness.

An Insurrection in Scotland.

In *November* News was brought of an Insurrection in *Scotland*. The Western Part of that Kingdom had been remarkably Enemies to the Episcopal Church; and that to a Degree that was very difficult to be managed. The Government, which was labouring to fix Episcopacy in *Scotland*, thought the best Way of treating them, was to reduce them by Force. Therefore Soldiers were quartered upon them; who took Care to obey the Orders they had, to be as troublesome and oppressive as they could. This exasperated Matters; and four of their Ministers (a Sort of People they hold in great Veneration) inflamed them still more. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of *November* they met in Arms. At *Dumfries* they seized Sir *James Turner*, Commander of the Soldiers quartered upon them, whom they intended to have hanged. But finding also the Instructions he brought with him, which were more severe than his Usage of them had been; they resolved to spare him. These Rebels came to be called *Whigs*, which Name from thence came into *England*, and proved one of our unhappy Terms of Distinction. They marched towards *Edinburgh*, and came within two Miles of it. But finding none declare for them they lost Heart, and from above two Thousand dwindled to eight or nine Hundred. So they resolved to turn back to the West, where they should be among their Friends; and have besides Opportunities of escaping into *England* or *Ireland*. But in their March thither, the King's Forces, who were in pursuit of them, overtook them at the Top of *Pentland-Hill*.

The Fight at Pentland Hill.

The Rebels finding they could not get off, stopped their March. Their Ministers did all they could by preaching and praying, to infuse Courage into them; and they sung the 74<sup>th</sup> and 79<sup>th</sup> *Psalms*. Then they turned upon the King's Forces, and received the first Charge that was given by the Troop of Guards so resolutely, that they put them in Disorder. But that first Heat being spent, they lost all Order, and ran for their Lives. About forty were killed on the Spot, and an hundred and thirty were taken. The rest escaped by Favour of the Night, and the Weariness or Compassion of the King's Forces.

The Rebels defeated.

The Act of Supply goes on heavily.

The good Correspondence that had continued so long between the King and the Parliament, began to decline. They had passed a noble Vote and Resolution to supply the King, as was said above; but the passing of this Vote into an Act went on heavily. What the Reason of this was, does not so clearly appear; whether the Commons disliked the Measures the Court pursued, or thought the Luxury and Expensiveness there

carried off the Money appointed for the A.D.1666. Publick Service; or whether there was some other more secret Cause. But be that as it will, we are here come to an End of that perfect Harmony and happy Agreement between the King and his Parliament, that began at the Restoration. Mistrusts and Jealousies, first succeeded them, and afterwards more open Disagreement.

The King sent a Message on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *December* to the House of Commons, to quicken the Supply; for almost three Months had passed since that Vote. But they were so busy in the Enquiry after Misdemeanors of different Kinds, that they either could not, or would not, make the Dispatch the Court desired. At length before the 18<sup>th</sup> of *January*, the Bill for supplying the King had passed the Houses, under the Form of a Poll Bill; and therefore the King came on that Day to the House of Lords, to pass that Bill and some others; upon which Occasion he made a Speech to them filled with an unusual Resentment. And not long after this he came a second Time, and prorogued them; no material Business having intervened. The King represents it. The Parliament prorogued.

The two Powers of *England* and *Holland* began to be weary of the War, which cost so many Lives and so much Treasure on both Sides. The *Dutch* made the first Overtures for Peace, in a Letter they sent about disposing of the Body of Sir *William Berkley*, who was killed in the four Days Fight, and his Ship taken. This produced an Answer from the King, which was succeeded by an Interchange of Letters on both Sides on the same Subject. At length a Treaty was appointed at *Breda*, to commence at the Beginning of *May* 1667. But at first very little was done; both Parties waiting to be determined in their Pretensions by the Events of the War. A.D.1667. A Treaty at Breda.

They proved this Year both ignominious and pernicious to our Countrey, in that shameful Affront we received at *Chatham*. That Enterprize was contrived between *de Witte*, and the *French* Ambassador *d'Estrades*; and the Project was signed by that Ambassador on one Part, and the Deputies of the States on the other, *April* 25. By this Agreement the *French*, to set on the *Dutch* more earnestly upon an Undertaking they thought would for ever separate the two Nations, promised to send a Squadron under the Duke of *Beaufort*, to assist in the Execution of it. But for the same Reason they promised this, they did not perform it; leaving the *Dutch* to be the only Actors in this Affair, and to draw upon themselves alone, the Hatred and Revenge of the *English*.

This Design met with as much Success as No Fleet at the Enemies of *England* could reasonably expect, for the King set out no Fleet this Year. Those who judge most softly of the Actions of this Prince, attribute this to the Expectations he was under of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Breda*, which he was made to believe was as good as over. It is also said, that it had been



A.D. 1667. been often proposed to the King by knowing Persons, and particularly by Sir John Lawson, that since the Life of the *Dutch* consisted in Trade, a Piratical War would prove more detrimental to that Nation, as well as cheaper to our own. We are told also, that the *French* Ministers imposed upon the King, by getting the Queen-Mother of *England*, at that Time in *France*, to write a Letter to him, to inform him that the *Dutch* were looking so entirely towards the Treaty at *Breda*, that they would put out no Fleet to Sea this Year. But others less favourable to the King say, that the true Reason was, that the Supplies given by the Parliament had been so ill husbanded, that there was not enough left to discharge the necessary Expences in the setting out a Fleet. We leave this Matter to the Reader's own Judgment, and go on with the unpleasant Relation of the Consequences of these ill Measures.

The Disgrace  
at Chatham.

The *Dutch* understanding that they would find no Fleet to oppose them, were the more diligent in getting ready their own; and with great Speed fitted out seventy Men of War, with which they came over to the *Thames* Mouth.

Having rode here in Triumph for some Time, they at last entered the River *Medway*, to destroy the Royal Navy laid up at *Chatham*. The Duke of *Albemarle* was dispatched thither in all haste, who applied himself to the securing the Fleet with that Diligence and Activity he had been accustomed to. But his Care and Endeavours were eluded by a strange Neglect and Remissness of those whom he had to do with there. An Attempt of this Nature had been expected; to prevent which, the Castle of *Sheerness*, at the very Mouth of the *Medway*, and of *Upnore*, situate farther up the River, were ordered to be fortified; and a Chain was ordered to be drawn across the River between those Castles. But the Orders had been so negligently executed, that these Fortifications were not completed by that Time the *Dutch* Fleet came thither. They first attacked the Fort of *Sheerness*, to secure their Passage up the *Medway*; which after a brave Resistance by Sir *Edward Spragge*, they made themselves Masters of. Then they sail'd up the River. The Duke of *Albemarle* had sunk several Ships in the Way by which they were to pass; and had given Orders to sink more, which would have effectually hindered their coming farther had it been done. But this was neglected, and one Passage being left open which the Duke had commanded to be stopped with a great Ship, the *Dutch* got through and came to the Chain, where they found three Ships placed behind it to annoy them, if they should attempt to break through. This Appearance so discouraged them, that it was a long Time before any of the *Dutch* Captains dared attempt to force their Way. But at last one Captain *Brakel* (to atone for some Offence he had committed) offered to make the first Attempt; and putting himself aboard a Fire-

Ship, went with full Sails against the Chain, A.D. 1667. the Wind and Tide both favouring him, but stuck fast. Nevertheless the Shock he gave to it was so great, that being followed by another larger Ship, the Chain gave Way to the Weight of them both. Then the *Dutch* Men of War came up; and of the three Ships that guarded the Chain, two were burnt, and one taken; after which, they went higher up the River, where they found the noblest Ship of the *English* Navy, called the *Royal Charles*; which was deserted by the Men, who had set her on Fire: But the *Dutch* put out the Fire, and carried off the Hull of her. After this, they came up as high as *Upnore-Castle*, where there lay three Capital Ships, the *Great James*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Royal Oak*, all which they set on Fire and burnt, notwithstanding the great Fire of the Castle; which being done, they failed back with the Turn of the Tide without making any farther Attempt.

During the Continuance of the *Dutch* in the *Medway*, the City of *London* was in the utmost Consternation, with the Apprehension that they might come up the *Thames* as high as the Bridge. All Hands were set to Work; the Militia was raised; nine Ships were sunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Black-Wall*; besides which, Batteries were raised on the Banks of the River, and furnished with great Guns. But these Precautions proved for some Time unnecessary; for the *Dutch* did not as yet make any such Attempt, but failed away for *Portsmouth*, with Design upon the Ships in that Harbour; but such Provision was made against their coming that they made away. From thence they went to *Plymouth*, and soon after made an Attempt upon *Torbay*; but were beaten off. But now again they stood Eastward, and came a second Time to the Mouth of the *Thames*; which they entered, and came with about twenty five Sail into *Tilbury-Hope*; where they found eighteen *English* Ships, to which they did considerable Damage. But Sir *Edward Spragge* coming thither, and being joined by a small Squadron commanded by Sir *Joseph Jordan*, they fell down the River again, and failed away to *Harwich*, and landed three thousand Men on the Coast of *Suffolk*, but with no Effect. Then they returned to the *Thames*, which they entered again, and came up as far as *Hull-Haven*; where meeting Sir *Edward Spragge*, an Encounter passed between them, in which they obliged Sir *Edward* to stand up the River for *Gravesend*. But they dared not adventure any farther, but failed out of the River to the Western Coasts, which they terrified by Attempts and Offers of Landing, till the News of the Peace at *Breda*, which was signed during these Alarms, became so publick, that at last *de Ruyter* the *Dutch* Admiral ceased Hostilities, and sent to some of the *Cornish* Gentlemen a friendly Invitation to come on board him; and having entertained them handsomely, and excused what was past, he returned with his Fleet to his own Country.

The *Dutch* alarm all the  
Coasts of *Eng-*  
*land*.



A.D. 1667. The News of the Blow at *Chatbam* gave an ill Turn to the Treaty at *Breda*. The Plenipotentiaries of the States began to insult, and to say, that tho' their Masters had consented to conclude a Peace upon certain Conditions, yet they did not know whether the Change of Affairs might not make the States alter their Minds; and therefore they could not promise for the Ratifications of them, or that new Articles and Demands might not be added. This was very exasperating, but all wise Men saw so clearly the Necessity of a Peace in the present Situation of Affairs, that they were more Intent upon that, than the Thoughts of Revenge: So that they were well pleased to hear that the Plenipotentiaries on both Sides, had at length agreed and signed a Treaty of Peace on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June.

The Peace concluded at *Breda*.

The Felicity of this Reign at an End.

And at the Conclusion of this Peace we may date the final Period of that national Happiness, which begun at the Restoration of the King, and continued for a long Time the Admiration of our Neighbours, and the Glory of our Constitution and Countrey. The Unanimity and Confidence that was then so conspicuous between the King and the Parliament, became changed into a mutual Distrust and Disagreement. The universal Love of the People to the King was much diminished by the severe Prosecutions, which alienated the whole Body of the Dissenters from him. Wise Men who were heartily the King's Friends, were also very ill satisfied with his Behaviour, by which he shewed himself more and more bent upon his vicious Pleasures, and averse to the laborious Duty of the high Station he was placed in. And because the Subjects form their Manners upon the Model of their Prince, and the Nature of Man is more inclined to Evil than to Good, his Example encouraged and nourished all the Vices of a debauched and corrupted Court, whence they gradually spread thro' the Nation.

Upon that Occasion the Duke of *Albemarle* is said to have remembered what some Republicans told him before the Restoration; that by bringing in the King he would put the Kingdom under Pimps and Whores, and all would decline into Infamy and Decay. And the good old Man said with some Resentment, he found them the truest Prophets he ever met with in his Life. Secret Intrigues in Favour of Popery were suspected by prying and sagacious Men; and the late Dishonour at *Chatbam*, caused heavy Reflections to be made on the Government; which by all these Discontents was so unsettled, that the Peace of *Breda*, tho' not very honourable, was very acceptable to the Lovers of their Countrey.

The Earl of *Clarendon* removed.

That Peace was quickly succeeded by the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*. That worthy Patriot, by a Misfortune that has happened to other wise and good Men, was fallen from that Favour with his Prince, and Reputation with the People, which he had for some Time enjoyed, and always deserved, into the greatest Disgrace with the

one, and Hatred of the other. That his inflexible Virtue should be disagreeable to a dissolute and vicious Court, is not at all strange. But it was, no doubt, a great Mortification to him, to find that faithful Sollicitude with which he had watched over his Countrey, and guarded it against so many Dangers as it lay exposed to from different Quarters, requited with Aversion and Ill-will. It will not be amiss to enlarge a little upon the Causes that brought upon this excellent Person, Misfortunes so undeserved.

To the Fall of this great Man many different Causes, as usual, concurred. One was the Marriage of his Daughter to the Duke of *York*. This was done entirely without his Privy or Consent, nor did he know any Thing of it till it broke out; and the King upon this Discovery assured him with great Kindness, that he should still continue the same good Opinion of him that he always had, as believing him entirely unacquainted with it. But this gave a Handle to his Enemies to suggest, that he had set on the Match with the Infanta of *Portugal*, with design to bring his own Descendants to the Crown upon the King's Want of Children by that Princess, who was reported to be incapable of bearing them.

The Causes of his Fall.

The great Interest he was known to have with the King, did also contribute to bring on him the *Odium* of some unpopular Acts, which he was so far from advising, that he strenuously opposed them. Besides the Marriage with *Portugal*, the Sale of *Dunkirk*, when the Importance of that Place began to appear, was also laid to his Charge, tho' most unjustly; since himself and his Friend the Earl of *Southampton* opposed it to the utmost at the Council-Board. And for the same Reason, other Miscarriages and Misfortunes were, without Reason, laid at his Door.

Moreover, at the King's Restoration, the Cavalier Party, who came laden with Expectations of Rewards for what they had done and suffered for the King's Cause, found themselves very much disappointed. Every Man thought the King would have so much Leisure as to attend to the Recital of his Services, and so much Wealth as to be able to satisfy all his Hopes; and, as is usual, those were most forward with their Pretensions who had deserved the least. Whereas the Wealth of the Nation could not compensate all the Losses and Sufferings of the loyal Party; nor had the King much to spare from the necessary publick Expences. So that many were sent away with their Expectations frustrated, and by Consequence full of Complaints. These were increased by seeing several of those who had been the late King's fierce Enemies in high Posts, bestowed on them for their Services at the Restoration; which could not have been brought about so easily, had not many who were Enemies formerly, become at that Time Friends. But those who would not be paid with Reason, raised a great Outcry thereupon against the Chancellor; and a wicked Piece of Policy



A.D. 1667. licy was fathered upon him, by which he was said to advise the King to prefer and advance his Enemies, to make them his Friends; for that those who were already his Friends, would continue so by their Principles only. This Report was hastily taken up, and spread thro' the Nation to his great Disadvantage; tho' he utterly disowned any such Counsel.

His Firmness to the Church of *England* made the rigid Dissenters his utter Enemies; and on the other Hand, his Endeavours to introduce a Coalition between them and the Church, got him the ill Will of the strict Church-men. So that by studying the Good of the Whole, he offended each Particular.

To these Causes, an Accident concurred to make him unpopular, which had a great Effect in a short Time. He had a Grant from the King, of a Piece of Ground by the Park to build a House upon. The Vintners Company designing to gain his Favour, were at the Expence of the Building; which was begun in the Plague Year. He consented to this, thinking that the Employment of so many Workmen as were necessary about this Structure, and the Circulation of their Wages, which were regularly paid them, would be a publick Convenience in that universal Calamity. But his Enemies gave it a wrong Turn, representing this as an Insult on the publick Misfortunes, by building himself so fine a Palace in a Time of general Mourning. And besides, the Undertakers made it much more magnificent and pompous than he intended, which added to the Clamour. He was sensible of this, but it was when it was too late; for the Building was carried on in his Absence. But coming to see it, when the Case was finished, and the Work was too far advanced to go back, he immediately perceived the Consequence, and with a Sigh said, *This House will one Day prove my Ruine*. His Enemies gave it the Name of *Dunkirk House*, as if it were built with the Money taken for the Sale of that Place. But we have already shewn how little Reason there was for that Imputation.

These Things impaired his Reputation among the People. The King resolving to give himself up to dissolute Pleasures, was very willing to get rid of one who was a continual Check upon them. Those Causes which rendred him unpopular, had their Effect in the Houses of Parliament; which was increased in those two Assemblies, by the Envy of particular Persons to the high Station and Favour he had so long enjoyed.

Some Part this great Man had in his own Fall, by a Haughtiness of Temper, and Contempt of others, which he did not sufficiently guard against. This lost him the good Will of all those who wanted either Judgment to know, or Opportunities to observe those excellent Qualities which made Amends for that Fault. And it happened unfortunately for him to be in a Station that made this Infirmary the more conspicuous. For by his Office of Lord Chancellor, and his Authority as chief Minister, he must of Course receive many Petitions and Applica-

tions; and of Course reject many. And in A.D. 1667. doing this, instead of softening his Refusals with Condescension and Affability, by treating Men with an Air of Pride and Contempt he sent them away as much offended with the Manner of the Refusal, as with the Thing it self. And this made him disliked and unpopular; the Pride every Man has in his own Heart, making that of another insupportable.

The King had promised the Parliament against their Meeting, to do something that would not be unwelcome to them; by which 'tis likely he meant the Removal of this great Man, who for the Reasons above-mentioned, was not at all gracious. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of *October* the Parliament met. The Speeches of the King and Chancellor having nothing very remarkable, we omit them. In the Address of Thanks of both Houses that followed them, particular Thanks is given to the King for removing the late Lord Chancellor; and the King in his Answer, told them he would never employ him again in any publick Affairs whatsoever; so that he was fairly abandoned to be run down by his Enemies.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of *October*, Mr. *Seymour* began the Charge against him in the House of Commons, and accused him of many great and heinous Crimes; and was followed by a great many others. The Accusation was soon agreed upon, but a Debate arose, whether they should impeach him before, or after the particular Articles were prepared against him; and the latter was agreed on. Then the Articles were drawn up, being twenty three in Number; in which he was charged with designing to govern the Kingdom by a standing Army; corresponding with *Cromwell*; selling of *Dunkirk*; arbitrary and illegal Imprisonments; extorting great Sums of Money illegally; procuring exorbitant Grants to himself and his Relations; and in the last Place, betraying the King's Counsels to his Enemies. The Earl was so little concerned at this Accusation, that the next Day after the Articles were brought into the House, he ordered his Son, Mr. *Hyde*, to acquaint them, that if they who best knew their own Evidence, would pitch upon any one of those Articles, which they thought they had the strongest Proof for, and make that single one good, he would submit to the Censure due to them all. But the Grounds of their Accusation were so slender, it being built on nothing but flying Reports, and vulgar Prejudices, that they dared not accept of this noble Challenge. Instead of that, they put the Matter upon a Point, which produced insuperable Difficulties. They sent up a general Charge of High-Treason against him to the House of Lords, and desired he might be secured, till the Commons should exhibit Articles against him. But this the Lords would not consent to. They looked on a general Accusation as a meer Clamour; and thought their Dignities of little Value, if a Clamour could send them to Prison. So they acquainted the Com-

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

The Earl of  
*Clarendon*  
fallen upon.

The two  
Houses differ  
about him.



A.D. 1667. mons in a Conference, that they had not secured the Earl of *Clarendon*, because there was no Matter particularly charged upon him. The Commons were all in a Fury upon this; and the more violent, because their Anger was unjust; and after a hot Debate resolved, that the Lords, by not sequestering the Earl of *Clarendon*, according to the Desire of the House of Commons, occasioned an Obstruction of publick Justice, and brought in a Precedent of dangerous Consequence.

He withdraws.

An Act passes for banishing him.

The Earl of *Southampton* dies.

But the Lords continued firm, and though the King used his utmost Interest to bring them to comply, he could not procure a Majority. At last the Breach being so wide, and likely to increase, the King spoke to the Duke of *York*, to desire the Earl of *Clarendon* to go beyond Sea, as the only Expedient left to make up the Difference between the two Houses; and let fall some Words of Kindness, in Case he would comply with this. The Earl was all Obedience and Submission, and was charmed with those tender Words the King had said of him. So, partly to serve the King, and save himself and his Family, but chiefly that he might not occasion any Difference between the King and the Duke, who heartily espoused his Interest, he went privately beyond Sea. From *Calais*, he wrote an excellent Apology for himself to the House of Lords, protesting his Innocence in all the Points objected to him; and that he had not left the Kingdom for Fear, or out of any Consciousness of Guilt; but only that he might not be the Occasion of any Difference between the two Houses, or of obstructing publick Business.

Soon after this, the Lords were prevailed on, by Way of Compromise, to send down a Bill to the Commons for banishing him, and making it Treason to correspond with him; which Method of Proceeding was much objected against, as attended with great Hardships. It was disliked by the Earl's Friends in the House of Commons, as too heavy a Penalty; and by his Enemies, as too light; but the Power of the latter, and their Animosity against him, carried it thro' the House; and the King, being beset with the Associates of his debauched Pleasures, was easily prevailed on to give the Royal Assent to the banishing of a Man, whose Virtues and Authority were a perpetual Check upon them. The Earl continued in Exile, in different Cities of the Kingdom of *France*, till the Time of his Death, which happened seven Years after.

The Nation could very ill spare this worthy Minister, having but just before lost another excellent Patriot, the Chancellor's great Friend and Supporter, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Southampton*; a most admirable and accomplished Nobleman, adorned with all the Virtues of a Christian, and every Endowment of a wise and great Man. He was an entire and true *Englishman*, a loyal Subject, and firm Patriot; and both in the highest Degree. In the late Reign, when the Crown was so depressed, that the Head that

wore it was sentenced to be cut off, this Earl, A.D. 1667. with the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, offered his own Life to save that of his Royal Master; and after that impious Blow was struck, performed the last Duties to him, and attended him with Tears to his Grave. And after the Battle of *Worcester*, as the present King was wandering through *England*, he had the Courage to seek him out, and to make Provision for his Escape; though with the utmost Danger to his own Safety. But when after the Restoration, he found the popular Stream run so fiercely on the Side of the Prerogative, that the publick Liberty was in Danger of being overthrown and carried away with the Torrent; he then appeared as zealously against this new popular Madness, as he had done before, when it took the opposite Course; and joined with the Earl of *Clarendon*, to frustrate and elude all the Attempts made by imprudent or ill-designing Men, to raise the Throne on the Ruines of the Freedom and Happiness of the People. Though the Chancellor and himself were linked together in a firm Friendship, and the most perfect Harmony and Concurrence of publick Counsels, he had the Happiness to escape those Gusts and Storms of Obloquy and Detraction which beat so furiously on his Friend; and he never lost, what he always deserved, that most noble Character, of a great and good Minister of State; which Justice the Earl of *Clarendon* was not able to attain, till Length of Time had cleared away those Blots and Stains which the poisonous Breath of Envy had cast upon his Name. But the Earl of *Southampton* knew how undeserved those Aspersions were; and did his utmost, on all Occasions, to justify and support his sinking Friend. The last Time he was at the Council-board, when some Reflection was made on the Chancellor, he stood up, though his Age and Infirmities would scarce permit him, and with all the Force his Weakness allowed him, said: *This Man is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman, and while he is in Place, we are secure of our Religion, Laws and Liberties; but if he be removed, England will feel the ill Effects of it.* And we shall find by what follows, that it was not very long before this Prediction came to pass.

The Year 1668. began with the Project A.D. 1668. of the Triple Alliance; a Counsel much applauded, but short lived. The Occasion of it was this. The Scheme laid by *France* for an universal Empire broke out during the Treaty of *Breda*, in a sudden and powerful Invasion of the *Spanish Netherlands*. This alarmed all *Europe*, and with great Reason; for every one saw, that if the *Spanish Netherlands* fell into the Hands of the *French*, the Republick of *Holland* would be changed into a maritime Province to *France*, which would put the Fleets and Riches of that State in the Power of the *French King*. And when he had obtained this Addition of Strength, no Power was left in *Europe* able to stop the Rapidity of his Conquests, which Way



A.D. 1668. Way soever he should think fit to turn them.

With great  
Probability  
of Success.

And the Success of this Enterprize appeared infallible. The *Spaniards* in *Flanders* were weak, and unprepared for Resistance. *England* and *Holland*, whose Union alone could check the *French* Ambition, were to the last Degree exasperated against each other, by the Damages the latter had received in the War, and the Insult offered to us at *Chatham*; which the *French* had set on to make the Breach irreconcilable. And they succeeded in this so well, that tho' a Treaty of Peace was on Foot, the Insolence of the *Dutch*, and the secret Resentment of the *English*, had taken away all Likelihood of any future Confidence for many Years to come. And thus the Liberties of Christendom seemed like a Criminal at an Execution, only waiting for the fatal Blow. But that All-ruling Providence, which delights to controul the Pride of mortal Men, defeated these hopeful Schemes laid by *France*, by a Train of surprizing Incidents.

But is disap-  
pointed.

When the Designs to invade *Flanders* were first made publick, the Danger appeared so sudden, so great, and so remediless, that had the *French* immediately proceeded to the Execution of them, that whole Country had been swallowed up the first Campaign. The *Spaniards* had neither Heart, nor Means to resist. But by an unaccountable Slowness in the *French*, they had Time to recover their Courage, and to make Provision against the impending Storm: So that the first Campaign ended without that Progress on the *French* Side, that was at first expected and feared.

The Treaty of *Breda* was also quickened by the Sight of this new Danger; which besides put the two Nations in a better Disposition to a future Agreement than could otherwise have been expected.

But, what was above all extraordinary, the King and Court of *England*, from whose usual Indolence and Fluctuation of Counsels the *French* had the least to apprehend, became inspired on a sudden with a wonderful Spirit of Vigilance, Activity, and Resolution. They were first aware of the Danger, and stirred vigorously to prevent it. The Steps they took were well considered, and attended with a surprizing and quick Success.

Sir *William Temple* was sent by the King into *Holland* towards the End of the last Year to *M. de Witte*, to ask his Opinion about the Affairs of *Flanders*, and so to introduce a Confidence between the ruling Powers of both Nations. The Report Sir *William Temple* made, gave the King so much Satisfaction, that he was now sent again to conclude a defensive League of the greatest Strictness, and to concert other Measures for the Preservation of *Flanders*. And a wonderful Coincidence of Events favouring this Counsel, an Alliance was concluded and signed in five Days Time, by the *English* Minister, and *Dutch* Commissioners.

The Articles of this Treaty were contained in three Instruments. The first was a defensive Alliance between *England* and *Hol-*

land. In the second, they agreed to oblige the *French* King to stand to an Offer he had made of an Alternative to *Spain*; either of keeping what he had gained the last Campaign, or receiving in Exchange, *Luxemburg*, the *Cambresis*, *Cambray*, *Douay*, *Aire*, *St. Omar*, *Winoxberg*, *Furnes* and *Lincken*. In Case that Prince should recede from that Offer, and make higher Demands, the two Allies were to declare War against him, and compel him to accept it by Force. They were to do the same to the *Spaniards*, in Case they refused to agree to this Offer. The third contained separate Articles tending to the same End, the preserving the Tranquillity of *Europe*. And three Days after these Instruments were signed, the *Swedish* Ambassador signed an Act, by which the King his Master acceded to this Alliance.

This Triple Alliance is justly reckoned among the most happy Counsels any Prince or State ever entered into; and the incredible Dispatch with which this important Treaty was concluded, added very much to the Felicity that attended it. It choaked and extinguished, as it were in a Moment, a War, that at its first kindling, threatened all *Europe* with Desolation and Ruine; and this in the most glorious Manner, by the pure Force of Wisdom and Counsel, without drawing a Sword, or firing a Gun. It was carried on with that Celerity, that the King of *France* could hardly know it was begun, till he beheld the Work complete and perfect; and saw a formidable Mound, sprung up as it were by Enchantment, which at once controuled his Ambition, and defied his Power. He soon found there was no Remedy, but Submission; and the Alternative being proposed to him, and the King of *Spain*, they agreed to enter upon a Treaty, which was accordingly begun at *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of *February* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and on the first Day of their Meeting the King came to the House of Lords. In his Speech he acquainted them with the Triple Alliance; made between himself, and *Holland*, and *Sweden*, to repress the growing Power, and dangerous Designs of *France*; took Notice of his Debts and want of Money, ending with a Motion for some Course to beget a better Union and Composure in the Minds of his Protestant Subjects in Matters of Religion.

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

The Counsel of making the Triple Alliance against *France* was received with great Applause. But the Motion for Supplies, was neither immediately nor chearfully considered. And that for an Union among the Protestant Subjects by giving Ease to the Dissenters, was interpreted, like all other Motions of the same Kind from the Court, to be intended to introduce a Toleration for the Papists.

Their Pro-  
ceedings.

The Business at *Chatham*, and other Miscarriages of the late War, stuck so close to every *Englishman*, that the Commons put off the particular Consideration of the King's Speech, that they might have Time to examine in-

The Triple  
Alliance con-  
cluded.



A.D.1668. to the Misconduct of those who were concerned in those Affairs; and they impeached Commissioner *Pett* for ill Conduct upon that Occasion; but the Impeachment had no Effect.

These Affairs took up the Commons so much, that they did not mind the Supplies with that Diligence the King wished. He was obliged to send them three Messages to quicken their Pace. At last they prepared a Bill for granting 310000*l.* to be raised by an Imposition on Wines and other Liquors.

The Declaration the King had made in his Speech in Favour of the Dissenters, raised the Spirits of those People; and Informations were brought to the Commons from some Counties, and particularly *Staffordshire*, of the insolent Carriage and Abuses committed by Persons in several Places, in interrupting and disturbing of Ministers in their Churches, and holding Meetings contrary to Law. The Commons upon this presented a Petition to the King, desiring that he would issue out his Proclamation to enforce the Laws against Conventicles; and that Care might be taken to prevent all unlawful Assemblies of Papists, and Nonconformists. The former were added to the other, to let the Court see the Commons firm Resolution to shew no Favour to that People.

A Quarrel about Privileges happened this Session between the two Houses. It was occasioned by a Sentence given in the House of Lords in Behalf of one Mr. *Skinner* a considerable Merchant. This Gentleman had brought his Petition into that House, against the *East-India* Company for Damages done him, and was relieved in 5000 Pounds Costs. Mr. *Skinner* was ordered to Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; and the Difference rose so high, that the King was forced to come to the House of Lords; where having passed the Money Bill, and six others, he adjourned them for three Months.

About this Time the Queen miscarried a second Time, as we find in a Letter of the Lord *Arlington*.

At the Beginning of *May*, the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was signed, which put a Stop to the *French* Conquests, and the Fears of *Europe*. The Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, Governor of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, chose to leave those Places in the Hands of the *French*, which they had taken the foregoing Campaign. And the King and the States of *Holland* obliged themselves to guaranty the King of *Spain* from all future Pretences or Invasions to be made by the King of *France*, in any of his Territories for ever hereafter. So that a firm and lasting Repose seemed established in Christendom; with universal Praises of the King of *England*, who had so great a Part in it.

This Peace was succeeded by a long Quiet and Tranquillity in our own Countrey; a State of Things, which as some have observed, is the best to live in, but the worst to write of. The King made a Progress this Summer through a great Part of the Kingdom, diverting himself when in the Inland Towns,

and in the Sea-Ports surveying and examining the naval and maritime Affairs, which he understood to a wonderful Exactness. In this Calm almost the whole Year was spent; while Trade, encouraged by Peace, thrived and flourished; and the Arts and Sciences were every where promoted and encouraged. The City of *London* rose from its Ashes with an Expedition that surprized all *Europe*, and a Beauty incomparably beyond what it had known in its former State; the abundant Matter of Contention at Law, which such an Accident furnished, being cut off by an admirable Strain of Wisdom in the Parliament, who provided a Judicature to determine briefly and finally all such Controversies. So that new Buildings sprang up every Day and Week. Care was also taken to make the Streets more spacious and airy, and the Houses more regular in their Form, and more magnificent in their Appearance than before. And to the prudent Management then used, next to the Divine Goodness, we may reasonably attribute the Freedom of the City for so many Years from those two dreadful Visitations of Pestilence and Fire; the Openness of the Streets, by giving the Winds a free Entrance into, and Passage through them, preventing the Stagnation of any unwholesome Steams or Vapours; and the Materials of the Houses, which are Brick or Stone, added to the Separation of Brick, interposed between each House, as the Law directs, seeming to be, under God, an effectual Security to the new City, from that Disaster which destroyed the old one.

But the Happiness which attended this peaceful State of Things, was much obscured by an excessive Corruption of Manners that accompanied it. The King's Example, as is usual, drew others to Imitation, till Religion, Virtue and Sobriety became Things out of Fashion, and out of Countenance. He had put himself under the Direction of the Duke of *Buckingham*, a Man utterly lost to all serious or considerate Thoughts. Pleasure, Frolick, and extravagant Diversion was all he laid to Heart; and being of a Rank, Fortune and Capacity that administered to him the Opportunities to gratifie himself in whatever he had a Mind to, he gave the Reins to his Inclinations and Appetites, and let them carry him as they pleased, without giving himself a Moment's Care for any Consequences, either in this World, or the next. He had just such another Associate, the Earl of *Rocheſter*; a Man of a bright and sparkling Wit, but abandoned to every Vice his Fancy led him to; (tho' some Time before he died, he became an exemplary Penitent.) And these two joining with the King, very easily introduced a Scene of Immorality and Debauchery at Court, beyond the Example of any Time that had gone before. By Encouragement from thence, the Stage became vicious and corrupt to the utmost Degree; and the Wit and Parts of those who wrote for it, were employed in setting Vice and Prophaneness

The Parliament adjourned.

Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

An universal Tranquillity.

Attended with a grievous Corruption of Manners.



A.D. 1668. phaneness in an agreeable Light, and turning every Thing sacred and serious into Ridicule. And thus a Depravation of Manners was propagated throughout the Nation; and Religion and Virtue, which at other Times had at least the Countenance and Sanction of the general Voice on its Side, became exploded and unfashionable, and looked on as the Mark of those, who wanted either Wit or Spirit to know and do better.

Nevertheless, it pleased God that by a happy Turn, much Good was produced from all this Evil; and it is to the Corruption of this Time, that we are indebted for those invaluable Works which have been published since, by the Divines of the Church of England; in which the Grounds and Foundations of Religion, and the Motives to the Practice of it, are set forth with that resistless Force of Reasoning and Persuasion, as will make those Writings an Honour and a Blessing to our Countrey, while the World shall last. Before this Time the Pens of Divines were much more conversant in discussing particular Controversies among Christians, than in establishing the Foundations of Religion in general, and enforcing the Motives of Practice; the Truth and Necessity of those Things being then allowed by common Consent. And from thence it came to pass, that whatever was published on these latter Subjects, wanted that Spirit and Force which Opposition would have administered; for Men seldom lay out their Strength to prove a Matter which is hardly ever contested. But now the very Principles of Religion in general being questioned, and the Practice of it laughed at, the Clergy were obliged to examine into these Things more strictly; and since Men had broke through the weak Bands of Authority and Fashion, to bind them to their Duty by the everlasting Chains of Right Reason. And thus, being put into a rational Method of Proceeding, and having Truth on their Side, the natural Consequence was, that many excellent Things were produced by Men of their great Talents and Abilities. And no doubt to this just and exact Method of Search and Enquiry, it was very much owing, that in the following Reign they laid open the Errors of Popery, with the same Acuteness and Success as they now did those of Infidelity and Profaneness.

A.D. 1669. At the End of March 1669, Cosmo de' Medici, Prince of Tuscany, who was travelling thro' the most considerable Parts of Europe, came into England. In his Progress he saw Plymouth, Exeter, Salisbury, London, Newmarket, Cambridge, Oxford and Windsor; being received every where with great Respect. After he had stayed here about nine Weeks, he embarked for Holland. He was so pleased with the noble and polite Reception he met with from the publick Bodies, and the private Noblemen and Gentlemen of our Countrey, that he ever after retained a particular Respect and Affection for the English. And he always kept a Correspondence to the End of their Lives, with those

private Persons who entertained him at their Houses, by a Present sent to them every Year. He also built, and presented to the King, two large Gallies for a Guard of the Coasts about Tangier, which proved very serviceable.

About a Month after Prince George of Denmark, after a short Tour in France, came to visit the Court of England: And after an honourable Reception there, went back again to Denmark. As also Prince George of Denmark.

In July the Theatre at Oxford, built at the Expence of that munificent Prelate, Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, was opened with great Solemnity, at which Time the Archbishop resigned his Office of Chancellor of the University, and recommended the Duke of Ormond, who was chosen. The Theatre at Oxford opened.

The Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, being a virtuous Man, and a true Lover of his Countrey, was moved to try the Spirits and Principles of the Nonconformists, in hopes to find some Expedient to remove the Division in the Church, which had so ill an Effect upon the State. Dr. Manton and Mr. Baxter being sent for, waited upon him, to consider of some good Methods to introduce a Comprehension and Toleration. Upon this Occasion Dr. Wilkins conferred with them. But the Proposals on both Sides not being exactly palatable to either, the Conferences broke off without any Effect. Unsuccessful Expedients offered to heal the Divisions in the Church.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October the Parliament met. In the Lord Keeper's Speech an Union with Scotland was proposed, which was also set forward in that Kingdom. But the Heats arising between the two Houses about their Privileges, kept them employed during this Session; and the secret Machinations of the Court being nearly ripe, took them off afterwards from prosecuting this excellent Design. The Parliament meets.

The Commons put off the Consideration of the King's Speech, and fell upon the Examination of the Accounts of Publick Monies. Sir George Carteret was found so faulty, that he was expelled the House. They thanked the King afterwards for his Proclamation against Nonconformists, to whom this House was irreconcilable. They also voted him a Supply of 400000*l.* but it did not pass into an Act, the Commons reviving the late Debate about Skinner's Case. The Dispute between the Houses could not be compromised, and therefore the King on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December prorogued them to the 14<sup>th</sup> of February. The Parliament prorogued.

The King's Proposal for an Union, was well received in Scotland. But England for the Reasons abovementioned not going on the same Pace, it stood still till the next Session of our Parliament.

This began on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February. The King recommended to them in his Speech, Supplies, Unanimity, and the Union with Scotland. The Differences between both Houses rose again to a great Height. But at last they were quieted by an Expedient proposed by the King, to raze out all Records in the Council Books, the Exchequer, and



A.D. 1669. and both Houses of Parliament, that related at all to this Matter. This pacified all; and the Houses concurred in their humble Thanks to his Majesty for his Royal Interposition.

Their Proceedings.

Act against Conventicles.

This Compromise being made, the Business of the Dissenters came before them. New Complaints and Informations concerning them were brought to the House. After a Debate thereupon, they resolved to desire the King to give Order for the speedy suppressing them, and for putting the Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants. For they always placed these together. A Bill was also brought in for suppressing and preventing seditious Conventicles. It was there enacted, that if any Persons upwards of sixteen, should be present at any Assembly, under Colour of any Exercise of Religion, in any other Manner than according to the Practice of the Church of *England*, in such Case the Offenders were to pay five Shillings for the first Offence, and ten Shillings for the second. And the Preachers and Teachers in such Meetings, were to forfeit twenty Pounds for the first, and forty Pounds for the second Offence. And those who knowingly suffered any such Conventicle in their Houses, Barns, Yards, &c. were to forfeit twenty Pounds.

A Bill was also passed, for authorising Commissioners of *England* to treat with those of *Scotland*, for an Union of both Kingdoms. Two Bills also passed for Supplies; and a third for rebuilding the City of *London*, and its Cathedral and Parochial Churches, and the uniting of Parishes. These Bills, and others of less Importance, were passed into Acts on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *April*.

This Act against Conventicles was the last made against Dissenters. What was said *pro* and *con* upon the Subject of these Acts, has been above taken notice of. We may only add in this Place, that the Experience of our own Times has abundantly shewn the Mistake of those Notions, that the Church could not be safe without a Prosecution of the Dissenters. On the contrary, we have lately been obliged to them for their hearty and useful Assistance, in Defence of our Holy Religion against the common Enemies of Christianity.

The Treaty for an Union with *Scotland* fruitless.

Duke of *Albemarle* dies.

The Commissioners for the Union met on both Sides. But after many Conferences, they parted with mutual Jealousies and Dissatisfactions. So that the perfecting and compassing this desirable Union, was left to shine among the other Glories of the victorious and happy Reign of *Queen Anne*.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of *January* the Duke of *Albemarle* died, by whose Conduct and Prudence the King was restored to his Crown, and the Constitution in Church and State to the Nation. He had enjoyed almost ten Years the Honours and Favours his great Services merited; and tho' he seems to have been fitted by Nature rather for the Field than for the Court, he found the Way to preserve to himself during his Life, the Respect his Merits demanded at first. An Happiness not usual with those who have done Services of so high a Nature to Princes; who are commonly

well pleased with their Subjects Merits, so long as they are capable of a Recompence; but when their Services exceed those Limits, reward them with Hatred instead of Thanks.

He was no polite Man in his Address or Way of speaking; but the great Things he compassed before the Restoration, and his prudent Behaviour after it, shew that this Defect was made up with sound Judgment. When the Restoration was brought about, it required no small Dexterity, to hit upon such a Temper as without Ostentation should keep up the Dignity due to his eminent Merit. He had an intrepid Courage, and a great deal of Fire; of which he gave many Proofs in the *Dutch Wars*.

What Time his first Intentions to serve the King rose in his Mind, is controverted; as also, whether the Restoration was owing to his good Inclinations, or was the Result of casual Events, which rather directed him, than were directed by him. The first of these will remain a Dispute, till we have some better Lights; as to the second, we may in a doubtful Case incline to the most charitable Side. It is hardly to be imagined that he had a Design to set up himself, as his Enemies have given out. He could not but see the Danger of such an Undertaking. And therefore he wisely chose to make his Way to Honours, inferior indeed, but more lawfully acquired, and more securely possessed.

His Funeral was performed with great Solemnity at the Expence of the King, who gave his blue Garter to his Son.

This Year also the Queen Mother of *England*, *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of *Henry the Fourth of France*, and Wife of *King Charles the First of England*, died in *France*. This Lady had the ill Fortune to be as little popular in her Son's as in her Husband's Reign, so that her Death was little regretted.

The King was now insensibly changing his Measures. The King of *France*, who was stopped in the Career of his Victories by the Triple Alliance, was too restlessly ambitious not to make his utmost Efforts to break it.

Our King's vast Expences upon his Pleasures, his Aversion to the Trouble of Courtship to get Money from the Parliament, and the natural Levity and Inconstancy of his Temper, gave him a fair Encouragement, as well as a Direction to proceed by. The King was governed by five Ministers, who were afterwards called the *Cabal*, which Word happened to arise from the initial Letters of their Names and Titles, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*; the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, who was an honest and worthy Patriot, decaying in his Interest.

*M. Colbert*, who, soon after the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at which Place he had been Plenipotentiary for the *French King*, came over into *England* Ambassador, easily found the means of applying himself to the Humours and Necessities of the King, and the Ambition or Avarice of his Ministers. That glorious Counsel of the Triple Alliance was rather a sudden Start, than the Fruit of solid and deliberate Advice; which last was seldom



A.D. 1669. dom made use of at the *English* Court to any good Purposes, since the late excellent Ministry had ceased to preside in the Councils there. So that the *French* Ambassador found it no hard Matter by his Arguments and Representations, seconded by a liberal Hand in Bribes, to introduce a Change in Measures entered into with so little Steadiness. He brought over the King, by laying before him the Dependence he was continually in, upon the Inclinations and Humours of his Parliament; and by Promises of concerting Measures with him to deliver him from that Slavery, by reducing his People to an absolute Subjection to him. The Ministers, who were Men void of all Principles of Honour or Virtue, or Concern for the Publick Good, were easily wrought on by proper Applications made to their Avarice or Ambition. And the Progress made by *Colbert* was such, that in less than a Year after the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he was able to send an Account of his Success in such Words as these: *I have now made them* (speaking of the *English* Ministry) *feel the whole Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.*

A.D. 1670. When the Treaty was advanced so far, the *French* Court thought fit to ratify it by a very extraordinary Ambassador, the Duchess of *Orleans* the King's Sister, who had so entirely forgot her Native Countrey and Religion, as to become the Bearer of Proposals for the Ruin of them both. The King had a particular Tendernefs for this Sister of his; and as she was become perfectly *French* as to her Religion and Principles; and was besides a Woman of uncommon Wit and Parts, the *French* Court made use of her to carry on and further this Negotiation. In order to make this Visit appear accidental, the *French* King set out under cover of seeing the vast Works that were carrying on at the Port of *Dunkirk*. She attended him thither, and being arrived so near the *English* Coast, it was natural to desire to see her Brother and Native Countrey. As soon as the King heard she designed to visit him, he resolved to meet her at *Dover*; whither himself, with his Brother and other Persons of the highest Quality rode Post. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of *May* she arrived at *Dover*, where she continued about a Fortnight. The secret Negotiations she then carried on were concealed under that Profusion of Magnificence and Variety of Entertainments that are usual upon Interviews between such eminent Persons. These Diversions were continued without Intermission till she went away, the better to conceal the real Occasion of her coming.

This Journey gave Room at that Time for many Suspensions, and for many various Conjectures since. The most authentick and credible Account of this Matter was published in 1682. by the Abbot *Primi*, a Person employed by *Monf. Colbert* himself, who allowed him a Pension for collecting his Memoirs. This Abbot says in plain Terms, that she made a Proposal to her Brother in the Name of the King of *France*; first, to

render him absolute Master of his Parliament, and to establish the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the three Kingdoms: And secondly to make an Alliance in order to the Conquest of *Holland*. The King had a Mind to begin with the Enterprize at home; so soon had he forgot the ardent Love and Zeal with which that People he desired to enslave had called him to one of the brightest Crowns in *Europe*. But she opposed this, as being a very difficult Undertaking, whilst the other was as yet unaccomplished, whereas the latter would make an easy Way for the former; and her Advice prevail'd. With Respect to the *Dutch* Republick it was agreed between them, to reduce that whole State to the small Province of *Holland*, properly so called, of which the Prince of *Orange* should be Sovereign, or at least perpetual Stadtholder; that the King of *England* should have *Zealand* to retreat to in case of Necessity; and the King of *France* should have the rest of the Provinces. This was the Scheme settled before *Madame* returned to *France*. To complete the Mischief she did, she is said to have left behind her the famous *Louise de Queroualle*, afterwards Duchess of *Portsmouth*; who gaining in Time the Ascendant over the King, proved a constant and dangerous Snare to him in his publick Counsels; the Interest of *England*, and of *Europe* it self, being too often sacrificed to the Arts and Wiles of that loose Woman.

But this Negotiation proved soon after very fatal to *Madame*. That Lady, with her

Wit and Beauty, had a great Inclination to that which in civil Language is called Gallantry. How far she had indulged herself this Way, or what Stories, true or false, had been carried to *Monsieur* her Husband, is unknown; this is certain, that she survived her Return but a little while. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of *June*, having eaten very well at Dinner and continued so for some Hours, about four in the Afternoon she called for a Glass of Succory-Water which she used to drink regularly at that Time of the Day. Having drank it off, she immediately complained it was very bitter, and presently found her self very ill, and fell into dreadful Fits of the Cholick; upon which she said, she was sure she should die, and sent for her Confessor immediately, and passed through all the Forms of the *Romish* Church. And her Illness and Pain increasing, she died about two in the Morning. Her Body being opened in the Presence of several Persons, and among them of the *English* Ambassador, they could find no manner of Cause for so sudden a Death. We are told that *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, who was Gentleman of the Horse to the King, went immediately to *St. Clou*, where she died, and though he got thither by six the same Morning, her Corps smelt so strong, that he could hardly bear the Room. He thence rode Post into *England*, and acquainted the King with what he had seen, with his Opinion upon the whole. The King at the Relation burst into Tears, and in a



A.D. 1670. Passion said, her Husband was a —; to which he added a Charge to Sir Thomas not to speak of it.

The Duke of Buckingham goes to France.

Shortly after the Duke of Buckingham went into France, in order to confirm the Agreement made at Dover, and to concert Measures for the carrying on the Design. The King of France knowing his Interest with the King, was willing to secure him; and therefore shewed him all the Tokens of Respect and Esteem he thought necessary to gain him. This Courtship used to one who was known to have an Interest with the King of England, gave much Umbrage, especially to the Dutch. Their Ambassador at Paris went in great Haste to M. de Lionne, and desired to be informed, whether the numerous Troops that were raised were designed against his Masters. But the Secretary answered him with the polite Dissimulation of a Courtier, that there were no Grounds for such Apprehensions; and that if those Troops were used in any Expedition, it would be far enough from their Territories.

The War against Holland agreed on between England and France.

The Treaty being now concluded and confirmed, the next Care was, to find means to execute the projected Scheme. To this End, the King of France who was to invade Holland by Land, took the first Step. From France to the United Provinces there are but two Ways to conduct an Army, one of them thro' the Spanish Netherlands, the other thro' the Territories of those German Princes that lie upon the Rhine. A Passage through the first of these was not to be hoped for or attempted. To force the Way by Violence would be both slow and hazardous, and infallibly produce a War with the whole Power of Spain; and it could not be expected that a free Passage should be peaceably granted by the Spaniards to a numerous Army of an ambitious Neighbour. It remained therefore to take the other Way thro' Germany, which lies in separate Dominions of several petty Princes; who by reason of their Weakness would be either safely insulted, or easily corrupted.

The Seizure of Lorrain by the French.

The Duke of Lorrain was first attacked, as having his Dominions contiguous to those of France. This Prince had been driven out of his Countrey many Years before, under Cardinal Richlieu's Administration; but by the Peace of the Pyrenees, was restored to a kind of shattered Possession of his Duchy again. The Remembrance of the past Injuries received from France, was supposed to stick so close to him, that his Concurrence in the French Designs was not to be depended upon. The French King therefore resolved to seize at once upon his Duchy, which was in it self a valuable Acquisition, and lay conveniently for the Execution of other Enterprizes. And this was accordingly done by invading his Dominions in the Height and Security of Peace, without any previous Declaration of War, or any Shadow of Right to the invaded Countrey. An Act of such Injustice and Treachery, that a Mahometan or Pagan would have blushed at it. But no Wickedness is too great to increase Domini-

on and Power. The Duke was reposing himself with so much Confidence on the universal Peace, that the French Troops narrowly missed his Person, and his Duche's fell into their Hands. He retired to a strong Place in the mountainous Part of his Countrey, and made a Shew of Resistance for some Time; but his small and hastily-collected Force not being able to encounter the numerous and disciplined French Troops, he was soon driven out.

All Europe was now a second Time alarmed at this new Violation of Peace by the French King, which was also accompanied with such foul and dishonourable Circumstances. The Thing was not only bad in it self, but a Sign of something worse than yet appeared. Discerning Men suspected, and their Suspicions were just, that France had not dared to have taken this Step, without having first concerted Measures with England. And a Conjunction of those two Powers threatened the utmost Danger to the Liberties of Europe. In the mean Time few or none guessed aright at the real Designs of the French. Every one conceived the Storm was to fall upon Flanders, and the other Spanish Dominions on that Side; the Situation of Lorrain being such, that it lay as conveniently for the Enterprize of Flanders, as for that of Holland. None thought it possible that the King of England should, without any Injury or Provocation, violate his Honour so shamefully, as to betray the Republick of Holland, with whom he was then in Alliance, to the King of France, whose Greatness they were united to oppose. So that this Acquisition not only furthered the French Enterprizes then in Hand, but did it also without giving Umbrage to those who were concerned in them. The French King having gained this important Point, lay still for the next Year; as well to give the present Alarm Time to cool, as to pursue some gentler Methods by which he proposed to clear and open the remaining Part of his Passage.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October the Parliament met. Little or nothing remarkable passed in this short Session. The most observable Thing is the King's Speech with which it was opened; in which he mentions his concluding the Triple Alliance, as a Motive for Supplies, though he knew that he was taking Measures for the effectual Dissolution of it. This seems to be the Reason why this Speech was not printed as usual; the Court having still so much Shame as not to suffer so lasting a Monument of their Fraud and Double-dealing, to be so publicly recorded. The Speech being in the Strain of former Times, the Commons believed it, and voted a large Supply, but they did not bring it into a Bill this Session.

The Prince of Orange shortly after came to England, and was received both by the King and Nation with all the Tokens of Kindness and Respect. He stayed in England three Months, which he spent partly at Court, and in Town, and partly in visiting the two Universities. The Bishop of Salisbury

It alarms all Christendom.

The Parliament meets.

England.



A.D. 1670. *Salisbury* tells us, that the King let him know the Secret of his Religion, and would have persuaded him to a Change; and that this Account was given to the Bishop by the Prince himself. It seems strange that the King should open himself in an Affair of that Consequence to one so young. But as Sir *William Temple* says besides, that the Prince once told him he had private Reasons to believe the King was a *Roman Catholick* in his Heart, so how far these two Accounts confirm and illustrate each other, the Reader will judge.

The Duke of Ormond assaulted in the Street.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of *December*, an Assault was made in the open Streets upon the Duke of *Ormond*, of a very singular Nature, whether we consider the Boldness of the Attempt, or the Villany and Barbarity of the Design. The chief Contriver and Manager of this monstrous Enterprize was one *Blood*, a Blacksmith's Son in *Ireland*; a Fellow of a fearless Courage, but of that worst Sort, which is equally undaunted at Dangers or at Crimes. He had signalized himself once before by a bold Attempt, in which he rescued one of his wicked Comrades in *Yorkshire* from the Sheriff's Men, as they were leading him to the Gallows. After this, he laid a Design in *Ireland* to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Magazine there, and to usurp the Government. But this being discovered by the Duke of *Ormond* the Night before it was to be executed, some of his Accomplices were taken, and executed as Traytors. The Deaths of these, *Blood* and the other surviving Rogues, bound themselves by solemn Oath to revenge upon the Person of the Duke. That Nobleman lived at *Clarendon House*; and was observed by *Blood* to go usually late home, and attended with only two or three Footmen; which gave that Villain Occasion to lay a Plot for the working his intended Revenge. To this end, himself, with five or six more of his Associates, well mounted and armed, waited at the Bull-Head Tavern at *Charing-Cross* till the Duke came by, and then all took Horse and galloped after him. They overtook him near his own Gate, knocked down his Footmen, took him out of his Coach, forced him up behind one of the Horsemen, to whom they tied him, and were riding away with him. The Coachman and Servants crying out, the Porter came forth, and seeing what was done, pursued them. The Duke strove so violently to free himself, that at last he got loose, and threw himself with the Villain he was tyed to, off the Horse. The rest turned back, and finding it impossible to carry him away, discharged two Pistols at him; but it being so dark that they could not see to take Aim, they missed him both Times. The Porter and other Assistance coming up, they were glad to make haste away, leaving the Duke much bruised with his Fall. Their Design, as it was afterwards found, was to carry him to *Tyburn*, and there to hang him with a Paper pinned to his Breast, expressing the Reasons of this monstrous Piece of Villany. The King of-

ferred a Thousand Pounds for the Discovery A.D. 1670. of any one concerned in it. But with so horrible a Fidelity were these Wretches linked together, that so great a Reward produced no Discovery; and they had been for ever unknown, had not another Attempt equally bold and wicked, accidentally made known the Authors of this; as we shall hereafter relate.

A few Days after, another Assault was made upon a Person also of Figure, Sir *John Coventry*, Knight of the *Bath*, and Member of the House of Commons. The Occasion of it we find thus related. Sir *John* was one of those who struggled much against the giving Money. The common Method in such Opposition is, when it fails in carrying the main Vote, to get the Money laid on Funds that will be unacceptable, or prove deficient. In a Debate for raising Supplies, some who opposed the giving Money, had moved to lay a Tax upon the Play-houses. This was opposed by the Court Party, who said, the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleasure. Upon this, *Coventry* stood up, and asked whether the King's Pleasure lay amongst the Men, or the Women there. Every one knew that the King had two Women Players for his Mistresses; so that this was easily understood, and carried with great Indignation to Court. It was said, this was the first Time the King was personally reflected on; if it was passed over, more of this kind would follow, and it would become a Fashion to talk so; and that therefore it was fit to take such severe Notice of this, that no body should dare to talk at that Rate for the future. With these Sollicitations they raised the King's Passion to that Degree, that he resolved, though the Duke of *York* dissuaded him, to send some of the Guards to watch in the Streets where Sir *John* lodged, and leave a Mark upon him. There are never wanting about Courts those who are servile enough to obey the Commands of the Prince, how unlawful soever. Sir *Thomas Sandys*, Mr. *Obrian*, and some others, went thither; and as Sir *John* was going home, they all drew about him. He stood up to the Wall, snatched the Link out of his Servant's Hands, and with that in one Hand, and his Sword in the other, defended himself with a Courage that got him great Credit. He wounded some of them; but being so much overpowered with Numbers, he was soon disarmed. And then they cut his Nose to the Bone, to teach him, as they said, to remember what Respect he owed the King; and so left him. They went back to the Duke of *Monmouth's*, who had given the Orders for this barbarous Attempt; and there *Obrian's* Arm, which was wounded in the Scuffle, was dressed. But Sir *John Coventry's* Nose was so well needled up, that the Scar was scarce discernible.

This Action put the House of Commons, when they afterwards met, into a furious Up-roar, as may well be supposed. Bills of Indictment had been found against Sir *Thomas Sandys*, *Charles Obrian Esq*; *Simon Parry*, and



A.D. 1670. and *Miles Reeves*; who all fled. The Commons passed a Bill of Banishment against them; and a Clause was inserted, that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon them. And this Quack Remedy only served to produce more bitter Reflections upon the Court; being often remembered, and much improved by all the angry Men of that Time.

Soon after this the two Houses joyned in an Address to the King, concerning the Growth of Popery, to which they received a kind Answer; and the King published his Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and Popish Priests to depart the Kingdom, and the Laws against Popish Recusants to be put in Execution.

Proceedings  
of Parliament.

From thence the Commons proceeded to the Money Bills, which they passed so freely, that the Lords began to complain of them. A notable Speech was made by the Lord *Lucas* against the giving so much Money; but the Court had such Interest as to get it burnt by the common Hangman, though that Peer had been an eminent Loyalist. One of these Money Bills produced a remarkable Controversie between the two Houses. This Bill was entitled, *An Act for an additional Imposition on several Foreign Commodities*. When it had passed the Commons, the Merchants of *London* presented a Petition to the Lords, complaining of some Hardships and Inconveniencies brought on Trade by that Bill. Their Complaints seemed so well made out to that House, that they made some Alterations in the Bill, and sent them down to the Commons. But after an amicable Conference or two on both Sides, the House of Commons declared, that the House of Peers have no Right to make Alterations in Money Bills. This produced Resolutions on both Sides, urged and confirmed by very acute Reasoning. This Controversie would have been long in deciding by Arguments alone; but the King finding the Bill at a full Stop by this Diffension, and wanting the Money given by the other three, came to the House; and having passed several Acts, prorogued the Parliament; which was not suffered to sit again till almost two Years after, the Court falling now into Measures to which a sitting Parliament would have proved very thwarting.

The Parliament  
prorogued.

A.D. 1671.

The Death  
of the Duchess  
of York.

The Year 1671. began with the Death of the Duchess of *York*. She was a Woman of very good Parts and Understanding; and of great Strictness in Religion. She had been bred in that Way during her Youth; and to her great Praise it is said of her, that her Alliance to the Royal Family, and the Honours attending that high Elevation, did not change her in that Respect. But some Years afterwards, howsoever it was, she left the Church of *England*, of which she had continued a constant and zealous Member, and went over to the Church of *Rome*. The Reasons of this Change, (such as they are) she gives an Account of in a Paper which was afterwards made publick. Yet she took Care to

conceal it so well, that it continued undiscovered for a long Time. She died after a lingering Indisposition of Body, that had hung upon her many Years; and was thought by some to have been the Effect of the Duke's vagrant Amours. For in the former Part of his Life he was as much a Libertine as his Brother. She bore him four Sons, and four Daughters, of whom six died; and only two Daughters, *Mary* and *Anne*, lived to full Age. These were those two excellent Queens who afterwards wore the Crown of these Realms, whom Heaven preserved alive to make them Blessings in After-Times, to our native Countrey, and to the Christian World; the divine Providence having delivered *Britain* by the one, and *Europe* by the other.

Shortly after the Duke thought fit to abjure the Protestant Religion in Form. He had concealed his Religion for some Years; though as Truth will discover it self, it began of late to be more and more suspected. He had no Mind yet to make this formal Profession, but he was brought to it by the Contrivance of the *Romish* Priests, from a peculiar Inducement. The King, who disliked the Queen's Person upon many Accounts, had long entertained a Design of being divorced from her. We are told that this came before the Court of *Rome*, who gave into it, in Hopes, as we may suppose, of obliging the King to make them some suitable Return for so great a Favour. And the Affair went on so successfully, that the Divorce was concluded on at *Rome*. This startled the Duke, who saw himself shut out from the Crown, if the King by this Divorce, should bring a fruitful Consort to his Bed. And the *Romish* Priests, willing to make themselves secure of so important a Convert, took this Opportunity to promise, upon his formal Abjuration, to stop that Negotiation. This Motive prevailed on him, and they were as good as their Word; the Divorce being soon after laid aside, and forgot.

A new Star began to shine at this Time at Court. The King had begun his loose Amours with one Mrs. *Lucy Barlow*, alias *Walters*, when he was about nineteen Years of Age. He had by her a Son named *James*, whom he loved with a great Tenderness. He made him first Duke of *Monmouth*, at the Age of thirteen; and afterwards loaded him with all the Honours and Wealth so great a King could confer. He was now come to his full Age, and adorned in his Person and Behaviour with all those Ornaments and Accomplishments that make a Figure in Courts. He had all in him that goes to the making of a perfectly handsome Man; and was Master of those bodily Exercises that set off a well-made Person, and form the complete Outside of a fine Gentleman. And to this, a natural Sweetness of Temper being added, which took off all ungraceful Pride and Stiffness, his Appearance and Behaviour could not be otherwise than engaging and captivating. So that he increased daily in the Affection

A.D. 1671.

The Duke of  
*York* abjures  
the Protestant  
Religion.

The Duke of  
*Monmouth*  
begins to appear.



A.D. 1671. fection of the King, and the Love of the People. But with less of both he had been more happy. For the high Situation to which he was carried up by the King's Favour, and the popular Breath, exposed him to the Sollicitations of ill designing Men; which he was too easie to attend to, the Solidity of his Judgment not answering to his outward Accomplishments. And these engaged him in turbulent and perilous Intrigues, which at last proved fatal to him.

*Blood steals the Crown out of the Tower.*

A strange and bold Attempt was made about this Time to steal the Royal Crown and Scepter out of the Tower of London, by Thomas Blood, and his Associates abovementioned. It seems that Blood had insinuated himself under the Character and in the Habit of a Clergyman, into the Acquaintance of Mr. Edwards, who had the Regalia in his keeping, under Pretence of helping Mr. Edwards's Daughter to a good Match. Under this Colour he became intimate in the Family; and on the Day appointed for the Execution of the Design, he brought two or three of his Associates to dine with Mr. Edwards, one of whom was the pretended Lover; at which Time all Things were to be settled. While they were waiting for Dinner, Blood proposed to carry his Friends to see the Regalia, to pass away the Time; Mr. Edwards going with them. But as soon as they were entered the Room, Blood and his Companions shut the Door, and put a Gag in the old Man's Mouth, telling him if he offered to stir, or make the least Noise, he should be killed. Then they took the Crown and put it into a Bag, and the Scepter into another, having first filed this last into two Pieces for the easier Carriage. But while this was doing by some of them, Mr. Edwards struggled so to make a Noise, that they were obliged to give him so many Stabs as laid him for dead. When all this was done, they went away quietly, and unsuspected. But it happened that the poor old Man had so much Strength left, that he was sensible when they went away; and got up, and gave the Alarm; and they were so closely pursued, that Blood, and the others who carried the Regalia, were seized, and every Thing brought back safely.

Blood was brought soon after before the King and Council, where he behaved himself with a fearless Audacity. He confessed himself to have been the Author of the late Attempt on the Duke of Ormond; and added, that he had several Times designed to kill the King. And this he did without any Necessity, but by Way of boasting, to shew himself capable of any Thing. Nevertheless so mysterious were the Proceedings of the Court at this Time, that this desperate Villain was soon after released, had a Pension settled on him, and became a Person of Weight and Interest among the ruling Great Men.

The Designs of the Cabal were now ripe for Execution. The Parliament had given the King Money, and a great Sum had been received from France. But it being necessary, or at least usual in a Declaration of War, to assign some Reasons for declaring it, they

were much put to it to find them. This gave them Trouble for some Time. For though it is not unknown to the World, that Wars are more often begun to gratifie the Ambition, or Humours of Princes, or sometimes of their Favourites, than for any solid Cause; yet Men are apt to expect some Pretences at least, to serve as an Excuse for the shedding of those Streams of Blood, and for introducing those numberless Mischiefs that attend a State of War.

While the Cabal was in this Difficulty, an Incident happened which gave them some Relief. One of the King's Yachts was sent to Holland to bring over Sir William Temple's Lady; her Husband's Embassy being at an End. The Dutch Fleet were at that Time in the narrow Seas; and the Captain of the Yacht had Orders, if he came in Sight of them, to sail through them, and shoot at those Ships which were next him, till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again; and then to pursue his Course. He passed into Holland without seeing the Fleet, but as he returned he met with them. He sailed through them, and they did not strike; upon which he fired several Shot at them. They either did not, or would not understand him; and sent a Boat on Board him to enquire if he were in Distress. The Captain told them he had been sent to bring back the English Ambassadors, with her Family from Holland; and that he had Orders to make the Dutch Fleet strike, if he met them in the Channel. Upon this, the Dutch Vice-Admiral came on Board the Yacht; and having made his Compliments to Lady Temple, desired to know the Reason of the Captain's Shooting. He received the same Answer as before; to which he replied, that he had no Orders from his Masters in that Point, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between the King and the States: But even though it were settled, yet he said the Captain could not pretend that the Fleet and Admiral should strike to a Yacht, which was but a Pleasure Boat, or at least served only for Passage, and could not pass for one of the King's Men of War. The Captain said he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. The Dutch Admiral went away, and left the Captain in great Perplexity. It was dangerous to provoke so great a Fleet by firing at them, till they shot at him again; and perhaps too he was not well satisfied with his Errand, which was plainly to pick a Quarrel. Yet on the other Hand his Orders were positive. So he went to Lady Temple, and desired to know what she pleased he should do, hoping to excuse his farther shooting by the Lady's Fear. But she answered him, that he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left him to follow as he thought fit, without Regard to her or her Children. However, the Captain without firing, pursued his Course, and landed her in England.

The News of this both pleased and disappointed the Court. They were pleased that the Dutch refused to strike to the King

*The Dutch refuse to strike Sail to the King's Yacht.*



A.D.1671. of *England's* Flag; but disappointed, because they did not fire at the Yacht. And the Captain was severely censured for not firing till he provoked them to shoot at him. However, here was a Foundation laid for a Complaint, which was what they wanted.

The King makes a Progress.

In *September* the King made a Progress into the Eastern Parts of his Kingdom, which he had not yet seen. In his Progress he visited *Norwich, Yarmouth, and Cambridge*; with the second of which he was so delighted, that he said, He did not think he had such a Place in his Dominions. After a Progress of about a Month he returned to *White-hall*; and on the Lord Mayor's Day was formally invited to dine in his City of *London*, now just recovered from its Ruins.

The shutting up the Exchequer.

The *Dutch* War was to begin the next Spring; and as the Grounds of the War were very bad, so the Preparations made for it were suitable. The first dishonourable Step the Court took, was the shutting up the *Exchequer*. The Parliament had given the King a great deal of Money the last Sessions; and, we are told, the King of *France* had remitted hither seven hundred thousand Pounds. But all this was by this Time laid out in Expences, necessary and otherwise, and Money began again to be wanting. No fresh Supplies were to be expected from the Parliament to maintain a War so universally odious. So that the King and Ministry were left to help themselves by their own Inventions and Devices. The King being under these Difficulties, in a private Meeting with his Ministers, declared that if any of them could invent a Method to raise about fifteen hundred thousand Pounds, without a Parliament, he should have the Lord Treasurer's Place. The next Day the Lord *Ashley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, that there was a Way to supply the King immediately with such a Sum; but it was hazardous, and might have ill Consequences, by inflaming both the Parliament and People. *Clifford*, who was of a bold and daring Temper, and feared no Consequences, was on Fire to get this Secret. To this End he plying Lord *Ashley* with Visits, and by drinking him to a proper Height one Night, got his Project from him, which was, to shut up the *Exchequer*. *Clifford* immediately left him, went to *White-Hall*, and without going to Bed, waited till the King rose. He then went into him, fell on his Knees, and demanded the White Staff. The King cried out, *God's Fish! I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Money.* Sir *Thomas* then told him, if he would shut up the *Exchequer*, he might have fifteen hundred thousand Pounds. The King soon fell in with this Project; and *Clifford* was made Lord High Treasurer, and a Peer for this Service, which in Justice deserved a very different kind of a Recompence. The Lord *Ashley* was not pleased to be thus circumvented; but the Thing was done, so that his Complaints came too late. However to satisfy him, the King made him first, Earl of

*Shaftsbury*, and sometime after Lord Chancellor. A.D.1671.

The shutting up the *Exchequer* produced universal Murmurs and Complaints, for all the Nation felt it. Most of the Bankers in *London* were ruined by it, and many others by Consequence. The Way in those Times was, that the King furnished himself with Money from the Bankers, who had great Sums always lying in their Hands; assigning the Revenue over to them. They drove a very gainful Trade by this Means; for the Money they had of others bore Interest only at the Rate of six *per Cent* or less; whereas they received eight *per Cent* for that they lent the King. From hence it came to pass that the *Exchequer* was very full; the Bankers carrying all their Money thither, on Account of the great Profit they made of it there. But now all Payments to them out of the *Exchequer* being stopped, they could no longer answer the Demands of their Creditors. So that many of them broke; and the private Persons who had Money in their Hands losing it, it occasioned a general Concussion amongst all the trading and monied Men. In the same Declaration in which this Stop of Payments was signified, the King promised that it should continue no longer than that Year; but he was not so good as his Word.

Raises great Discontents.

This Business of the *Exchequer* was a violent Strain upon the King's Honour and Faith, and yet was succeeded immediately after with another of the same kind as extraordinary. A Fleet of seventy two *Dutch* Merchant Men were coming from the *Streights* so richly laden, that the Fleet was valued at a Million and half. The *French* Court, who were willing to ease themselves of the Payments they were forced to make to the King, represented to the Court how easily the King might take this Fleet; and how such a Prize would, perhaps, serve his Occasions during the whole War, without giving him Trouble to raise Money any other Way. This was indeed proposing a very perfidious and dishonourable Action, it being contrary to the Law of Nations to attack another State, without a Declaration of War; and besides, by the Treaty of *Breda*, it was stipulated, that in Case of a Rupture, no Merchant Ships should be molested for six Months after such Declaration; which was done for the Security of Trade. But the *French* knew they had to do with Persons not very scrupulous. The Proposal was closed with, and Sir *Robert Holmes* was ordered to attack them.

A.D.1672.

But as this Enterprize was begun with Treachery, it was executed with ill Conduct, and ended in Disappointment. The Secret was so ill kept, that the *Dutch* had Intelligence of the Design, and had sent Advice of it to the Fleet, with Orders to them to avoid the Channel, and come round by the North of *Scotland*. But when these Advices came to the Fleet, it was advanced so far into the *English* Seas, that they could not change their Course, the Wind being contrary. So they went on, but put themselves into

Attempt on the *Dutch* *Smyrna* Fleet.



A.D. 1672. into as good a Posture of Defence as possible. They strengthened their Fleet by some Spanish Ships, and an Amsterdam Man of War they met with; and cleared the Decks of the Merchant-Men for Fight, by throwing great Quantities of Goods overboard.

Another Piece of ill Conduct was this. Holmes, in his Passage to the Isle of Wight, where he was to wait for the Dutch Fleet, met Sir Edward Sprag returning from the Streights with a Squadron of Men of War; who told Holmes that he had sailed along with the Dutch the most Part of the Way, and that they would pass in a Day or two. Holmes let Sprag pass on without acquainting him with his Design, that he might have none to share with him in the Booty he thought himself sure of. This saved the Dutch Fleet; for had Holmes been assisted by that Squadron, not a Ship would probably have escaped.

Besides all this, the fitting out the Squadron designed for the taking this Prize was carried on with that Remissness and Negligence, that when the Approach of the Dutch was given Notice of, all the English Ships were not ready. Only seven or eight were in a Condition to put to Sea, a Force rather unequal than superior to that of the Dutch. But Sir Robert Holmes either not knowing, or not regarding the good Order they had taken for their Defence, resolved however to attempt them.

*The Dutch Fleet attacked.* March 30. He came in Sight of the Dutch Fleet. He gave the Signal for forming a Line, and soon after came up with a Ship of eighty Guns, and, as it were by Way of Compliment, sent to desire the Dutch Admiral to come on Board him. His next commanding Officer did the same to the Dutch Rear-Admiral; Holmes's Intention being to maim the Convoy by seizing the principal Officers under Cover of Friendship and Civility. The Dutch Commanders were upon their Guard, and De Haas, the Admiral, sent his civil Excuses for not leaving his Ship, and ordered his Pilot to wait upon the English Admiral with them, and to shew him all Manner of Respect. Du Bois, the Rear-Admiral, sent Word more roughly, That if the English Commander had any Thing to say, he might come to him. This Project failing, Holmes began the Attack openly, saluting the Dutch Admiral with a Broadside; and immediately the other English Ships fell upon the rest.

The Dutch Merchant-Men, being between seventy and eighty in Number, had divided themselves into three Squadrons, disposed in the Form of a Crescent, each Squadron being guarded with two Men of War. In this Order their Fleet made one great, firm, and stable Body; which the few English Ships failed round and round, attacking them sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, in order to break the Line, and put them in Confusion. In this manner the Fight continued till Sun-set. But the Dutch Merchant-men being many of them provided with Cannon, defended themselves so well, that with the Assistance of their Convoys,

who very bravely covered and protected them, they drove the English from Place to Place, and kept them from making any Impression; so that Holmes's Ships having often renewed their Attack, and being every where repulsed, were obliged to stand off, under Pretence of the Night coming on. The Dutch Commadore De Haas, was killed in the Fight.

The following Day Sir Robert Holmes being reinforced with four Frigates, and a Ketch or two, renewed the Fight. It continued all the Morning in the same Order and with the same Success as before. But in the Afternoon, Holmes, ashamed and vexed to see himself defeated, and disappointed of a Victory and Prey he had thought so certain, made a more furious Attack than ever, in which he cut off from the Dutch Line a Man of War of fifty four Guns, which he boarded and took. By this means four of the nearest Merchant Ships fell into his Hands, two of them richly laden, the others of less Value. But during this Action, the Night came on; which not only hindered the English from pursuing their Advantage; but gave an Opportunity to the Dutch to escape, who soon after got safely into their Ports.

The News of this Action startled and amazed all Europe. Wise and thinking Men could scarce believe, that the King of England, who had gained so much Honour by the Triple Alliance, could be persuaded to break it; and that too in such a Manner, that the Glory of concluding it was utterly effaced by this infamous Step by which it was broke. All Foreign States were in the utmost Astonishment, to see the King who had with so much Applause saved Flanders from the French, proceed by Counsels so opposite, as to deliver Holland up to the same Power he had so wisely curbed and restrained before. The Dutch themselves could not believe it, till this Blow was given; but expected the Unkindness the King had lately shewn them, would end in Demands of Money, or of restoring the Prince of Orange. Even the French Court, who had so ill an Opinion of our Ministers as to make this dishonourable Proposal to them, had yet so good an one as to believe they could not be brought to it; so that till the News arrived, that very Court did not think such an Attempt would have been made. But now the Conjunction of England with France, which was hitherto only suspected, and that but by few, became apparent to all by this Attack upon the Dutch Smyrna Fleet. The Pensionary of Holland, M. de Witte, was so startled at it, that while the Letter giving an Account of it was read in an Assembly of the States, he fell back into his Chair, almost in a Swoon; and in Truth the United Provinces were never in such Danger since their first Settlement.

Four Days after this, the King's Declaration of War against the Dutch was published in Form. But the Time being fruitful of uncommon Occurrences, there was taken in the



A.D. 1672. the short intermediate Space a third very extraordinary Step, which was the issuing a second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to Dissenters. The ill Success of the first has been above taken notice of; but the Cabal, who had promised the King to set him above Parliaments, were not to be discouraged by that Consideration. They had engaged to set the King's Power above the Laws; and by this Step they not unreasonably had Hopes of doing it.

The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to Dissenters.

The Purport of this Declaration was, that the King by Virtue of his supreme Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, did suspend the Execution of all penal Laws against Nonconformists and Recusants. That to prevent seditious and illegal Meetings, he would allow a certain and sufficient Number of Places throughout the Kingdom, for their assembling in order to the Exercise of their Worship; and that none should meet in any Place till it was so allowed, and the Teacher approved by the King. That this Indulgence should extend to all Sorts of Nonconformists and Recusants, except the Papists, who were utterly excluded from any publick Places of Worship, which was only to be suffered in their private Houses.

The wicked Designs of that Declaration.

Scarcely ever were such pernicious Counsels concealed under so specious a Disguise as were in this Declaration. Liberty of Conscience is a Thing so reasonable, so humane, and so christian, that 'tis hard to think any Inconvenience could arise from granting it. Yet under this Cover our whole Constitution in Church and State was to receive a secret and deadly Wound. For the King having here openly assumed a Power of dispensing with Acts of Parliament, which is no Ways different from a Power of repealing them but in Name; this Declaration put all the Laws of our Countrey at his Mercy. The Transition was easy from one Law to another, and the Precedent equally applicable to all of them. And the giving Ease to scrupulous Consciences, which was the Pretence, made the Action indeed more specious, and therefore more dangerous; but not more legal, nor its Consequences less fatal.

All this was very well seen and known, both by the Court and those who opposed it; and it produced a very odd and unusual Conduct on both Sides at the Meeting of the next Parliament; where an arbitrary and Popish Ministry were striving violently on the behalf of Toleration, while the Patrons of Liberty as eagerly contended to abolish it.

But the Intentions of the Court by this Declaration, were not only to make a Precedent to the Advantage of the King's Prerogative for the future, but to carry on more easily their present Designs. The King was entering into a War universally odious to the Nation, of which the Dissenters make a considerable Part. These were ill affected to the Government on account of the severe Laws made against them, and their Clamours were like to increase the universal ill Humour. And by this Declaration the Ministry hoped

to byass them so far, that they might rather weigh in the Court Scale than on the contrary. They added also Pensions of fifty and a hundred Pounds a Year, to the most noted of them. These Arts were not without Success; for the Dissenters were generally quiet and complying enough, some few excepted. They made use of the Indulgence, and had their Meetings regularly. The Presbyterians came in a Body, and Dr. *Manton* at the Head of them thanked the King for it. Yet the Court was not so successful as they could have wished. The Acknowledgments made by the Dissenters were not so general as they expected. The wiser Sort saw that all this Kindness was not shewn out of pure Love; it not being natural to suppose that a Set of Men, among whom those who had any Religion at all were Papists, should be so much concerned on a sudden for the Quiet and Repose of tender Consciences. *Baxter* refused his Pension, and *Manton*, who thanked the King for the Indulgence, was much blamed by the more prudent amongst them, for giving that Countenance to an illegal Act.

A.D. 1672.

Four Days after the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, the Declaration of War was published in Form. The Reasons alledged for it, were some Wrongs said to be done in the *East* and *West-Indies* to our Countreymen; some abusive Pictures, and Medals derogatory to the King's Honour; and the refusing to strike to the Yacht last Summer. Of these Articles the first had been in Agitation a long Time; and Sir *William Temple* tells us the *Dutch* Reasons seemed to him but too well grounded. The second scarce deserved the Representation of a Minister, much less a Declaration of War; they being the Effects of the Petulancy of private Persons inseparable from free States. And as to the third, the *Dutch* had offered Satisfaction for the future. But when a Quarrel is resolved on, Pretences are easily found or made.

The War declared by England.

The Court of *France* had been quiet ever since the Seizure of *Lorraine*; and had even laid the *Dutch* asleep in some Measure, with Promises that their great Preparations were not designed against their State. But in the mean Time, they had been secretly negotiating with the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster*, who are Neighbours to the *Dutch*, and succeeded so well, that those Princes were persuaded to join themselves to *France*; and the Elector of *Cologne* was prevailed on to receive *French* Garisons into his Towns. This made a clear Passage from *France* to *Holland*, and struck such a Terror into the other Princes and States on the *Rhine*, that none dared to move to assist the *Dutch*. He then published his Declaration of War against them; in which he was not so scrupulous as our Court, who alledged some Pretences at least for their Declaration, however trivial. But his Most Christian Majesty acted more sincerely, and was content to say, that he had long been offended with the States, and could not without Diminution of his Glory, dissemble his Indignation any longer;

And by France.



A.D. 1672. er; or, in plain *English*, that he fell out with them because he had a Mind to do so.

The French King invades Holland. The Way through *Germany* to *Holland* being made clear by the Alliance of the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster*, and *England* having openly declared it self against that State, by the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet followed by a Declaration of War, the King of *France* at the Head of 120000 Men, attended by his chief Ministers and Generals, came down like a Torrent upon those Provinces that lie on the *German* Side. He found every Thing there entirely unprepared to resist so powerful an Invasion. The Towns were ill fortified and ill supplied; commanded by Governours that had no Courage or Practice in military Affairs, who only looked on their Governments as Places to make their own private Advantage of. These Towns and Fortresses had been reckoned impregnable during the Wars of the Republick with *Spain*; but now being so ill provided and commanded, not one of them made any Shew of Resistance. So that the *French* became Masters of the Inland Provinces, in as little Time as Travellers usually employ to view and consider them. The Provinces of *Guelderland*, *Overysfel*, and *Utrecht*, fell entirely into the Hands of the *French*; and the Bishop of *Munster* was making a formidable Impression on *Groningen*, and at last besieged the City of that Name. So that almost four of the seven Provinces were totally lost; and the King of *France* was making an Impression upon the others, having taken *Naerden* within three Leagues of *Amsterdam*.

The Dutch lay all their Country under Water.

Amsterdam saved by a wonderful Accident.

The *Dutch* were now in the utmost Extremities. All the Opposition they could make was to break down their Dykes, and set open their Sluices, and to lay the whole Country under Water, to the unspeakable Damage of thousands of their People. But it was the only Defence they had; and it proved the saving of what remained, and of the whole State with it. *Amsterdam* was preserved by it as it were miraculously. That City upon the taking of *Naerden*, and the Approach of the *French* still nearer towards them, was filled with the utmost Consternation and Despair. Nothing was thought of but Treating and Submission. The *French* had advanced within about five or six Miles of *Amsterdam* to a little Town called *Muyden*, the Keys of which were delivered to them. But the Place appearing inconsiderable, they in Contempt threw the Keys into the Ditch, and went back to *Naerden*. This saved *Amsterdam*. For this Town of *Muyden* had the Command of so much Water as would overflow the Country as far as that City. And the Prince of *Orange* sent in all haste, as soon as the *French* were gone, two Battalions to secure it. The *French* soon afterwards understood the Importance of the Place, and sent another Party to seize it; but they found themselves prevented, and their Progress checked by the Inundation that had been let loose during their Absence. In like Man-

ner, throughout the three remaining Provinces all the Water that could be collected was poured out upon the Land; so that all those flat Countries became a Sea, in which the Cities and Towns appeared like Islands.

This gave the *Dutch* a little breathing Time, but their Case was still very deplorable. They had a mighty King in their Country possessed of above half of it; they were attacked at Sea by the *English*; their State was divided into most violent Factions of Friends and Enemies to the House of *Orange*; their Troops were few, dispirited, and undisciplined; and the Water that had saved them hitherto, was likely to fail them when the Frosts of the Winter should come.

They thought there was no Remedy but to send Ambassadors to the King of *France*; who kept his Court at *Utrecht*, with the same Order and Splendor as if he had been at *Versailles*. They came like those who were rather to receive his Commands, than to enter into a Treaty. The *French* King's Council was divided upon their coming. M. *Pomponne* proposed Terms in Appearance very moderate; namely that the King should restore all that he had taken that belonged to the seven Provinces, and should require only the Surrender of *Maestricht*, *Boisleduc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen-op-zoom*, which are not in any one of them. This he proposed, as supposing that this Shew of Moderation would put a Stop to the Commotion all *Germany* was in; for the Princes and States there, seeing their own Ruin in that of the *Dutch*, began to move vigorously to their Assistance. And yet by this Means the *French* King would have effectually compass'd his Ends, by separating *Holland* and the Empire from the *Spanish Netherlands*; which would be of consequence an easy Prey at any Time. These Terms the *Dutch* would have yielded to without Difficulty; though it was easy to see that such Concessions would have only delayed, not prevented their Chains. So low were they brought at that Time. But M. *Louvois* insisted upon harder Terms. His Advice was that the King should demand of them over and above, a vast Sum for the Charge of that Campaign; the giving the chief Church in every Town for the Exercise of the *Papish* Religion; that they should put themselves under the Protection of *France*, and send an Ambassador every Year with a Medal acknowledging it; and enter into no Treaties or Alliances but by the Direction of *France*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were amazed when these imperious Demands were proposed to them. One of them swooned away when he heard them read; he could not bear to yield to them, nor see how they could be refused. One Article was put in for Form that they should give the King of *England* full Satisfaction. But the other Demands were made without any Concert with *England*; the *French* Court not apprehending the King's Resentment, though they gave him so much Reason for it.

The more rigorous Advice prevailed in the French

The deplorable Condition of the Dutch.

They send Ambassadors to the French King.

The slavish Conditions imposed on them.



A.D. 1672. *French* Council; and by prevailing, defeated their Design. The former Terms, tho' in Conclusion they would have brought about the same Thing, had nevertheless been certainly complied with. But the others carried those Marks of Slavery with them, that no free People could bear to submit to them, while their Submission could be deferred an Hour. The *Dutch* being as yet secured by the Waters that surrounded them, rejected those imperious Conditions, and chose rather to abide the Power of their Enemies. And their Constancy was rewarded by the Expulsion of the *French*, and their perfect Restoration to Freedom and Security.

Those Conditions bravely rejected.

A great Revolution in Holland.

In the mean Time, the Danger and Consternation they were in, according to the Custom of Democratical States, put them in a Rage with those who had the Administration of Affairs. *M. de Witte* had administered that State as Pensionary of *Holland* about eighteen Years with great Honour to himself and Advantage to his Country. But now the Misfortunes they fell into threw the common People, who in *Holland* are the Masters, into a violent Fury against him. That Republick had been long divided into two Parties. The first of these was for giving to the Princes of *Orange* those Honours and Commands which their Ancestor *Will. I.* had purchased by setting up and preserving their infant Republick. The other Party thought those Princes too powerful for a free State; and they did not want Examples of the Hazard their Liberties had sometimes run from the too great Power of the House of *Orange*. The former Party was brought very low by the Declension of that Family; which consisting only of one Prince of a weakly Constitution, and born after his Father's Death, was utterly unable to support or assist their Party during his Childhood. But now the imminent Peril the State was encompassed with, turned the Multitude on that Side. They cried out that the Reason of their present Misfortunes was that the Prince of *Orange* was kept from the Honours due to him; and throughout all the Towns that remained unconquered, the general Voice ran, that they should never be delivered till he was restored to the Dignities his Ancestors had enjoyed. In extreme Distress Men are glad to find Fault with the present Measures whether with Reason or not; because a Fault either discovered or supposed in them, gives hopes of Relief from a Change of Counsels. For in Reason little Help could be expected from a Prince scarce one and twenty, towards freeing an oppressed, or healing a divided Nation; though it proved so happy in the Event. Their Love to the Prince exasperated the People still more against *M. de Witte* who was known to be the Head of the Party opposite to his Interests; and their Hatred to him increased to that Fury, that at length that Minister and his Brother were, in a popular Tumult, murdered with the most dreadful Circumstances of Rage and Cruelty.

The Murder of the two *De Witte's*.

The tragical End of the two *De Witte's*, A.D. 1672. though a most horrible Act in itself, produced this Benefit, that their Faction being suppressed, the Magistracy in all the Towns of *Holland* was almost unanimously conferred upon those who were Friends to the House of *Orange*. This produced Union among the States, who became all of the same Party. The Prince of *Orange* was set at the Head of the Army; and he took such prudent Measures as put a Spirit and Courage into them they had not been used to. He posted himself so advantageously to cover that part of the Country that was not defended by the Inundation, that the *French* could never force him. Nor was he only serviceable to his Countrymen in the Field, but in their publick Councils infused new Life into them by his prudent Advices and noble Sentiments. And such was the Resolution he put into them to maintain their Freedom, that they bravely resolved, if the *French* Arms should at last prevail, to leave their Country, and seek new Seats in the *East-Indies*, where they might enjoy Liberty, though in Exile, rather than bear a Tyrant's Yoke in their native Land. The State of the Shipping capable of so long a Voyage was examined, and it was computed that they could transport above two hundred thousand People thither.

The admirable Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*.

A noble Resolution taken by the *Dutch*.

But they had no occasion to execute that Resolution. The King of *France* went away from *Utrecht* in July, against the Advice of the wisest of his Counsellors, to receive the Flatteries prepared for him at *Paris*. He so diminished his Army by the Troops he took away with him, the Garrisons he placed in the Towns he had taken, and by a Detachment sent against the Elector of *Brandenburg* who came to assist the *Dutch*, that he wanted Forces enough to penetrate farther. And thus that Enterprize proved abortive at last. He also gave the Command of the Forces he left there to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, which was another false Step; for he was a Man of a fierce and cruel Nature, without Bowels of Pity, or Sense of Justice; and the Barbarities and Perfidiousness he was guilty of, fixed the *Dutch* in those obstinate Resolutions they had taken.

The *French* Enterprize frustrated at last.

A remarkable Deliverance happened to the *Dutch* during the Winter. It was expected by the *French* that the Frosts, which in *Holland* are very severe, would make a Way over the Ice to those Places that were inaccessible before. Accordingly, all things were prepared for an Invasion against that Time; and with such Dexterity that the *Dutch* did not suspect it. The Frost came; and it froze and thawed by Turns for some Time, which they reckon makes the Ice firmest. At last a Frost continued so strong for some Days, that upon piercing and examining the Ice, they concluded it could not be dissolved by any ordinary Thaw in less than two Days. With this Encouragement the Duke of *Luxembourg* marched out of *Utrecht* towards *Leyden* with 16000 Men at Midnight. They no sooner began their March, but

A strange Escape the *Dutch* met with.



A.D.1672. but a Thaw-Wind blew very fresh. They yet marched on till Day-light, but the Ice melted under them so fast that they could get no farther. Two little Towns, *Swammerdam* and *Bodegrave*, had the Misfortune to be near the End of their March; which Towns they gained with some Difficulty. *Luxembourg*, enraged to see his hopeful Scheme thus disappointed, revenged it upon the poor Inhabitants of those two Towns. All the Barbarities that monstrous Lust and inhumane Cruelty could put into the Heads of Men, as pitiless as Tygers, were exercised there. Mean while the Thaw still continued, so that it was not possible to return by the Way they came; the Ice over which they had passed before being dissolved to the depth of three Foot. They were obliged to come back over the Causeys; but in their Return, they met a Fort built so across their March, that they must needs pass through it. Had the Governor had the Courage to have stayed to defend it, they had been all taken Prisoners; being shut up on all other Sides by the Water. But not knowing what had happened to them, and seeing them come from that Side of the Country where they had never entered before, he thought all had been lost; and therefore forsook his Post, leaving the Passage free to them. He was afterwards put to Death for it.

This narrow Escape, and the Loss of 600 Soldiers that were drowned by venturing too far, frightened the *French* from making any more Attempts to invade this watery Country during the Winter.

The Affairs  
at Sea.

The Misfortunes of the *Dutch* on Land were somewhat alleviated by the State of their Affairs at Sea; in which Element, tho' they really gained no Advantage, yet they defended themselves so well, as to defeat their Enemies Designs. The Success that attended the *English* Fleets in the former War, seemed now to have forsaken them. The *English* Courage was damped by the Foresight every one had, that the Ruin of *Holland* must necessarily weaken the Protestant Interest, and increase the *French* Power, which was universally odious and suspected. So that several of the bravest and most experienced Sea-Officers, who had signalized themselves in the former War, declined the Service, or engaged in it unwillingly. Those Notions being also spread among the common Seamen, made the Service odious. The *English* Sea Forces were also weakened instead of being augmented, by their Conjunction with the *French*, who made Part of the Fleet without affording any Assistance. For the King of *France* was not afraid to mock our King so openly, as to send his Ships under Pretence of assisting the *English*, and yet with secret Orders to forsake them at the Beginning of every Fight.

Under these Disadvantages the War began at Sea this Summer. The *English* Fleet being ready, was soon after joined by a *French* Squadron commanded by the Count *d'Estrées*. This Confederate Fleet lying at Anchor in *Sould-Bay*, May 28. between two and three

in the Morning, the Scout Ships by firing their Cannon, gave Notice of the Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet. *De Ruyter* who commanded it, hearing that the *English* were at Anchor there, and thinking more of the Rejoicings usual on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, than of engaging an Enemy, steered towards the Bay. He found them there perfectly secure of any Attack; it not being usual for the *Dutch* to be the Aggressors. But as soon as he appeared they were forced to cut their Cables in all Haste, and range themselves in as good Order as the Time would permit. *De Ruyter* intended to have sent Fire-ships among the Confederate Fleet; which being confined in a narrow Bay must have been in great Danger from them. But the Earl of *Sandwich* (who had foreseen the Danger of being surprized there) immediately sailed out, almost alone, to keep off the Enemy; and presently after there fell a sudden Calm, which prevented that Design. After the Calm the Wind came to the South-East, and the Engagement began between seven and eight in the Morning. *De Ruyter* attacked the Duke of *York*, and they were engaged Ship to Ship above two Hours. *Bankert* attacked the *French* under the Count *d'Estrées*; and *Van Ghent* fell upon the Blue Squadron under the Earl of *Sandwich*.

The Earl advanced before his Squadron, and interposed between the Enemy and them, to give them Time to put themselves in Order. He was attacked by Captain *Brakel*, (the same that began the Attack at *Chatham*) who depending on the Assistance of his Friends, sailed up boldly and grappled with the Earl. The *Dutch* had entirely the Advantage of the Wind, which blew directly into the Bay, and by that means kept the *English* from coming out to assist him, at the same Time that it gave Opportunities to the *Dutch* of continually supporting his Adversary; so that this brave Earl was forced to stand alone against the greatest Part of *Van Ghent's* Squadron, his own not coming to relieve him.

The *French* soon fled, not for Want of Courage, but by Orders from their Master, who desired to see the Naval Forces of *England* and *Holland* ruined by each other, that they might come nearer an Equality with his own. *Bankert* the *Dutch* Admiral pursued them till he thought they durst not return to the Fight. But this was more than needed, for they had no Intention so to do; and when *Bankert* ceased his Pursuit, and went back to attack the *English*, they still kept off, and never stirred to assist their Allies, though oppressed with such inequality of Numbers.

The Red Squadron where the Duke of *York* was, maintained a furious Combat with *De Ruyter*. The Duke of *York's* Ship suffered so much, that he was forced to leave it. The Fight continued with little Advantage on either Side; till *Bankert* returning from the Pursuit of the *French*, joined himself with *De Ruyter*. The Red Squadron was now overlaid with the Odds of two to one; which

A.D.1672.  
The Fight in  
*Sould-Bay*.

The *French*  
abandon the  
*English*.

The Duke of  
*York* in Dan-  
ger.



A.D. 1672. which caused several Ships in the Blue to leave their Squadron, and go to assist the Duke of York who was in such great Danger.

The Earl of Sandwich in Danger.

In the mean time their brave Commander the Earl of Sandwich had been engaged with almost the whole Squadron of *Van Ghent* for above two Hours; *Brakel*, who had grappled with him at first, still keeping his Hold. The Earl sunk three Fire-ships, and a Man of War, that would have laid him on Board on the other Side; he killed *Van Ghent* the Admiral of the Dutch Squadron, made himself Master of *Brakel's* Ship above Decks, the greater Part of the Officers and Men aboard being killed or wounded, *Brakel* himself being among the latter; and at last he disengaged himself from that Ship entirely. He might now have made an honourable Retreat; but 'tis said that a Reflection the Duke of York had made upon him the Day before the Battel, stuck so close to him, that it proved his Death. It seems, the Day before the Fight, himself with other Flag Officers being on Board the Duke of York at an Entertainment, the Earl observed to them, that they might be surprized by the Dutch in that Bay; and therefore advised, that they should weigh Anchor, and stand out to Sea. This Observation, in the midst of Jollity, was interpreted as if only Fear made him think of the Enemy, in that Height of Mirth, and at a Time when there was so little Expectation of such an Attempt. The Duke of York was so ill advised, as to cast this Reflection himself; which the Earl so deeply resented, as made him regardless of his Life. So that he still continued the Fight, though against such mighty Odds; till about Noon a fourth Fire-ship, covered by the Smoke of the Enemy's Fire, grappled his Ship, and set her in a Flame. The Earl continued on Board so long as there was the least Hopes of saving her, till he was almost left alone, surrounded by the Fire; when finding his Endeavours fruitless, he leaped through the Flames into the Sea and ended his Life. His Body was afterwards found, scorched and disfigured, and interred in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at the publick Expence.

The Death of the Earl of Sandwich.

A Part of the Earl's Squadron came to his Assistance when it was too late. They found *Van Ghent's* Squadron in Disorder by the Death of their Admiral, so that by a furious Attack those Ships were put into such Confusion, that they were obliged to hold off a considerable Time. This gave the Blue Squadron an Opportunity to join the Red, and to assist the Duke of York, who was engaged with one Squadron against two of the Enemy. On this Occasion *Evertson* the Admiral of Zealand was killed, and *De Ruyter* himself narrowly escaped being burnt. But *Van Ghent's* Squadron coming in to their Assistance, prevented the English from pursuing their Advantage. The Fight was then renewed, and continued with equal Obstinacy and Damage on both Sides. The

English Courage scorned to fly, and the Dutch were ashamed to retreat from an Enemy so inferior in Numbers. At last the Night parted them, when nothing else could. Both Fleets were so sorely handled in that Day's Fight, that they had no Mind to meet again on the Morrow; and so each retired to their several Coasts.

A.D. 1672. The Night parts the two Fleets.

This doubtful Fight, which in Holland was represented as a Victory, served to keep up a little the Spirits of that People under their Misfortunes.

The Dutch not long after sent Ambassadors into England to sue for Peace. They came in Hopes of procuring it upon the easy Terms of admitting the Prince of Orange to the Office of Stadtholder, and the other Honours which his Ancestors had enjoyed. But they found much harder Conditions insisted on. It was demanded that they should pay the Honours heretofore required to be shewn to the King's Flag; and this was to be done not only by single Ships, but by whole Fleets. That they should pay a Million of Pounds Sterling for Reparation of Damages, and towards the Charges of the War; and ten thousand Pounds a Year for Fishing on the British Coast. That the Sovereignty of such of the United Provinces as were not demanded by the Confederate Kings (or at least the Office of perpetual Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General) should be given to the Prince of Orange and his Male Issue. That they should admit the English to a Share of the whole East-India Trade; to the Possession of the City of *Sluys* in Flanders, and of the Islands of *Cadzant*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree* and *Voorn*. These Demands were too rigorous to be immediately agreed to; which gave the Dutch Ambassadors Occasion to make some Stay in England. During that Time, they were not idle in the Service of their Masters; conversing secretly with those who were displeased with the present Counsels; and sparing no Money where it might be proper to get useful Intelligence. But these Intrigues proved of ill Consequence to them at last. For the Court being informed of those secret Consultations and Correspondencies, ordered them to leave the Kingdom immediately. And when the News came to Holland that their Ambassadors were returning without making Peace with England, the Multitude was so enraged, that they assembled at their Landing Place, with Design to cut them to pieces; which they narrowly escaped by taking a different way.

The Dutch send Ambassadors into England.

The Confederate Fleet being refitted, they steered to the Coast of Zealand, with Design to make a Descent there. But they found the Coast defended by the Dutch Fleet, which lay so close within their Sands that they could not be attacked. They therefore proceeded to block up the *Maese* and *Texel*, hoping by that means to draw the *Hollanders* out of their advantageous Situation.

When the Fleet came before *Scheveling*, their Intention was to land some Forces there.

They are ordered to leave the Kingdom.

The Confederate Fleet before *Scheveling*.



A.D. 1672. there. But it chanced that when they appeared in Sight of the Place, and were making up to the Shore, the Tide of Ebb was begun, which hindered their advancing farther on a Coast full of Sands and Shallows. Messengers were immediately dispatched from *Scheveling* to the Prince of *Orange*, to send some Regiments to hinder the Descent. But the *French* were so near him, that he could spare but few Men. This put the Inhabitants in the utmost Consternation, who expected that upon the Turn of the Tide the Countrey must be lost. The only Hope they had was, that *De Ruyter*, who was upon the Coast to watch the Motions of the *English*, might chance to come to their Relief. But he did not appear, and the Tide of Flood was now returning, which was to deliver them to their Enemies. But to the Amazement of all, after the Water had flowed two or three Hours, an Ebb of many Hours succeeded, which drove the Confederates again from the Shore; and before this was spent, *De Ruyter* came in View. A Descent could not be undertaken while an Enemy's Fleet was on the Shore; so that the Confederates were obliged to leave that Design.

A wonderful Accident.

They went on alarming the Coast after this Manner, in order to draw the *Dutch* to a Battel; but *de Ruyter* knew how to avoid it. They also waited some Time near the *Dogger Sand*, in Hopes to intercept a rich *East-India* Fleet of fourteen Ships, which they had Intelligence of. But those Ships sailed home so close by the *German* Coast, that they missed them also. So that being disappointed in two important Designs, they returned to the Coast of *England*, and the *Dutch* retired into their own Ports. And this ended the Transactions at Sea for this Year.

The Parliament meets.

During the former Part of the Winter little happened worth Notice. The Parliament stood prorogued to the 30<sup>th</sup> of *October*; but the Ministry not caring to meet them, procured another Prorogation till the 4<sup>th</sup> of *February*, tho' the King began to be in great Streights for Money. This made him, contrary to his promise, continue the Stop of the *Exchequer* till the first of the next *May*; which he did by a Declaration dated *December 4*. But this proved but a short Reprieve to the Ministry; the King's Wants increasing at such a Rate, that there was no staying longer. So that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *February*, they were obliged to let the Parliament sit to do Business.

A.D. 1673.

Their Proceedings.

The Houses met, with Resentment enough for the Exorbitances committed by the Cabal. The King in his Speech to them, took Notice of the War he had entered into, and of the Justice and Necessity of it, adding the customary Motion for Supplies. After that he mentioned his Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, of which he said, that having found its good Effects, he was resolved to stick to it. He observed that the Favour he there granted to Papists of having private Worship in their own Houses, was the least he could do to reward the Services done by

them to his Father and himself, and concluded with the usual Assurances of protecting Religion and Liberties. The Lord Chancellor's Speech tended to the same Purpose, enlarging upon the Heads the King had spoke to; and concluding with an Exhortation to Confidence, Loyalty and Affection, in very handsome and eloquent Language. At the Time when the Cabal was set upon advancing the King's Prerogative, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being Lord Chancellor, had begun a new Method of issuing out Writs for Elections of Members in the House of Commons, to sit in the Room of those who died during the long Interval of Parliament; by which the Court obtained some Influence over such Elections. But Things being since altered, the King, after the Chancellor had spoken, took Notice of these Writs, and having excused them by Precedents, which he said were found for so doing, left them however to the Sentence and Determination of the House.

A.D. 1673.

The Commons went back to their House, very little wrought on by the Chancellor's Eloquence, or the King's Condescension in the Matter of the Writs, and assembled in a very ill Humour. The very next Day they fell upon the Business of the Writs, with great Heat; and the Members returned by Virtue of them were every one expelled. After this was done, they took into Consideration the King's Motion for Supplies. They knew the King's Necessities were very great, and were loth to forsake him; yet they were as unwilling to give Money to carry on a War that was odious and suspected. They therefore took the middle Way, and voted to the King the Sum of 1260000 Pounds, but with this Title only, To supply his Majesty's extraordinary Occasions, not deigning to mention that War to which they were so much averse. But what was of still more Consequence, after having passed this Vote, the House agreed not to turn it into a Money Bill, till they had perfect Satisfaction with Respect to all their Grievances, and Security against the Designs in Favour of Popery; which the Duke of *York's* Religion, and the Indulgence the King had openly shewed the Papists in his Declaration, and vindicated in his Speech, gave them Reason to apprehend.

The Commons quickly after fell upon the Declaration. The Right claimed there by the King, of dispensing with Penal Statutes, so evidently tended to the Subversion and frustrating of all Law, that very little could be said in Favour of it by the Court Party. They only pretended that the King, by Virtue of his Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, had a particular Privilege with Respect to those Penal Laws that related to religious Matters. But this was only a Subterfuge, and was fully and clearly answered. So that a very unanimous Resolution passed the House, that the Declaration was against Law.

The Commons vote the Declaration to be against Law.

While this Debate was carrying on, the Court Party, finding their Reasonings too



A.D. 1673. weak to withstand those on the other Side, endeavoured to divert the Debate by Artifice; and to set the House upon a farther Prosecution of the Writs, the issuing of which was justly resented as an high Breach of Privilege. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was very obnoxious to the House upon that Account, and the Court suspected and disliked him; so that they hoped, and were willing, by making him a Sacrifice to the Resentment of the Commons, to divert their farther Enquiry into the Business of the Declaration. But this Artifice only served to bring yet greater Inconveniences on their Side. For the Earl was too cunning not to be aware of this; so that this Project made him for his own Safety fall in the more quickly, and more eagerly with the Countrey Party. And the House was too warm upon the Pursuit of the Declaration to be diverted from it.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* turns against the Court.

The Commons address the King against the Declaration.

The Cabal breaks to Pieces.

The King in Perplexities.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of *February* the House of Commons presented an Address to the King, in which, after a very dutiful Manner, they represented to him, that Penal Statutes in Ecclesiastical Matters could not be suspended but by Act of Parliament; and therefore they humbly intreated his Majesty, that the Laws might have their free Course, till by Act of Parliament it should be otherwise provided. The King's Answer at that Time was only, *That their Address was of Importance, and he would return them an Answer in Writing.*

Mean while the Cabal was breaking to Pieces, and they began to commence Enemies to one another, as is usual with such Combinations of ill Men. The Lord *Clifford* and Duke *Lauderdale*, who were hot furious Men, stuck close to the violent Measures they were at first pursuing. The Lord *Arlington* was of a more fearful Temper, and began to dread the Fury of the House of Commons, to whom he thought the King must at last submit. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* also found himself in great Danger from the same Quarter; and besides, resented the Behaviour of the Court Party, who would have diverted the House from the Business of the Declaration, by turning the Storm upon him. He therefore resolved to secure and revenge himself by going over to the Countrey Party. The Duke of *Buckingham* needed no more than his natural Levity to make him break with all the others.

The King had now a very disagreeable Choice to make. He was to consider, whether he would give up the *Dutch War* abroad, or the Declaration. He summoned not only the Cabal, but other more faithful Counsellors to give him their Advice in this Perplexity. The Duke of *York*, the Lord *Clifford*, Duke *Lauderdale*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* were for having the King stand his Ground; and 'tis said the last of these proposed to bring the Army to Town, and take by Force out of both Houses the Members that made the Opposition. On the other Side, the Duke of *Ormond*, and other true Patriots, with the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* of the Cabal, advised the

A.D. 1673. King to give the Parliament Content; the two last giving him Hopes of bringing them back to Submission; when by Help of the Money they would give, the *Dutch* should be subdued.

The King, though as yet unresolved, thought himself obliged to take Notice of the Parliament's Address; and therefore four Days after sent them an Answer. It was so drawn up that it might be equally applicable to any Determination he might finally make on that important Head, whether of yielding, or standing firm. Therefore when it came to the House of Commons, they were not satisfied with it. However they resolved to return him Thanks for the general Assurances and Promises they found in it. But in three Days after they thought fit to desire a more explicit Answer, in an Address then presented to him. The King's Answer was, that he would take their Address into Consideration.

The Commons address him a second Time.

While these Things passed, the Court was willing to try what could be done in Favour of the Declaration in the House of Lords, which occasioned a remarkable Incident. Lord *Clifford* had prepared Heads of a Speech to be spoken in that House, which he shewed to the King, who approved them. With this Speech he began the Debates, and fell upon the Vote of the Commons with very great Heat, and many indecent Expressions, which the ungoverned Warmth of his Temper suggested. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* laid hold of this Opportunity to declare himself; and when Lord *Clifford* had done, he stood up. All the House expected he was to go on to confirm and enlarge upon what *Clifford* had said. But to the Amazement of them all, he began his Speech with saying, He must differ from the noble Lord that spoke last, *toto caelo*. He said that so long as those Matters were debated without Doors, he might think, with others, that the King's Supremacy would warrant such a Declaration. But now that so loyal and affectionate an House of Commons were of another Mind, he submitted his Reasons to theirs; that they were the King's great Council; they must advise and support him; they had done it, and would do it still, if their Laws and Religion were secured to them. The King who was present, was in a Fury to be thus forsaken by his Chancellor, and told Lord *Clifford* how much his Speech pleased him, and how highly the other had offended him.

The Declaration considered in the House of Lords.

Lord *Shaftsbury* declares himself.

It seems incredible, that after this the Lord *Clifford* should lose his Place upon Account of this very Speech, while the Earl of *Shaftsbury* kept the Chancellorship. Yet thus it happened; so capricious are the Winds and Currents by which those are driven who navigate in the Court-Oceans. For in the Afternoon of that very Day, the Lords *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* got those Members of the House of Commons they could influence, to go one after another privately to the King, and persuade him, that upon Lord *Clifford's* Speech,

A strange Court-Turn.



A.D. 1673. Speech, the Commons were so inflamed, that they would have gone to high Votes and Impeachments, had not they been calmed by Lord *Shaftsbury's* Speech, which they supposed was the Sense of the King, as the other was of the Duke. This was so dextrously managed, that before Night the King was quite changed, and said, that though Lord *Shaftsbury* had spoken like a Rogue, yet he had quenched a Fire which *Clifford's* Indiscretion had kindled to that Degree, that he could use that Lord's Service no longer. And not long after *Clifford* laid down the White Staff, which was given to Sir *Thomas Osborne*, afterwards Earl of *Danby*. Lord *Shaftsbury* continued Chancellor till the next Sessions of Parliament, in hopes of his doing some Service there.

The Court of France advise the King to recall the Declaration. The Affair of the Declaration was quickly after this Ruffle determined. Lord *Arlington* found means to bring over the Court of *France* to his Side; who fearing to be left with the whole Charge of the War against *Holland* upon them, advised the King to comply with the Parliament for the Sake of the Money. So that the King at last recalled the Declaration, and with his own Hands broke the Great-Seal annexed to it.

The Test Act set on foot. While this Affair was in Suspence, the Commons went upon another Act, well known by the Name of the Test Act; which obliged all Persons in Office to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, to receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, and declare against Transubstantiation. This was levelled chiefly against the Papists, though it also affected the Dissenters. The Court Party opposed this Bill with all their Might, but in vain. When they found themselves over-numbered in Votes, they tried to quash the Bill, by setting the strict Church Party and those who favoured the Dissenters at Variance. To this End they moved to have some Things inserted in Favour of the latter which they thought would be opposed by the former. The Artifice was dangerous, and might have taken Effect, had not Alderman *Love*, a City Member, and a noted Dissenter, stood up and said, that though his Persuasion was well known, he had vigorously opposed the Declaration, as chusing rather to continue liable to the Penalties of the Laws, than to be relieved by illegal Methods; that out of the same Concern for his Countrey's Safety, he heartily opposed this Motion also; and desired that nothing relating to the Dissenters or their Concerns might stop the Progress of a Bill so necessary for the Security of the Protestant Religion; adding, that in these Things he knew he spoke the Sense of that whole Body. His Speech was heard with Applause by all the Countrey Party, who unanimously rejected the Motion, and carried the Bill through the House in a very short Time. The House was so pleased with the prudent Conduct of the Dissenters on this Occasion, that they ordered a Bill to be brought in for their Ease and Relief; which went through

the House of Commons. But in its Passage A.D. 1673. through the Lords House, it being retarded on account of some Amendments proposed by the Peers, it came to pass that before it could be perfected, it was stopped by the Parliament's breaking up.

In the House of Lords, a like Instance of Publick Spirit was found in a *Roman Catholic*. The Earl of *Bristol*, who was known to be of that Church, made a Speech in Favour of the Bill for taking the Test; urging the Necessity of it to remove the Fears and Apprehensions of the People; and concluding, after a Manner very unusual, that he gave his Advice for passing the Bill, at the same Time that by some Scruples of Conscience he found himself obliged to vote against it.

The Commons having secured their Religion by the recalling of the Declaration, and the Bill for the Test, began to think of the Money Bill. It passed the House with this Title only, to supply his Majesty's extraordinary Occasions; and for their greater Security they tacked a Proviso to it, that no Papist should be capable of holding any publick Employment. March 29. the King came to the House of Peers, and passed the two Bills for the Supply, with some others of less Importance. He then adjourn'd the Parliament to October 20.

The Test Act removed the Duke of *York* from all his Employments; and the Lord *Clifford* from the Treasury sooner than had otherwise been done. He was so much disgusted at the ill Success of the Designs of the Cabal, that he retired into the Countrey in Discontent. All Popish Officers, Civil and Military, were obliged to quit their Posts in like manner throughout *England*, which quieted the Minds and Fears of the People.

The *Dutch* were very much discouraged and disappointed at what passed in the Parliament this Sessions. They were in hopes the Parliament would have brought the King to a Peace with them; whereas on the contrary they had given him a Supply for carrying on the War. But to make them amends, Fortune this Summer began to turn to their Side at Land.

Soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Campaign began at Sea. The Duke of *York* being removed, Prince *Rupert* was put in his Room. The *Dutch* being first ready, made an Attempt to dam up the Mouth of the *Thames*, by sinking several Vessels there laden with Stones. But they found us this Time better upon our Guard than at the Expedition at *Chatham*, so that they were obliged to return without attempting it.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of May our Fleet got out, and joined the *French* off the Coast of *Sussex* at *Rye*, where the King came to see them; and on the 19<sup>th</sup> he left them ready to sail.

On the 22<sup>d</sup> of May, the Confederate Fleet came in Sight of the *Dutch*; who standing only on the Defensive to hinder the Descent on *Zealand*, had placed themselves on the Coast of that Province. Their Fleet consisted

The Money Bill passed.

The Trans-actions at Sea.

A Sea-Fight.



A.D.1673. fisted of about seventy Men of War and Frigates, which lay extended at a Place called *Schoonewelt*, in an advantageous Post between two dangerous Banks or Shelves of Sand. But the Confederates having found an Opportunity, by favour of the misty Weather, to sound the Depth of Water thereabouts, it was resolved in a Council of War to attack them notwithstanding. But being hindered, first by a Calm, and then by a Storm, they could not come to an Engagement till the 28<sup>th</sup>.

The Confederate Fleet was more numerous than that of the *Dutch*, consisting of eighty four Men of War and Frigates, besides Fireships. Of these the *French* made about a third Part. But the *English* were so ill satisfied with their Behaviour at *Sould-Bay*, that they would not suffer them now in a Body, or separate Squadron, but dispersed them in Divisions through the whole Fleet, which put them under a Necessity of Fighting.

The first Squadron of the Confederates, called the Red, was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, as Chief Admiral; the second, being the White, by Count *d'Estrees*, as Vice-Admiral; the third or Blue Squadron by Sir *Edward Sprag*, as Rear-Admiral. The *Dutch* Fleet was divided in like manner into three Squadrons under *De Ruyter*, *Tromp*, and *Bankert*.

The Fight began with great Fury on both Sides; and the two Fleets continued thundering at each other with equal Loss and Bravery, till the Darkness parted them at about ten o' Clock at Night. Two *French* Men of War were sunk in this Day's Action; and one *Dutch* Man of War, which with several others was disabled and towed out of the Fleet, sunk quickly after.

The next Day, the two Fleets rested to repair their Damage. The *Dutch* had the Advantage of being near their own Coast, so that they could easily clear themselves of their wounded Men, receive Reinforcements of fresh Ships in the Room of such as were disabled, and be plentifully supplied with all other Things they might want. But the Confederates were embarrassed with a great Number of Soldiers they had taken on board, and the Wind being then West, they could not send home their wounded Men, who remained in the Ships, to the great Hindrance and Discouragement of the others.

These Circumstances were not unknown to the *Dutch*; who for four Days together had lain expecting that the Confederates should take Advantage of the Wind to renew the Fight. But now having some how learned the uneasy Condition of the Confederate Fleet; and the Wind veering to the North-East on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *June*, the *Dutch* took the Opportunity of the favourable Gale, and came out of their Sands towards the two Fleets. About Noon, they came near to them. The Confederates to draw them farther from their Sands, into the wide Sea, went under Sail towards the *English* Coast. At last having gained that Point,

they turned about, and a second Battel began about five in the Evening. It continued for five or six Hours together, till the Darkness of the Night gave Room to the *Dutch* to retreat unperceived. No Ship was lost on either Side, though many were damaged. The Confederates, as soon as the Light of the Morning shewed the Enemies Retreat, stood after them, and continued the Chase till six. But during the intervening Time, the *Dutch* had got so far that they could not be overtaken till they were secure within their own Sands. So that the Confederates gave over the Chase, and steered towards the *English* Coast.

Having landed the wounded Men, and taken in Provisions and Ammunition, they put to Sea again in about a Fortnight, with a Body of fresh Troops to the Number of seven Thousand, with Design to make a Descent on *Zealand*, as in the preceding Year. They came before the *Maese* on the 23<sup>d</sup>, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> appeared before *Scheveling* and *Zandvoort*. Soon after they posted themselves before the *Texel*. From thence they passed along the whole Coast of *Holland* and *Friesland*, to the *Vlie*, *Ameland*, and the Western *Ems*. On the second or third of *August* they appeared again before the *Texel*.

By these Motions they harrassed the *Dutch* Troops on Shore, and fatigued their own on board; their intended Project of a Descent being found impracticable. In their cruising thus to and fro, they had the Fortune to meet with a *Dutch East-India* Ship, very richly laden, who was separated from a very rich Fleet come from the same Parts. That whole Fleet was in no small Danger of falling into their Hands in the same manner, but had the good Luck to escape.

At last the *Dutch* resolved to venture on a third Engagement in hopes to free themselves from the perpetual Dangers and Alarms they were in, while the Confederate Fleet remained upon their Coasts. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of *August* the two Fleets came in Sight of each other.

The *English* were sixty Men of War, and the *French* thirty; the *Dutch* (according to their own Accounts) were but seventy. The Fight began in the same Order as in the last Engagement.

The *French* having behaved themselves well in the last Fight, were trusted by the *English* to compose a separate Squadron, as they did before at the Fight of *Sould-Bay*. But they quickly shewed their Courage then to have been the Effect of Necessity only. For they were scarcely attacked by *Bankert*, but they fled immediately in the same manner as before, and abandoned the *English* a second Time to the Inequality of their Enemies Numbers; standing aloof like unconcerned Spectators. One Ship only amongst them, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Martel*, still remained with the *English*, and fought bravely; for which he was committed at his Return to the *Bastile*. So secure

was

A.D.1673.

A second Fight.

A third Sea-Fight.

The French abandon the English again.



A.D. 1673. was the *French* Court of the King's Resentment, though of the most scornful and barefaced Affront.

Prince *Rupert* and *De Ruyter* met together at the Beginning of the Fight, and a fierce Engagement rose between them. *De Ruyter* at last began to be sore pressed, which *Bankert* perceiving, and finding the *French* had no Intention to return to the Fight, he left them, and bore down with his Squadron to *De Ruyter's* Assistance. Hereupon the Prince, overlaid with Numbers, made a retreating Fight to the Westward. *De Ruyter* and *Bankert* by this means finding little Advantage to be gained by pursuing him, turned back to assist *Tromp* against *Sprag*, which two were hotly engaged together. Prince *Rupert* seeing this, and that *Sprag* would be greatly over-matched, steered after the *Dutch* to the Assistance of *Sprag*.

The Battel between *Tromp* and *Sprag* had begun about Nine o' Clock. These two great Commanders engaged Ship to Ship. *Tromp*, though he had the Weather Gage, avoided a close Fight, though he had it in his Power when he pleased; and this Conduct gave him a great Advantage. For the Smoke of the Powder being carried in Clouds towards Sir *Edward Sprag's* Ship, took away the Sight so, that he could not take so true an Aim as *Tromp*, whose Ship was continually cleared by the Wind. After a Fight of three Hours, *Sprag* was forced to leave the *Royal Prince* in which he was, and go aboard the *St. George*. And *Tromp's* Ship being also damaged in the Fight, he hoisted his Flag on Board another. Then the Combat was renewed with the utmost Fury, between two of the bravest Sea Commanders of their Time. After a sharp Dispute, the *St. George* being also much damaged by the Enemies Cannon, Sir *Edward Sprag* left her, and got into a Boat with Design to go into another Ship. But he was not got six Boats Length, before a Cannon Shot, which passed through and through the *St. George*, struck the Boat in which he was, and sunk it. This was the unhappy End of one of the bravest Admirals our Countrey has ever produced. His Body was afterwards found, with his Fingers clasped about the Sides of the Boat so close, that they could scarce be got loose.

Sir Edward  
Sprag drown-  
ed.

In the mean time *Tromp's* Squadron was joined by *De Ruyter* and *Bankert*, and *Sprag's* by Prince *Rupert*, and the Fight was renewed; while *D' Estrées* and the *French* kept their Station, without offering to bear down to the Assistance of the *English*. The Fight lasted without any remarkable Advantage, till the Darknes of the Night parted them. The *English* seeing how ill they were used by the *French*, and how little Dependence could be had on them, went back to their own Ports, without renewing the Fight next Day; and the *Dutch* on the other hand, satisfying themselves with seeing their Coasts clear of their Enemies, did not care to follow them. This proved the last Fight

of this War, the Peace being made by the A.D. 1673: next Summer.

The Progress made by the *French* at Land this Campaign, was not answerable to that of the last. *Spain* and *Germany* who were so much concerned in the Safety of *Holland*, had begun to move to their Assistance, when the Torrent of the *French* Invasion abated of its Fury; and when they found the *Dutch* were able to give some Check to it, they entered into Alliance with the States, and declared War against *France*. This obliged the *French* to weaken their Army, by dispersing it on one Side towards *Flanders*, on the other towards *Germany*. So that all they did this Summer was to take *Maestricht*; which was recompensed to the *Dutch* by the Recovery of *Naerden* by the Prince of *Orange*, which eased *Amsterdam* of a troublesome and dangerous Neighbourhood. Though this Siege lasted but four Days, yet it was easy to see, that the Recovery of all the Towns that had been taken by the *French*, must be a Work of great Time, Difficulty and Expence, both of Lives and Treasure; and the more, because the *French* having determined to secure their Conquests, had filled the fortified Towns with Garrisons, and been at the Expence of strengthening many of them with new Works. But the Prince of *Orange* found a Way to make all these Precautions useless, by a glorious Strain of Conduct and Courage. For towards the Winter, leaving a Part of his Army to guard the chief Post, he marched with the rest into *Germany*, and joining the Confederate Troops, besieged and took *Bonne*, a City upon the *Rhine*, which the Elector of *Cologne* had put into the Hands of *France*. The taking this City cut off all Supplies from such *French* Garrisons in *Holland*, as lay upon the *Rhine* and the *Yffel*; which made it very difficult for them to subsist. And besides, a free Passage was opened over the *Rhine* at *Bonne*, to the *German* Forces, who were every where in Motion, into *Flanders*; on which Side *France* lay more open than on the Side of *Germany*. So that in a short Time the *French* were obliged to abandon all their Conquests in *Holland*, as suddenly as they made them; retaining only *Maestricht* and the *Grave*, of all that belonged to the *Dutch*.

The *French*  
unsuccessful  
at Land.

The Prince  
of *Orange's*  
glorious Con-  
duct.

During this Summer a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot at *Cologne* by the King of *Sweden's* Mediation. But this Assembly did little or nothing, and in a short Time broke up. For the Elector of *Cologne* having made *Furstemburg*, Dean of that Place, his Plenipotentiary, he was seized upon by the Emperor, who claimed him as his Subject, and a great Sum of *French* Money with him. The *French* were provoked at this, as being a Violation of the Pass-ports, and refused to treat till he were set at Liberty, and the Money restored. The Emperor on the other hand was as positive to do neither; so that the Meeting broke up without any Effect.

The Treaty  
at *Cologne*.



A.D. 1673. The Duke of York began to think of another Wife. He had first made his Address to Lady *Bellasis*; who gained so much upon him, that she got a Promise under his Hand to marry her. But the King hearing this, told the Duke it was too much for him to play the Fool a second Time, and at his Age. This broke off all; and the Lady was so threatned, that she gave back the Duke's Promise. He then proposed Marriage to the Arch-duchess of *Inspruck*; but the Emperor becoming a Widower at that Time, married her himself. After that a Match was proposed to the Duke of *Modena's* Daughter, which took Effect after some Time.

Which is opposed by the Commons too late.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October* the Parliament met. The Commons were scarce assembled before they fell upon the Duke's Marriage, which alarmed the Nation. They presently voted an Address to the King, to prevent the Consummation of that Marriage; and to desire that he might be married to none but a Protestant. Upon this the Duke got the King to prorogue the Parliament for a Week. On the 27<sup>th</sup>, the King at their Meeting made them a Speech, consisting of Complaints of the *Dutch*, Motions for Supplies, and Assurances and Promises in Matters of Religion; to which was added a Motion, to satisfy the Debt the King was in to the Bankers. The Chancellor after him went on in the same Strain. On the 30<sup>th</sup> Secretary *Coventry* brought the King's Answer to the Address about the Duke of York's Marriage; importing, that the Marriage was already compleated in the Forms used by Princes, and with his Consent; and that a Marriage being negotiating the last Sessions with another *Catholick* Princess (the Arch-Duchess of *Inspruck*) without any Exceptions taken; he could not have believed the present would have been so disagreeable. It was certainly a false Step of the Commons to let that Alliance pass on so quietly, when it might have been prevented without Difficulty; and now to be warm against this, when it was really too late. However they went on; and the next Day passed a Resolution to give no Money, till an effectual Security be had against Popery, and other Grievances be redressed. Two Days after they presented another Address against the Duke of York's Marriage; importing in substance, that finding by the Opinions of very learned Men, that Treaties and Contracts by Proxy are dissolvable, the Commons humbly besought his Majesty to put a Stop to the Consummation of that Marriage, to prevent the Dangers of Popery. The King's Answer was, he would take it into Consideration, and return an Answer. The Commons went on, and voted the standing Army a Grievance; and prepared an Address against it. This was to have been presented Nov. 4. but on that Day as the Speaker was entering the House, the Black Rod and he met at the Door. It was known by the Commons, that the Black Rod was come to summon them to

a Prorogation; so that as soon as the Speaker, who was a little the foremost, was got in, some of the Members shut to the Door and cried, To the Chair, to the Chair! whither the Speaker was immediately hurried. Some cried out, the Black Rod is at the Door; but they were not regarded. Three Motions were made in an instant: 1. That our Alliance with *France* was a Grievance. 2. That the evil Counsellors about the King were a Grievance. 3. That the Duke of *Lauderdale* was a Grievance, and unfit to be employed. Upon this arose a general Cry, To the Question, to the Question! But the Black Rod still knocking earnestly at the Door, the Speaker leaped out of the Chair, and the House rose in a great Confusion. When they came before the King, he told them of the Reluctancy with which he then called them; but that to prevent farther Breaches, he found a short Recess was become necessary; assured them of his Care against Popery, and of his Designs to give them Satisfaction. He then prorogued them to the 13<sup>th</sup> of *January* following.

A.D. 1673. The House of Commons in a Tumult

The Parliament prorogued.

Soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Seals were taken from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The Advances he had made to the Countrey Party were not unknown at Court; and the Test Act was said to be his Project, and aimed by him chiefly against the Duke of York. Immediately upon his Removal he threw off all Reserve, and declared himself an open Enemy to the Court. And by communicating the Secrets he was acquainted with during his Administration, he enflamed Mens Minds, and increased their Jealousies to a higher Degree than could have been done by any but himself. So that no Man created the King more Trouble than this Earl, who was his great Instrument in contriving and executing all the wicked Projects of the Cabal. For the Change is easy from a Counsellor of Tyranny to a seditious Incendiary; and those who are unfaithful to their Countrey, are not to be depended on by a Prince.

The Earl of Shaftsbury removed.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November* the Duke of York was in Person married to the Princess of *Modena*, who lived to be afterwards his Queen. She found the Way to disguise herself so artfully while she was Duchess of York, that she deceived the most penetrating and jealous; and made it believed, that she gave herself wholly up to innocent Cheerfulness and Diversion. So that her Behaviour removed the Uneasinesses the Publick conceived on account of her Religion; and so long as she was Duchess, she was universally beloved and esteemed.

The Duke of York married.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of *January* the Parliament met. The Speeches of the King and Chancellor consisted principally of the usual Motions for Supplies, and Exhortations to Confidence and Affection. But the Parliament was so uneasy at the Continuance of the War with *Holland*, the exorbitant Power of *France*, and the Prevalence of Popish Counsels, that they were little wrought on by either. The Lords soon

The Parliament meets.



A.D. 1673. soon addressed the King, to require by Proclamation all Papists within five Miles of London, not being Houholders, to repair to their Dwellings, or else to depart ten Miles from thence, during the Session. With this Address the King complied. Soon after the two Houses joined in an Address for a general Fast, for averting the Dangers of Popery; to which also the King consented.

But still the Commons were so unsatisfied, that when they came to consider the King's Speech, they resolved to proceed in the first Place to the Redress of Grievances, the securing of Religion, Liberties and Properties, the suppressing of Popery, and the Removal of Popish and dangerous Counsellors. Of the five Members of the Cabal, Lord Clifford was dead, of Discontent, 'tis said, to find the hopeful Schemes laid by the Cabal, all dissipated, and brought to nothing. The Earl of Shaftsbury had made his Peace with the Country Party, and began to distinguish himself in Opposition to the Court, so that he was effectually covered. The other three were left exposed to the Indignation of the Commons.

They began with the Duke of Lauderdale. It was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that an Address should be presented to the King, that he might be removed from all his Employments. The Duke of Buckingham came next; but while the Debate concerning him continued, he sent a Letter to the Speaker, desiring to be heard; which was granted. He appeared before the House two Days together. The first Day his Speech was so wild and rambling, that the House did not know what to make of it. But the next Day they obliged him to answer to some Queries drawn up in Writing, relating to the several ill Steps taken by the Cabal. He disowned the shutting up the *Exchequer*, the raising the Standing Army, and the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet; but acknowledged that he concluded the Treaty with *France*, and advised the Declaration. The House was so little satisfied with his Denials, and with his Confessions, that they resolved to address the King to remove him from all Employments, and from his Presence and Counsels for ever. The Earl of Arlington received but little Encouragement from the Duke of Buckingham's Success, to hope to make his Peace the same Way. But the Duke having begun, he thought himself obliged to follow; and the rather, because the Duke had charged him with the Standing-Army, and the Attack of the *Dutch* Fleet. We do not find any Account of what he said in the House; except that the Duke having assumed the Honour of making the Triple Alliance, the Lord Arlington gave it to Sir William Temple. This Lord's Defence was as ill received as the Duke's; and they drew up Articles of treasonable, and other high Crimes against him. But this Prosecution was stopped by an Act of Grace shortly after. To exclude effectually all Papists from the Means of doing hurt, they went about a

Bill, imposing a strict Test to distinguish between Protestants and Papists, containing a formal Declaration against the Pope's Supremacy and Infallibility, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Invocation of Saints; which those who refused were to be incapable of any Office, or to come within five Miles of the Court. But they wanted Time to perfect this.

The *Dutch* were too much streightened by A Peace England, not to desire a fair Riddance from so powerful an Enemy. They found the Opportunity favourable for an Offer of Peace, the Parliament and People being averse to the Court Measures. So they procured the Marquis del Fresno, Ambassador from Spain, to present to the King Proposals for a Peace on their Part. To make these more effectual, they were accompanied with a Memorial, in which the Crown of Spain (which though in Alliance with the *Dutch*, was still at Peace with England) in Terms very soft let the King know that Spain also must declare War against him, if a Peace were not made with Holland. The King found himself hard pressed. He was unable to carry on the War without those Supplies, which he plainly saw the Parliament would not give to that End, and France alone was not able to bear the Expence. A War with Spain would ruine our Mediterranean Trade, and increase those Clamours and Discontents that were but too great already. He therefore made a Virtue of Necessity; and to put on the best Face the Matter would bear, presented the Proposals and Memorial to the Parliament, desiring their Advice. They returned it, that the King should proceed to a Treaty thereupon.

The Court hoped by this Condescension to put the Commons in a better Humour. But that House was so well informed of the dangerous Designs that had been carried on during the Intervals of Parliament, that they resolved to secure themselves while they had the Power in their Hands. They proceeded to vote the Standing Army a Grievance, and resolved to petition the King to disband all the Soldiers raised since 1663.

The Court was not pleased with this Behaviour of the Commons, but no Remedies but Gentleness and Compliance being to be found, the Peace went on. The Marquis del Fresno received full Powers from the States to treat and conclude a Peace. Sir William Temple was ordered to negotiate with him, and at three Meetings the whole was concluded. The King upon the 11<sup>th</sup> of February carried this News to the Parliament, acquainting them at the same Time, that he had given Orders for disbanding the Army.

The Commons returned their humble Thanks to his Majesty for the making Peace, and complying with their Addresses about the standing Forces. But still they were so warm upon the Scent of Grievances, that no other Thoughts could enter them; and resolved that a Committee be appointed to examine the State of Ireland. They appointed another

Their Proceedings.

The Duke of Buckingham is heard by the Commons.

And the Lord Arlington.

Farther Proceedings of the Parliament.



A.D. 1674. another Committee to inspect the Laws, and consider how far the King might commit any Subject by his immediate Warrant; as also how the Law stood touching Commitments by the Council Table. This Enquiry produced that noble Law, called the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the Shield of *English* Liberty, and the Glory of our Constitution; which was first thought of upon this Occasion, though it did not pass into an Act till six Years after.

The Parliament prorogued.  
The Peace proclaimed.

The King, though he found but little Prospect of Money, thought it best to part with his Parliament. He saw they were got into the endless Subject of Grievances, and Provisions against them, and did not know when or where they might stop. He therefore chose to prorogue them, but with fair Words. He told them the Peace with the *Dutch* was ratified; and that upon that Account, their sitting longer being not so necessary as before, he thought it necessary to make a Recess. They were then prorogued to the 10<sup>th</sup> of November.

Four Days after this the Peace with *Holland* was proclaimed with universal Joy and Satisfaction. And this put a Period to the second *Dutch* War, which was entered into upon the wickedest Motives, begun with Treachery and Dishonour, and carried on with Success, that at best was doubtful. The only good Circumstance that attended it was at the Conclusion; in which the Article of the Flag was carried to all the Height the truest *Englishman* could desire, and by that Means the fullest Acknowledgment made of the Dominion of our Crown over the narrow Seas.

A new Period of this Reign.

The State of Europe after the Peace with *Holland*.

At the Conclusion of this Peace, a new Scene of Affairs began in our own Countrey, and throughout *Europe*; ending with the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the breaking out of the Popish Plot; and making a new Period in this Reign of about four Years. But before we proceed to relate the particular Occurrences therein, it may be proper to take a View of the Situation of Affairs, and the Dispositions of those concerned in them. And because the Transactions abroad ruled our Counsels and Measures at home, we shall begin with them.

The Attempt upon *Holland* had stirred up against *France* a very formidable Confederacy of the King of *Spain*, the Emperor of *Germany*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*. These Princes easily saw that the *French* Ambition was not likely to satiate it self with the Conquest of *Holland*; so that when the first Fury of the Invasion was checked by the Inundation of the Countrey, and the bold Stand made by the Prince of *Orange*, they entered immediately into Leagues with the *Dutch*. By this Alliance the Progress of the *French* was restrained, and they were at last obliged to evacuate the Countrey, in the Manner above related. But though this was done, the *French* Power continued very formidable; so that *Flanders* lay now exposed to the same Danger that *Holland* had escaped. This kept the Confederates together, after the

Cause of their first Union had ceased. They had two Things to compass for their own Security, and that of *Christendom*; the first the Restitution of *Lorrain* and the *Franche-Comté*, in order to cover *Germany*; and the second, to regain the Conquests made in *Flanders* by the *French*, before the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which were confirmed to them by that Treaty. For very important Concessions were then made to *France*, in Prospect of securing the rest of the *Netherlands* by the Guaranty of *England*. But that Security having failed, other Measures were requisite to cover *Flanders* from its ambitious Neighbour. And this was to be done by restoring those conquered Places to the *Spaniards*; by which Means the *Netherlands* would have been put in a Condition to defend themselves upon a sudden Attack, till Succours should arrive.

On the other Hand, *France* would not let the World be quiet upon such reasonable Terms. The Plan there laid for an universal Monarchy was to be executed by the Conquest of *Flanders* in the first Place. And because the *German* Powers were like to interpose for its Preservation, the *French* resolved to cover their own Territories on that Side, by making *Lorrain* and the *Franche-Comté* their Frontier. And though upon View of so strong an Alliance, to which they could not be sure that *England* might not at last accede, they were willing to make a Peace; yet they determined, unless the utmost Necessity compelled, not to make it without leaving *Flanders* open to a fresh Attack; when the Peace had dissolved the Confederacy, and one bold Push might carry that whole Countrey before any Assistance could be sent.

The Preservation of *Flanders*, and restraining the Power of *France*, were found as necessary by all wise and honest Men with us, as they were abroad. So that they became popular Topicks, in which all true Patriots heartily concurred. The Parliament therefore having weakened *France* by inducing the King to forsake his Alliance with that Crown, was desirous to complete the Work by engaging him to accede to the Confederacy against her; to which they were the more excited, because through the Weakness and want of Conduct among the Allies, it appeared that *France* was more than a Match for them; so that a mighty Weight, like that of *England*, was required to turn the Scale on their Side. And this Point all good Men were labouring unanimously and earnestly, for the following four Years, till the Peace of *Nimeguen* put an End to all Projects of that Kind. But as the Interests, Humours and Passions of private Men will always mix themselves with publick Counsels, it came to pass that the Prosecution of this excellent End in Parliament, did not keep a true and steady Course; but was carried on with an irregular and uncertain Motion, in Proportion to the Influence those variable Winds chanced to have upon it. There are never wanting amongst those who oppose a Court, though

A.D. 1674.  
The Views of the Confederates.

The Views of France.

The Dispositions of the People and Parliament of *England*.



A.D. 1674. though for the justest Reasons, such as are much more factious than publick-spirited; more solicitous to distress the Governors, than to benefit the Subjects; and these Men, in the most excellent Medicines of State, are sure to mix some unfavoury Compositions of their own. So that many good Things were spoiled during the Parliament's sitting, by the Indiscretion and ill Grace that accompanied them; and many just Complaints and Representations came to be rejected, by being offered in an ungracious Manner.

Of the King.

The King on his Part was unwilling to break with *France*; and though the popular Stream running so much that Way, obliged him in his publick and formal Acts to express a Partiality to the Allies, he still lived under the Dishonour of a Pension from that Crown. For the Court of *France*, finding that his Necessities had induced him to make the Peace, feared that the same might at last engage him to accede to the Confederacy; which was only to be prevented by keeping those Necessities from pressing him too hard. And the King, who regarded nothing but the Ease or Pleasure of the present Moment, chose the Shame of becoming Pensioner to his Equal, for the Sake of a few idle and thoughtless Hours; rather than to make himself for ever glorious, by that Vigour and Activity his high Station demanded. And besides, his immoderate Weakness towards Women, laid him open to the Snares of the Duchesse of *Portsmouth*; who being thoroughly *French*, by Inclination as well as Birth, used all her Charms to keep him in that Interest. And being perfectly skilled in those Female Arts and Allurements, by which beautiful Women can enslave and lead Captive even the wisest Men, she was so far Mistress of his Heart, that she seldom failed to carry him as she pleased. Sometimes indeed his natural good Sense, or the Necessities of his Affairs made him weary of being dependent any longer, and to struggle with the Chains that held him. But these Efforts were either not vigorous, or not lasting; the Indolence of his Temper soon melting all his Strength, and throwing him down again into his former Supineness.

The Consequences of this Disposition in the King and Parliament were, that our Conduct in Foreign Affairs was very irregular and fluctuating, and therefore of little Honour or Advantage to us. And at home the Counter-paces between the King and the Parliament, destroyed what little Remains of Harmony and Confidence were left between them. So that the Dispositions on both Sides became fit Fuel for that Fire which afterwards broke out upon the Popish Plot.

After the Peace was made, Sir *William Temple*, who had concluded the Triple Alliance, was thought the fittest to cultivate a good Understanding between the King and States. His Instructions were to assure the States of his *Britannick* Majesty's Friendship, and to offer his Mediation for a general Peace. And because the Prince of *Orange*

was the King's Nephew, and besides by the A.D. 1674. many great Things he had performed, was become the great Wheel upon which the whole Alliance turned, Sir *William* was ordered to repair to his Highness, who was then in the Field, to acquaint him with the King's Intentions, and to desire him to second and forward the same.

This Step of the King's was received with great Coldness by the Confederates. The *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands* were of Opinion, that the King had made the Peace with *Holland* by Consent of *France*, with Intention to serve that Crown more effectually as a Mediator, than he could do as an Ally. And besides, the House of *Austria* seeing *France* abandoned by *England*, and attacked by so mighty a Confederacy as could hardly be brought together again, hoped by the War to reduce its great Rival to that State of Equality in which the *Pyrenean* Treaty left it. So that after Sir *William Temple* had been at the *Hague*, and set out to wait on the Prince of *Orange*, the *Spanish* Governor, in Concert with his Highness, found Means to prevent their Meeting.

This obliged him to return to the *Hague*, where he entered into Conference with the Pensionary, and laid open the Subject of his Commission. The Pensionary told him in Substance, that the States having now recovered all the Towns they had lost in the terrible *French* Invasion, except *Grave* which was then invested, and *Maestricht* which was to be given to the *Spaniards*, they were now in the same Condition as before the War; and for themselves, had nothing to wish but a Peace for the Sake of their Trade. But that *Spain* and *Germany* having entered into the War to save their Republick, the States could take no Measures but in Concert with them, who were not like to be so easie in their Expectations, or Demands.

This Answer put the Hopes of Peace on some great Action of the War, which was hourly looked for. And soon after came News of the Battel of *Seneffe*. But it proved not so decisive as was expected, for the Loss and Disadvantage on each Side was so nearly equal, that it was followed by no Consequences. And when, after the Damages received in that fierce Encounter were repaired, both Armies took the Field again, a Division that happened among the Confederates prevented any farther Action. Only the Prince of *Orange* towards the End of the Campaign besieged and took *Grave*, which was the last Town the *French* held in the *Seven Provinces*; and soon after came to the *Hague*.

Sir *William Temple* attended him there, and laid before him the King's Desires of making a general Peace, and of acting entirely in Concert with him in the Progress of the Treaty; concluding with a Request to know the Mind of his Highness thereupon. The Prince answered him with Expressions of Duty and Respect to the King; and as to the Peace, gave it as his Opinion, that the States could not with Honour make a Peace without



A.D. 1674. without their Allies; that a general Peace could not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Posture of defending itself against any sudden Invasion; and that *Spain* could go no lower than the *Pyrenean* Treaty. Sir *William* reply'd, that the King having been the Arbitrer and Guarend of the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and not having seen the *French* beaten out of any Town yielded to them by that Treaty, could not handsomely propose Terms to *France* lower than those, unless it were upon some Equivalent. But the Prince answered resolutely, 'twere better going on with the War, till some Change happened that should make a Peace more necessary to one of the Parties, than it was at that Time.

The Campaign in Germany. In *Germany* little passed of Consequence. The *French* having cruelly ravaged the *Electors Palatine's* Countrey, provoked all the neighbouring Powers to assemble their Troops to make head against them; and their Superiority to the *French* gave them Hopes of great Successes. But by the Conduct of that great Commander, *Mareschal Turenne*, all the Efforts of the Confederates were eluded, so that the Campaign, when it ended, left all Things in the same Condition as before it began.

This Year proved very barren of Transactions at home: the Parliament being prorogued by the King with so much secret Resentment, that he would not suffer them to sit till fourteen Months after. Hence a Rumour arose that the King intended to dissolve the Parliament, which false Report it was thought fit to obviate by a Proclamation. And at last the Parliament actually met on the 13<sup>th</sup> of *April*, in the next Year 1675, after a long Interval of Inaction.

A.D. 1675. The Speeches of the King and Chancellor contained little more than the customary Assurances in relation to Religion and Liberties, and Exhortations to Unanimity and Confidence. The House of Commons voted their humble Thanks to the King for his gracious Promises; to which they received an obliging Answer.

Proceedings of the House of Commons. Little of Consequence passed in that House this Session. They addressed the King against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and began to prepare Articles of Impeachment against the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Danby*. The first of these was frustrated by the King's Answer; in which he excused taking Notice of the Things laid to his Charge, as being committed before the Act of general Pardon. The Articles against the Earl of *Danby* were seven in number; but they found the Proofs so weak, that when the Articles came to be examined particularly by the House, they struck out first one, and then another, till at last they concluded, that there was not sufficient Ground for an Impeachment. The House afterwards addressed the King to recall his Subjects that were in the *French* Service; and to forbid any others from going thither. The King excused himself as to the former Part of this Address, but issued out his Proclamation in compliance with the last.

But the great Scene of Affairs lay in the A.D. 1675. House of Lords; which was taken up with a long and important Debate upon a Bill of the utmost Consequence brought into that House, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Damagers that may arise from disaffected Persons*. By this Bill all such as enjoyed any beneficial Office, Ecclesiastical, Civil or Military, with all Privy Counsellors and Members of Parliament, were to take the following Oath: That they declared it unlawful upon any Pretence to take Arms against the King; that they abhorred that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person or those commissioned by him; and that they would not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government in Church or State. The former Part of this Oath is the same with that imposed in the Corporation Act in 1662; the abjuring any Change of the Government being now added.

This Bill was warmly opposed; out of Pique and Spleen by the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, and out of a Concern for the publick Safety by others of the Peers. When this Oath was first imposed, the Nation was in a Fury of Loyalty, so that it was no Wonder it passed so easily; but that hot Fit was now over, and Men began to consider Things more calmly. So that many true Patriots fell in with the discontented Party, thinking the Oath imposed by the Bill bore too hard upon the Liberties of a free Countrey. The first Reading of the Bill passed with little Opposition: But the second Reading produced one of the longest and most strenuous Debates that had ever been known, continuing sixteen or seventeen Days; during which the House sat often till nine at Night, and sometimes till Midnight.

On the Side of the Bill were urged those Arguments for the Oath. standing Topicks, of the Necessity of making a Distinction between the Friends and Enemies of the Government, and of keeping the latter out of all Places of Trust and Power, and of a seditious and turbulent Spirit reigning among the People, which ill Governors first raise, and then complain of. It was said, that in such Circumstances the Nation was not to be trusted with chusing its own Representatives, in case another Parliament should be called, without guarding by some new Precaution against an ill Choice. On the other side it was argued, that Oaths Arguments of this kind are perfectly insignificant and against it. useless; because as no Man would sleep with his Doors open, or omit the least Precautions for his own Security, though all the Town were sworn not to rob him, so no Government receives any Security from such Tests, because the Bulk of Mankind ever will break through them, and every one knows they will do so. Some few conscientious Persons indeed may suffer by them; but these of all others least deserve it. So that such Oaths only serve to multiply Perjuries, without doing the least Good. That as to the Position of the Unlawfulness of resisting the King in any Case whatever, they could



A.D. 1675. could not see if it were allowed, how it left any Distinction between a bounded Monarchy like ours, and the absolute Power of the King of *France*. That it was necessary that Princes should have not only the Fear of God, but of humane Resistance too before them; it being pretty clear from History, that the former of those Motives, singly applied, has not always its due Weight with crowned Heads. That it was a high Infringement of the Privileges of the Peerage, and a Violation of the Liberties of the People, to impose a Test that might shut out the former from the Place their Birth entitled them to, and the latter from their Right of a free Election of their own Representatives, for so slight Reasons. It was shewn also, that in some Cases it was not only possible, but the Subject's Duty to take up Arms by the King's Authority against his Person. As when *Henry* the Sixth was kept Prisoner in the Camp of *Edward* the Fourth, and gave Orders as they pleased, yet his true Friends took Part with his Son and Wife, and by opposing his Person in Battle, rescued him from his Enemies. And it was obvious to mention the several Instances of tyrannical Power that might be exerted, if this Privilege of being unresisted should be extended to the King's Commission as well as his Person. As to the Declaration against a Change of Government, this was also objected against, as imprudent and absurd. For none could foresee in the uncertain Flux and Change of humane Affairs, what might in future Times prove necessary; and besides since every new Law makes an Alteration in the Government, either little or great, the Meaning of the Declaration was so loose and uncertain, that it might be construed to hinder the enacting of any new Laws or the repeal of any old ones; which is an Absurdity in it self.

These were the Objections made to the Bill. But the Miseries of the Rebellion being yet fresh in Memory, and Mens Minds still heated with the high Notions of Loyalty that entered at the Restoration, these Reasons proved too weak for such strong Prejudices. So that the Bill was in a fair Way to have passed; when a sudden and unexpected Accident put a Stop to all farther Proceedings in it.

The Bill quashed by a Difference between the two Houses.

It happened at this critical Time, that one *Dr. Shirley* brought a Petition of Appeal from the Court of Chancery to the House of Lords, against *Sir John Fagg*, a Member of the House of Commons; who was in Consequence of that Petition served with an Order to attend the House of Peers. The Commons thought it an Infringement of their Privileges, that any Member of their House should be obliged to attend on the Lords; and flew into the Heats usual on such Occasions; and ordered *Dr. Shirley* to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. The Lords on the other hand were as jealous of the Privileges claimed by them as supreme Court of Judicature; so that the

Warrant to confine *Dr. Shirley* was by the A.D. 1675. Lord *Mobun* forcibly taken away from the Serjeant's Deputy. This fired the House of Commons, who sent to the Lords to demand Justice against that Peer. But the Lords sent back in Answer, that the Lord *Mobun* had done nothing but his Duty. The Commons sent a Message to desire, that there might be no farther Proceedings in that Cause before their Lordships; who returned them another, desiring to know whether the House of Commons owned the Warrant for taking *Dr. Shirley* into Custody. The Commons answered, that they would consider of it; and immediately resolved, that the Message last received from the Lords was an unparliamentary Message; and that whoever should appear at the Bar of the Lords House, to prosecute any Suit against any Member of theirs, should be deemed an Infringer of the Privileges of Parliament. Soon after they received this Resolution of the House of Peers, that it is the undoubted Right of the Lords in Judicature to receive and determine, in Time of Parliament, Appeals from inferior Courts, though Members of either House be concerned. The Commons on the other Side resolved, that it is an undoubted Right of their House, that none of its Members be summoned to attend the House of Lords during the Session and Privilege of Parliament; and that a Conference be desired with their Lordships thereupon. The Lords sent answer, that they consented to a Conference, provided nothing was offered against their Lordships Jurisdiction. Upon this the Commons voted, that this was not a Grant of a Conference as it was desired; and proceeded so far as to resolve, that there lies no Appeal to the Jurisdiction of the Lords from Courts of Equity. And further, they committed to Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, *Sir John Churchill*, and Mr. *Porter*, Council in the Cause; and *Sir John Fagg*, for his Compliance with the Lords, was sent to the Tower.

This Attack of the Commons upon the Judicature of the House of Lords, which has ever been looked on by that House as the fairest Jewel that adorns the Peerage, dissipated in a Moment all Thoughts and Debates about the Test, and united the whole Body of the Lords in Defence of their common Concern. So they ordered the Black Rod to set at Liberty the Counsellors abovementioned; and prohibited the Lieutenant of the Tower, and all other Keepers of Prisons, to molest those Gentlemen upon this Account. On the other hand, when the Commons were informed of their Enlargement by Virtue of an Order from the Lords, they ordered them to be retaken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be committed to the Tower.

These Disputes running very high, and The King more like to increase than to come to an Accommodation, brought the King to interpose between them. He was much set upon the Test;

A fierce Contest between the Lords and Commons.



A.D. 1675. Test; which was in a fair Way to have pass'd both Houses, had not this Accident happened. This made him do his utmost to compromise the Quarrel; and to this purpose he sent for both Houses to *White-hall*; where he advised them to admit of such free Conferences on both Sides, as might at length, either by the Force of Reason bring over one Side, or bring the Question to such a State that himself might be able to judge between them; in doing which he promised to be a fair and equal Arbitrer.

But in vain.

The Commons on their Return voted their Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Speech to the Houses; but resolv'd at the same Time, that it did not appear to them that the Blame of the present Differences could lie upon any Member of their House. The Lords on their Part sent the Black Rod to the *Tower*, to demand the four Lawyers committed by the Commons; but the Lieutenant, Sir *John Robinson*, refused to deliver them. This the Lords violently resent'd, and address'd the King to remove him; to which the King return'd them an uncertain Answer. Soon after the Lieutenant was serv'd with four Writs of *Habeas Corpus* to bring those four Lawyers before the King and his Parliament at *Westminster* the next Morning. The Lieutenant was very much perplexed; and immediately advis'd with the House of Commons, who promis'd him Protection; and resolv'd, that no Commoner committed by that House for Breach of Privilege or Contempt, ought without Order from the Commons, to appear before the House of Peers, to answer, to do, or receive any Determination therefrom, during the Session of Parliament in which such Persons are committed.

Upon which the Parliament is prorogued.

But the King finding this Affair entangled with inextricable Difficulties, resolv'd to put an End to the Session and Dispute by a Prorogation. Accordingly he came to the House of Peers *June 9*, and acquainted the two Houses that he found no other Expedient for quieting the Differences between them, but a Prorogation; and that in hopes of meeting them again in a better Temper, he prorogued them till the 14<sup>th</sup> of *October* next.

It is uncertain whether this extraordinary Event, which defeated so important a Bill, happened by Contrivance or by Chance. Lord *Shaftsbury* said, it was laid by himself. But he was a Man of such extreme Vanity, that what he said of himself was not always to be credited. This is certain, that it was a very wise Strain if it was contriv'd, and a very happy Accident if it came in Course. For the high Principles of Loyalty were still so warm, that this slavish and unreasonable Test had probably pass'd both Houses, had not the Prosecution of it been stopp'd by this violent Conflict of Privilege and Jurisdiction.

The Prince of Orange was alarmed by a sudden Illness that seized

the Prince of Orange, the Life and Soul of the Confederacy, which proved to be the Small-Pox, and put all the Affairs of Europe at a Stand while it lasted; the two contending Parties waiting with equal but contrary Hopes and Fears, till the Danger was past. As soon as the Prince was able he took the Field. But the Summer proved unactive in *Flanders* where he commanded. In *Germany* the Confederates had very great Success. The great *Turenne* was killed by a Cannon Shot; and not long after the French Army was entirely defeated. But for want of Conduct, or Fidelity, or both, these great Successes pass'd over without any Consequences. In this Campaign, Captain *Churchill*, afterwards the victorious Duke of *Marlborough*, began to learn the first Rudiments of War in the French Army.

The Confederates have great Success in Germany.

About the Time this Campaign was ended, the King met his Parliament again. He exhorted them to forget all former Differences, and recommended to them the Care of the Church of *England*. He then took notice, that he had been oblig'd to anticipate his Revenue; confessing at the same Time, that in the Management of it he had not been so frugal as he should have been, and was resolv'd to be.

The Parliament meets.

After a Week's sitting, the Commons took into Consideration the Supply desired by the King. This bred warm Debates. It was found, that the War with *Holland* had cost but 2040000 *l.* as appeared by the Accounts; whereas the Money given by Parliament by the *Dutch* at the End of the War, and that arising from the Customs, and from the *Dutch* Prizes, amounted to 3040000 *l.* so that a whole Million had been wasted or misapplied. No doubt if the Management of the Publick Treasure had not been exceedingly corrupt, the King would not have condescended to mention it in the manner he did. Upon the Debate it was urg'd on the Side of the Court, that though the Management was confessedly so ill as to be without Excuse, yet that it was the Part of wise Men to consider what was to be rightly done for the present, rather than to complain of what had been done wrong in Times past, which could not now be hindered. That either the Dignity of the Crown must be supported, or the Constitution of the State be dissolved. On the other Side it was said, that though the Revenue had suffer'd a shameful Diminution, the Loss was not too great to be recovered by a prudent and skilful Management. That if the Parliament should consent to pay Debts contracted by ill Husbandry, it would seem to authorize and approve them; and so make a Precedent for perpetual Demands of the same Kind. Upon the whole, they refus'd to grant a Supply to take off the Anticipations on the King's Revenue. But they gave 300000 *l.* for the building of twenty Ships. They also appropriated the Tonnage and Poundage to the Use of the Navy.

Their Proceedings.

While



A.D. 1675.  
The Infolence of a  
Popish Priest.

While these Things were doing, the House was alarmed with a surprizing Piece of Infolence in a Popish Priest. One M. *Luzancy*, a Person of some Note, formerly a Papist, had embraced the Protestant Religion, and taking Orders, had publickly preached upon that Occasion. But to that Height of Boldness had some of the *Romish* Church arrived, that not long after, he was set upon in his Lodgings by one *Monf. St. Germain*, a Jesuit, and others, who by Threats of assassinating him, or carrying him by Force beyond Sea, compelled him to transcribe and sign a Recantation of what he had so preached. This Matter was laid before the Secretaries of State, from whom it came before the House of Commons; who were fired with Indignation at such an unexampled Affront to the Religion of our Country. The King soon after issued out his Proclamation, with Promises of Protection to *Monf. Luzancy*, and a Reward of 200*l.* for the apprehending of *St. Germain*.

The Dispute  
between the  
two Houses  
revived.

The Parliament was so incensed by the Boldness of the Popish Party, that they grew the more tender towards Protestant Dissenters. So that upon a Motion made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the House gave him Leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to those of the several Persuasions. But this and all other Proceedings were soon after stopt by the Revival of the Dispute between the Houses; *Dr. Shirley* having continued his Process against *Sir John Fagg*, and the Lords adhering to their first Hearing of his Appeal. This the Commons again voted a Breach of Privilege, and laid their Commands on *Sir John Fagg* not to attempt any Defence at the Bar of the House of Lords. They afterwards desired a Conference with the Lords; in which they only desired that House to put off all Proceedings in that Cause, till some Bills of great Concern were dispatched; after which they would give their Lordships such Reasons against those Proceedings, as they hoped would prove satisfactory. But whatever was the Cause, this calm and moderate Request was succeeded the very same Day by a warm and hasty Resolve, by which it was declared, that no Appeals from any Courts of Equity, ought to be prosecuted before the Lords against any Commoner of *England*, and those who did so should be deemed Betrayers of the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of *England*. This Resolution was ordered to be affixed to the Lobby, *Westminster Hall Gate*, and all the Inns of Court and Chancery.

This threw all into a Flame again; and the Lords presently voted, that the Paper posted up in several Places against the Judicature of the House of Peers, was illegal, unparliamentary, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government. Matters were at last carried so high, that the Lord *Mobun* proposed to address the King to dissolve the present Parliament, and call another. And this Proposal was so well second-

ed and received, that the Negative passed A.D. 1675: by two Voices only. At last the King, wearied with an endless Dispute, which he found no other way to silence, came to the House of Peers; and sending for the House of Commons, prorogued the Parliament till the next 15<sup>th</sup> of *February Twelvemonth*; which made a Prorogation of almost Fifteen Months.

The Parlia-  
ment pro-  
rogued.

This long Prorogation made the Year 1676, which we are now entering upon, altogether unactive at Home. The King's Mediation had been accepted Abroad by all the contending Powers; *France* being well pleased to have a Mediator so partial to their Side, and the Confederates willing to oblige him by that Mark of Confidence. And the City of *Nimeguen* on the Frontiers of *Germany*, was appointed for the Place of Congress. But this Matter of Form being past, the Treaty, by reason of the various Dispositions of the several Powers, went on very heavily. The *Germans* hoped for great Successes in the Campaign; and the *Spaniards* were infatuated with an Expectation, that the King of *England* would at length be driven into the Alliance, by the Humour of his Parliament and People. So that these two Powers were very slow in making Steps towards any Treaty. On the other hand, the *French* were in the Height of Success; and desired no better Peace for themselves, than the present Situation of Things gave Room to demand; so that they readily concurred in every Thing that might forward a Congress. The *Dutch* too, having recovered all their Country, were willing to be freed from a War, which ruined their Trade and drained their Treasure, though they had now no Interests of their own to prosecute by it. But they dared not break with their Allies, while the *French* Power was yet hovering over their State. *Sweden* having suffered much by the War, was desirous of a Treaty; in which they hoped the Success of their *French* Allies might help to procure them those Advantages they could not hope for by the War. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*; encouraged by their Success against the *Swedes*; hoped to drive them out of *Germany* this Summer; and so were averse to all Thoughts of Peace.

The pacifick Powers were the first to send their Ministers to *Nimeguen*; the *French* hoping by that Forwardness to find an Opportunity of concluding a separate Treaty with some of those Powers, who they knew were impatient for the Peace; and the *Dutch*, that their Example might influence the other Allies. *Sir William Temple* and *Sir Leoline Jenkins* were Ambassadors from *England*. But though the Congress was now begun, it was plain from the different Views of the several Parties, that its Motions would be directed by the Events of the War.

The Campaign began in *April*, and was attended throughout with such great Successes on the *French* Part, as were naturally to

A.D. 1676.

A Treaty of  
Peace begun  
at *Nimeguen*.

The Cam-  
paign in  
*Flanders*;  
be



A.D. 1676. be expected from the excellent Management on that Side; and the supine Neglect and Weakness of the *Spaniards*. The King of *France* at the Head of a brave Army, besieged *Conde*, and took it before any of the Confederates were in the Field. He afterwards sent the Duke of *Orleans* to besiege *Bouchain*. The Prince of *Orange* struggled with a thousand Difficulties to get his Army into the Field to relieve that Place. But the King of *France* posted himself so advantageously with the Strength of his Troops, that the Prince could neither relieve the Place, nor fight without Disadvantage. So that on the eighth Day of the Siege the Town was surrendered.

The Prince after this besieged *Maestricht*, and pressed the Siege so vigorously, that it was expected to be taken. But a Sickness falling into his Army, weakened it so much, that being also disappointed of the Forces the *Germans* had promised him, he was obliged to raise the Siege upon hearing that *Mareschal Schomberg* was coming to relieve the Town; which ended the Campaign. During this Siege the Prince of *Orange* was wounded by a Musket-shot in the Arm; but it happened luckily that the Wound was only in the Flesh, the Bone being safe; so that it was quickly healed.

And on the Rhine.

On the *Rhine* the *Imperialists* took the important Place of *Philipsburgh*, which was yielded for want of Provisions; and this was the Total of all the great Successes they expected on that Side.

The Confederates begin to fall asunder.

After this Campaign the State of the Alliance began to change, and the Union of the Confederacy to be weakened; as is generally the Case of such Leagues after they have continued a long Time. *Spain* had a weak Head, and was ruled by suitable Counsels; so that the whole Administration there was full of Disorder, Negligence and Remissness. And their Revenues were so ill managed or misapplied, that no Care was taken for the Payment of their own Troops in *Flanders*, or the Subsistence of those of their Allies. Thus the whole Burden of the War lay upon the *Dutch*, and the Trouble of it upon the Prince of *Orange*; who was forced to bear a thousand Mortifications through the ill Conduct of the *Spaniards*, which broke all his Measures. The *German* Princes had also failed in all they undertook to perform on the Side of the *Rhine*. So that the *Dutch* seeing their Money drained, and their State exhausted by a War, which the Behaviour of their Allies rendered perpetually unsuccessful, grew quite tired of it, and began to think of a separate Peace. This was a perilous Step to take; it being the same Thing as to give up *Flanders* to the *French*, since the *Spaniards* there were too weak to hold out long against the Power of *France*: And in that case the Republic of *Holland* must have become at once the Neighbour and Dependent of that potent Crown. But it was said, that by the ill Conduct of their Allies this must be the Consequence, if the War were continued;

and that it was better to undergo that Inconvenience while their State had something left, than when it should be exhausted by a fruitless War.

However they resolved first to make one Effort on the Side of *England*. Every one believed that our King had it in his Power to make the Peace when and how he pleased; and that *France* would never stand the Shock of the *English* Force united with the Confederacy. They knew too, that the Preservation of *Flanders* was as necessary for us as for *Holland*; and that we were obliged to save it by all the Motives of Honour, Interest and Safety. The Prince and Pensionary therefore desired Sir *William Temple* to lay before the King the Necessities they were under; and the great Obligations they should have to him, if he would bring about a safe and honourable Peace; which they conceived to be in his Power to dictate when he pleased; *France* not being in a Condition to disobey him.

The *Dutch* desire the King to propose Articles of Peace.

These Representations from *Holland* to the King, though in themselves highly just and reasonable, and seconded by the Voice and Cry of the whole *English* Nation, were not forcible enough to break those Ties that engaged him to the *French* Interest. He returned them indeed an Answer with Terms of Peace; but they were found so evasive and unsatisfactory, that nothing was done upon them.

But to no purpose.

In the Campaign that soon followed, Things went on in the usual Way. *France* took care to provide for an early Campaign; while *Spain* neglected every Thing. So that about the End of *February*, the King of *France* blocked up *Valenciennes*, and took that Town and *Cambray* before any of the Allies could come to assist them. The Prince of *Orange* was active and vigilant; and upon the first Motions of the *French* made his utmost Efforts to meet them. He also pressed the *Spaniards* to have their Troops in Readiness to join with his; but nothing of that was done. The Conduct of that Crown grew worse and worse; and the more the Danger of *Flanders* increased, the less Care they took of it. For they went upon this Principle, that *England* being so much concerned in the Safety of *Flanders*, would not suffer the *French* to make themselves Masters of it. And they were so far in the right, that the true Interest of our Country directed us that Way; but they forgot that the Humours and Inclinations of Governours too often steer a quite contrary Course to the Safety and Interest of those they govern; as was too plainly the Case in *England*.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.

A.D. 1677.

The ill Conduct of the *Spaniards*.

The Consequence was, that the Prince of *Orange* was unable to come up with the *French* before *Valenciennes* and *Cambray* were taken. But he found them employed in the Siege of *St. Omer*, which they attacked in the next Place. This Siege the Prince resolved to raise at what Disadvantage soever; which brought on a Fight at *Mont-Cassel*. But the *Dutch* Army had the worst

in



A.D. 1677. in the Encounter, though by the Conduct of the Prince of Orange, their Retreat was made with little Loss. So that St. Omer was soon after taken.

The Campaign in Germany. On the Side of Germany the Campaign was as unsuccessful. For the French intending to make a great Push in Flanders this Summer, took Measures to secure themselves from being diverted in that Enterprize by the German Forces. Very early in the Year they broke into the Parts of Germany on the other Side of the Rhine, and ravaged the Countrey in a cruel manner, burning and spoiling in every Place. This established the Designs of France, and broke those of Germany; the Troops of the latter being deprived of Subsistence, by the universal Desolation made in those Countries which supplied them before. So that the Campaign on that Side was entirely unactive. But we shall now turn to our Affairs at Home.

Affairs at Home. The Prorogation of the Parliament for fifteen Months, gave a Handle of Complaint to the discontented Party. There

Some discontented Lords endeavour to prove the Parliament dissolved. was an ancient Statute yet unrepealed, by which it was enacted, That the King must hold a Parliament once a Year, or oftener if need be. This was laid hold on by the Earl of Shaftsbury and Duke of Buckingham, who were become Heads of that Party; and they pretended from thence to force a Dissolution of the Parliament. They argued, that the Houses could not sit but by virtue either of the King's Prorogation, or an Adjournment; that the latter was not pretended to; and therefore if they could sit at all, it must be by virtue of the former. But they said, that though a Prorogation was indeed made, yet that the same was illegal, and by consequence null and void; as being extended beyond the Term appointed by the Law. So that it was concluded upon the whole, that the Parliament must be dissolved, and another called; there being no legal Authority existing, by virtue of which the old one could meet again. But others of the same Party opposed this. They said that the Words *if need be*, were capable of being applied to the Words *once a Year*, as well as to the Word *oftener*. That this Meaning seemed to be confirmed by later Practice; the long Parliament in making the Triennial Act, having appointed the same only once in three Years. And besides, they insisted on the Imprudence of proposing such a Question, which must be determined by a Majority of both Houses; who could not be expected to dissolve themselves by their own Votes. But the others were too obstinate to be persuaded; and immediately after the Session was opened according to the Prorogation, the Duke of Buckingham took the first Opportunity to speak on that Subject in the House of Lords; insisting and enlarging upon the Argument abovementioned. He was seconded by the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was followed by the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Wharton. But when it came to

be decided by a Question, those of their own Party who were against them, being joined with the Court Lords, carried it for the Prorogation. But when this Question was carried, another Debate arose, whether those Lords were not liable to Censure, for proposing a Question that might raise Doubts and Jealousies in the Minds of the King's Subjects, concerning the Legality of the Parliament. This was opposed by several Lords; who said, they apprehended such a Censure might prejudice the Freedom of Debate. That in a numerous publick Council, it was not to be expected that every Man in it should be so wise, as never to say a foolish Thing, or make any impertinent Motions; it was sufficient to check all such as soon as they were proposed. That it would make a bad Precedent; by which a Majority might upon any Occasion garble the House in what manner they pleased. But these Arguments did not prevail; and the four Lords were ordered to be committed to the Tower, during the Pleasure of his Majesty and the House. The Earl of Shaftsbury continued there above a Year; but the other three, upon their Submission, were sooner discharged.

These violent and rash Proceedings of the discontented were resented by the Commons; and put them into a more giving Temper than they had been. So they granted a new Tax of near 600000*l.* towards building thirty Ships of War. And because an additional Excise upon Beer and Ale, granted after the Triple Alliance, was to expire on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June this Year, they passed a Bill for continuing it three Years longer. But the News from Flanders soon turned their Eyes that Way. The Advantages there gained by the French, and the Feebleness of the Confederates, alarmed them with greater Fears than ever. They saw plainly, that without the Interposition of England, Flanders must be lost, or left in apparent Danger by a Peace. They laid this before the King, in an Address, requesting him to take Measures for the Preservation and Security of that Countrey. The King answered them, that he was of the same Opinion as they; that the Preservation of Flanders was of great Consequence; and that he would use all Means for the Safety of his Kingdoms.

This Address was succeeded by another March 30. to the same Purpose, in which they farther promised to assist him with Supplies, in Case the Steps made on his Part towards that great End should draw him into a War. This Address was probably not very acceptable, for they did not receive an Answer to it till twelve Days after. The Spanish Minister told some of the Commons, that the King said the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues, which made a great Noise in the House. But this might possibly be only an Artifice. The King's Answer was but general. He told the Commons, that having considered their Address, he must put them in Mind, that the only Way to prevent

Who are sent to the Tower.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

They address the King to protect Flanders.

The King gives them an uncertain Answer.



A.D. 1677. prevent Dangers to the Kingdom; was to enable the Crown to make such Preparations, that he might be able to take proper Measures with Safety.

The Temper  
of the House  
of Commons.

But now appeared again the fatal Consequences of those ill Counsels that had been followed during the Ministry of the Cabal. The King had at that Time broken his Word and Honour to that Degree, that no Confidence could be safely reposed in him. The Commons were willing to give whatever Supplies should be necessary for the Safety of *Flanders*; but they were afraid to trust the King with them. They remembered that in the Tenth Session of this Parliament, the King had received Supplies for maintaining the Triple Alliance, and had made Use of that very Money to break it. And this Breach of Faith was improved by peevish or factious Men, to increase the Backwardness of the House in that Affair. For as some were unwilling to give Money out of a reasonable Suspicion that it would not be applied to the Uses intended; so there were others who thwarted the Court out of Pique or Design, with very little real Concern for the publick Good; a Disposition of Mind that is to be met with sometimes among the Leaders in Popular Councils. And these had agreed among themselves to hinder and oppose the giving of Money during the Lord Treasurer's Ministry, whatever Occasions might call for it.

The King and  
Parliament  
mistrust each  
other.

From these Causes it came to pass that the Parliament was very sparing in the Grant of Supplies, though upon an Occasion acknowledged by themselves to be of the utmost Importance. So they drew up an Address in two Days after, in which they acquainted the King, that in the Bill for the additional Excise, they had provided a Security upon which he might borrow 200000 Pounds. And they farther promised, that if he would be pleased to call them after their intended Recess at *Easter*, they would not only reimburse his Majesty in such Sums as he should have laid out upon extraordinary Preparations in Pursuance of their Addresses, but also assist him with such farther Supplies, as should maintain whatever Alliances he might enter into. The King in two Days returned his Answer by a Message, that it was necessary for him to be sure of 600000 Pounds before he could enter upon any Measures to answer the Ends of those Addresses.

The Demand of this great Sum perplexed the House. They were unwilling to refuse the King, and as fearful of trusting him. At last they drew up an Address, in which they told him, that a great Number of their Members being gone to their Countries in Expectation of an Adjournment, they thought it would be unparliamentary to grant such a great Sum when so few Members were sitting. That therefore they desired his Majesty to suffer their House to adjourn for such a short Time, that before that 200000 Pounds were expended they might meet again; and that the King by Proclamation, would then com-

mand all the Members to be present at the Day of Meeting. By that Time; they said, they hoped his Majesty would be able so to order his Affairs, and fix his Alliances, that they might be imparted to the House; after which they promised him all the chearful Assistance he could wish. A.D. 1677.

This brought the King to the same Dilemma the Parliament was in just before. He was indeed, to a most inexcusable Degree, linked to the Interests of *France*; but as he was still more devoted to his own Ease, that Consideration seems to have inclined him at this Time to a War. What Part his own natural good Sense might have too in that Inclination, is hard to say. For none knew better what was fit to be done, had he but acted accordingly. But he saw on the other hand, that if he entered into the War without ample Provision before-hand, he must be left at the Mercy of the House of Commons, during the Continuance of it. And though he was too discerning not to see the Reasonableness of the Representations they made to him; yet he knew that the designing Men amongst them would make Use of the new Wants which a War must bring upon him, to distress his Ministers and Counsels. So he resolved to do nothing on his Part without a previous Grant of Supplies.

But there being ready the two Money-Bills abovementioned, he hastened to secure them; and on the Evening of the Day on which he received the Address, he went to the House of Peers, and passed them. After this was done, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Houses, that the King gave them Leave to adjourn themselves till the 21<sup>st</sup> of May.

The Parlia-  
ment ad-  
journs.

When the Parliament met again on that Day, after a Recess of five Weeks, the Commons received a Message from the King, intimating that he expected they should enter into the Consideration of his last Message; he having summoned the Members according to their Request in their last Address, that the House might be full. That Message being read, a Debate began. The Country Party said they came thither in Expectation to hear that the King had formed Alliances, and taken Measures in Pursuance of their last Address, but to their great Surprise they heard nothing of all this. Instead of that a Demand was made for Money, without the least Account of the End it was to be employed to. That if any Treaties were in Agitation, but not yet ripe, they would adjourn themselves till such Time as they were fit to be imparted. But if nothing of this was done, they were not called to the Purpose they desired, and hoped to meet upon. To this the Court Party answered, that Alliances were Things of great Weight and Difficulty, and the Time was but short; and that even if they had been finished, it might not be convenient to publish them, till the King was in a Readiness and Posture to maintain them; which he could not be without receiving the 600000 Pounds according to his Message. This brought

Meets again.

The same  
Jealousies re-  
main.



A.D. 1677. brought the Question to a Pinch; but the Country Party evaded it by adjourning the House for two Days.

The Reason of this Delay of the House was too plain not to be perceived by the King. He therefore sent to them upon their first Meeting after their Adjournment to attend him at *Whitehall*; where he took Notice of the apparent Distrust they had of him, and assured them upon the Word of a King, that they should not repent the Confidence they should repose in him. That the Supplies he asked were absolutely necessary to enable him to speak or act with Safety; and farther, that he had not lost one Day since their last Meeting, in doing what he could for their Defence.

The Commons upon their Return entered into a serious Debate upon this Speech, in which the former Topicks were insisted on by the two Parties. The Court Party argued on the Necessity of giving Money before any Alliances were made; and the other Side continued as obstinate to give none till afterwards. This last got the better; and an Address was at last agreed to, in which the Commons excused themselves from granting the Supplies his Majesty desired, by alledging that it was unprecedented so to do, till the Alliances they were to support were signified in Parliament. Then they besought him to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with the States General; and make such Leagues with other of the Confederates, as he should think proper for that End. They then assured him he would always find, after such Alliances were signified in Parliament, such cheerful Supplies and Assistance, as his Occasions and Honour should require.

This Address was presented to the King on the 26<sup>th</sup> of May. But he resented it so highly, that two Days after he sent for the House to attend him at *Whitehall*, and told them, that they had in their Address intrenched upon the Royal Prerogative of making Peace and War, in such Manner as never was done before, when the Sword was not drawn. That not content with directing him to make Leagues, they must assign what kind of Leagues he must make. That if he suffered his Prerogative to be thus invaded, his Title of King would be looked on by Foreign Princes as an empty Sound. That he hoped so well of them, that he would believe those ill Consequences were not intended by them; and that he should yet go on to do all in his Power for the Security and Satisfaction of his People. He then let them know his Pleasure, that the House should be adjourned till June 16. He told them he would give them Notice by his Proclamation when they should sit again; but added, that would hardly be till the Winter, unless some extraordinary Occasion called.

The Campaign in *Flanders* was not yet quite ended. The Prince of *Orange* had a Design upon *Charleroy*, and sat down before it. But the *French* with great Expedition

assembled an Army for the Relief of that Town, and obliged him to raise the Siege; which ended the Campaign. The Prince having found himself disappointed in all his Measures the three last Years, by the Weakness and ill Conduct of his Allies, saw plainly that the End proposed by the Confederacy would never be compassed without the Assistance of *England*; and though the Partiality of the King to the Side of *France*, gave him but little Encouragement to make such a Step, he resolved, if the King would permit him, to come in Person into *England*, to make his last Efforts to induce his Majesty to interpose on their Behalf in the Terms of Peace. He had also another Design in this Voyage, which was to make Suit to the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *York*; concerning which he had written to the King above a Year before, and received a favourable Answer. He had sent to the King in the Summer to desire his Permission to come over, and had received the same. So in *September*, about the End of that Month, he set out for *England*.

After his landing at *Harwich*, he went Post to *Newmarket*, where the Court then was; and was very kindly received by the King, and the Duke. After the first Days Civilities were over, they both invited him often into Discourses of Business. But they found he so studiously avoided it, that the King ordered Sir *William Temple* to find out the Reason of it. The Prince said he was resolved to see the young Princess before he entered into a Treaty about his Match with her; and also to finish that Affair, before he began to speak about the Peace. And the King was so obliging, as for his Sake, to leave *Newmarket* some Days sooner than he intended.

The Prince upon his Arrival in Town, having seen the Princess, was so taken with her, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke, which was very well received; and assented to with this Condition, that the Terms of a Peace should be first agreed on between them. The Prince excused himself, and said, he must end his first Business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their Opinion, and the Prince resolute in his; who at last said, that his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace as Things then stood, would be apt to believe he had made this Match at their Cost; and for his Part, he would never sell his Honour for a Wife. But this prevailed not, and the King continued so positive for three or four Days, that the Lord *Danby* and Sir *William Temple*, who were the only Persons acquainted with this important Deliberation, were doubtful that the whole Business would break off upon this Punctilio. But at length the Fortune of *England* prevailed. Sir *William Temple* chanced to go about this Time to the Prince after Supper, and found him in a very ill Humour. He told Sir *William*, he repented he had come into *England*, and resolved to stay but two Days longer, and then

The Misunderstandings increase, and the Commons present an improper Address to the King.

The King answers the Commons angrily.

The Parliament adjourned.

The Prince of *Orange* weary of the War.

He comes to *England*.

Makes his Suit for the Lady *Mary*.

The Match near breaking off.



A.D. 1677. then be gone, if the King continued in the Mind of treating the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter; for he was sure it must be either as the greatest Friends, or as the greatest Enemies. This he desired Sir William Temple to tell the King the next Morning. He did so; and with the Earnestness of a Man who had the Affair at Heart, laid before the King the ill Consequences that would attend a Breach between them, when our late Measures with France had raised such an universal ill Humour. The King heard him attentively; and when he had done speaking, said, *Well, I was never yet deceived in judging of a Man's Honesty by his Looks; and if I am not deceived in the Prince's Face, he is the honestest Man in the World, and I will trust him, and he shall have his Wife; and you shall go immediately, and tell my Brother so, and that 'tis a Thing I am resolved on.* The Duke was surprized at first; but soon recovered himself and said, *the King shall be obeyed.* From him Sir William Temple went to the Prince, who received the News with that Mixture of Surprise and Joy that attends unexpected good Fortune.

But is at length concluded.

The News of it received with universal Joy.

The Match was declared at the Committee that Evening, and the next Morning to all the Privy-Council summoned on Purpose; who went that Afternoon in a Body to compliment and congratulate the Lady first, and then the Prince. From the Court the News flew into the City, and was received there and throughout the Nation with the utmost Joy. For many anxious Fears and Cares had long disquieted all true *Englishmen* on Account of that Princess and her Sister, which this Match put an end to. For there appearing little Probability that the Duke of York should have any Children (at least any long-lived) by his new Duchesse, and still less that the King should have any by the Queen, the Lady Mary and Lady Anne were now regarded as the rising Hopes of England. Hence, when the Duke's Religion came to be suspected, every Mind was filled with Sollicitude for the Fortune of those young Princesses, whose Sex made them subject to the Disposal of their Father, and by Consequence to Popish Alliances; which all considering Men trembled at the Thoughts of. And thus, those Ladies became insensibly the Darlings of the *English* Nation; every Man being accustomed to look upon them with a Mixture of Tenderness and Anxiety; as seeing the Dangers their Sex exposed them to, and our Country's Fate involved in theirs. But now the King having bestowed the eldest of them on so renowned a Prince, who was besides, the Head of the Protestant Interest abroad, those Apprehensions were dissipated; and the Nation broke out into such Raptures of Joy, as naturally attend a Deliverance from a long and perplexing Disquiet, and Sollicitude.

The News of this intended Match was received with the same Pleasure in Holland,

when the Prince of Orange sent over to the States for their Approbation. The Celebration of the Marriage was delayed till this was received; but the same Day it came, being Nov. 4. the Prince's Birth-day, the Marriage was solemnized at St. James's about Eleven o'Clock that Night, by the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton. The King gave the Bride, the Duke and Duchesse of York, and some of the principal Nobility being present. This renewed through the City and through England, the Rejoicings that had been made before upon the same auspicious Occasion.

Soon after the Marriage was consummated, the King and Prince fell to deliberate upon the Terms of the Peace. They agreed at last, that the Peace should be made upon these Terms: All to be restored to the Emperor and Empire that had been taken during the War; the Duchy of Lorraine to that Duke; all on both Sides between France and Holland; and to Spain, the Towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, St. Ghislain, and Binch. That the Prince should endeavour to get the Consent of Spain, and the King that of France; who to that End should send some Person immediately over with the Proposition, and demand a positive Answer in two Days; and that Time expired, immediately come back. The Lord Duras was sent, but the Prince could not attend his Return, being called to Holland by his Affairs there. So he embarked a few Days after with the Princess for his own Country; the King at parting assuring him he would not swerve from the least Point of the Scheme sent over, but would declare War against France if they refused it.

The King and Prince agree upon the Terms of the Peace.

The Prince embarks for Holland.

The Court of France was no doubt very much puzzled with this unequal Conduct of the King. But by the Force of good Management they warded off the Blow. They answered Lord Duras very civilly, that the King was always Master of the Peace; that some of the Towns in Flanders, especially Tournay, upon whose Fortifications vast Treasures had been expended, were very hard to part with; and that they would take some short Time to consider of the Answer. Lord Duras told them, he was tied to two Days Stay: But they found means to get him to stay some Days longer; and to come back at last with the same evasive Answer they gave him at first. That the Most Christian King hoped his Brother would not break with him for one or two Towns; but even upon them too he would send Orders to his Ambassador at London to treat with his Majesty himself. Thus by drawing the Affair into Treaty without any positive Refusal, this Blow came to be eluded. And the Prince being gone, who was the Life and Vigour of the Resolution, the Treaty began to draw out into Messages and Returns from France.

The Court of France ward off the Blow.

The King seems to have been now much inclined to satisfy his People by those Steps he knew would be agreeable to them. He anti-



A.D. 1677. anticipated by Proclamation the Sitting of the Parliament, which had been prorogued till the Spring, and appointed the same to meet on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January. About the End of December he also told Sir William Temple, that he could get no positive Answer from France; and therefore had resolved to send him into Holland, to make a League with the States, in order to force both France and Spain to a Peace upon the Terms he had proposed. Sir William Temple was not satisfied with the Project, and declined it; but the King being set upon it, Mr. Hyde (afterwards Earl of Rochester) then at Nimeguen, had Orders sent him to conclude the Treaty, which he did accordingly; and the Treaty was signed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January.

The King calls the Parliament.

And makes a League with the States.

A.D. 1678. The Parliament met the 15<sup>th</sup> of the same Month; but the Treaty abovementioned not being then ready, the King sent to them to adjourn till the 28<sup>th</sup>. The King having by that Time Notice of the Conclusion of that Treaty, communicated the same to them in his Speech; laying before them the Necessity there was of standing by him with full Confidence, in order to reap the Fruits of that Negotiation. He told them, that no fewer than ninety Ships of War, and an Army of thirty or forty thousand Land-Men were requisite to support that Treaty. He then took Notice of other great Supplies he stood in need of; and afterwards mentioned the Security he had given of his good Inclinations, by marrying his Niece to the Prince of Orange; concluding with a Motion for a plentiful Supply.

But their ill Humour continues.

But this Speech was not so well received in the House of Commons as was expected, and as it deserved. This was partly owing indeed to the notorious Breaches of Faith he had formerly been guilty of, and to the Partiality he had shewn till now to the Side of France; which made Men suspect, that so sudden a Change was not to be depended on. But much is to be attributed to the Envy and Hatred of private Persons to the favourite Minister at that Time, the Lord Treasurer, who was supposed to aim at Popularity, or at least Security, by putting the King on these Measures. And those Gentlemen, thinking less of the Publick Good than their own private Humours, opposed all Things that came from him. And instead of taking the present Opportunity to carry the Point they had laboured so long, they strove to keep up the former Distrust and Dissensions, when they seemed in a fair Way to be removed.

They were but too successful in their Endeavours. For after the Commons had taken into Consideration the King's Speech, they agreed upon an Address, in which they just thanked him in very cold and slight Expressions for his Care of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his Niece to the Prince of Orange; which was all the Notice they took of his Speech. They then went on to desire him to admit of no Treaty of Peace, unless France were reduced to the Terms of the Pyrenees; and to provide that none of the

Alliance should depart from the Confederacy till France were so reduced; that himself and the Confederates should forbid all Trade with France; and that no Ship or Vessel be suffered to come out of any Port of that Kingdom, but that the Ships and Men be seized, and the Goods destroyed: And that in making such Confederacies his Majesty should never doubt of the Affections of his People. They then assured him in general, that when such Alliances were imparted to the Parliament, they would give him all the Assurances he could desire. This Address was presented on Jan. 31.

The King was provoked to see by this Address, that the nearer he came to them, the farther they went from him. So in four Days after he sent them an Answer in Writing, in which he told them that he was not a little surprized to find in their Address so much of what should not be, and so little of what should. That in their Address of May 26. they invited him to a League offensive and defensive with Holland for the Preservation of Flanders; promising him speedy Assistance upon the Declaration of such Alliances. But now this Alliance was declared, they forget that Promise and offer him new Conditions, upon which he shall be supplied. That he told them of their Invasion of his Prerogative in that Address, but they only second it with new ones. That they desire him to oblige his Confederates never to consent to a Peace till France were reduced to the State of the Pyrenean Treaty; a Determination fit only for God Almighty, since none can tell the Terms of Peace, but he who knows the Events of War. That however, if they would assist him, he would never be weary till Christendom were put into such a Condition, that it should not be in the Power of any single Prince to disturb it. That if they would encourage him to go farther in Alliances, they must think of speedy Supplies; for from the Consideration of those he must take his Measures.

Shortly after they resolved upon a Supply, but with some strict Limitations. They also took away all written Protections granted by their Members, which grew to be an intolerable Grievance, by the vast Numbers of them sold by needy Persons of the House; and they ordered that Protection should extend to menial Servants only, actually in Service, and without any written Certificate.

At this Time the Earl of Shaftsbury was discharged from his Confinement in the Tower. He had several Times petitioned for his Release, but it was constantly refused, unless he would make a formal Recantation, which his proud Spirit would not stoop to. At last he had Recourse to the Court of King's Bench, and was brought thither by a Habeas Corpus on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January; himself as well as his Council pleading very notably for his Enlargement. But it was agreed by the Court, that they could not help him; so that he was remanded to Prison. This made him worse than he was before.

The King resents their Behaviour.

The Earl of Shaftsbury discharged.



A.D. 1678. fore. For as this Motion in *Westminster-hall* was a direct Opposition to the Authority of the House of Lords, it obliged him to a double Submission. However he chose to undergo that Mortification rather than continue a Prisoner. So being brought to the Bar of the House to answer for that Contempt, he offered to acknowledge both his former and last Offence. This was accordingly done by him at the Bar of the House upon his Knees, in a Form read to him by the Lord Chancellor, which he was obliged also to subscribe. Then by the Intercession of the House with the King, he was set at Liberty.

The French King takes Ghent.

About this Time the King of France made a sudden Step, which filled the City and Parliament with new Alarms. For having amused the Confederates by an intricate Scheme of Marches and Countermarches, on a sudden he crossed the Countrey, and sat down before *Ghent*; and soon after made himself Master both of that great City and of *Ypres*. This brought the Town of *Ostend* into so much Danger, that the King sent over some Forces under the Duke of *Monmouth* to secure that Port.

The Parliament adjourned.

Meets again.

But in the same Temper as before.

The Commons went on with the Poll-Bill for raising of Money; and *March* the 14<sup>th</sup> agreed to address the King to proclaim War against France. This Address was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence; but never presented. For the Money-Bill being pass'd, the King came to secure it on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and adjourned the Parliament for three Weeks, till *April* 11. and then for a Fortnight longer, till *April* the 29<sup>th</sup>.

On that Day the Lord Chancellor told them, that the King was informed that the *Dutch* were negotiating a Treaty with France without his Consent or Privy; and desired the Advice of the two Houses what he should do thereupon. Five Days after, the Commons voted to advise the King to join with the Confederates, and enter into the War against France. They afterwards voted, that the late Leagues made with the States General, were not pursuant to their Addresses, nor consistent with the Kingdom's Safety. The King was disobliged at these Votes, and let them know it by a Message sent two Days after; but added, he should take no farther Notice of what was done by that single House, because the Advice he desired was to come from both the Houses.

But the ill Humours in the House of Commons grew worse and worse; and they seemed more inclined to pick a Quarrel with him, than to assist him. And five Days after this Message they presented him an Address, in which they thanked him for demanding their Advice, which they had given him, and desired to know his Resolutions thereupon. That they conceived the present Inconveniences might have been prevented, if his Majesty had accepted of their Advice in the Addresses of *May* 26. and *January* 31. That therefore they requested that he would be pleased to remove those

Counsellors, that advised him to answer those Addresses in the manner he did; and that he would remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Presence and Council. The King was provoked at this to the last Degree; and immediately returned them Answer, that he was much surprized at the Extravagancy of their Address, and unwilling at present to give them such an Answer as it deserved. And soon after he came to the House of Peers, and prorogued the Parliament for ten Days.

The Parliament prorogued.

During this last Session, and since the passing the Poll-Bill, which was no more than six Weeks Time, the King had prepared a Navy of Ninety Men of War, and raised an Army of Thirty thousand Men, the most compleat, and in all Appearance the bravest Troops, that could any where be seen. All Europe stood amazed at this Example of the Power and Greatness of England; and all the Foreign Ministers here confess'd, that no other King in *Christendom* could have made and compleated such a Levy in so short a Time.

A remarkable Instance of the Power of England.

But the Measures of *Holland* cooled the Ardour with which the War against France seemed to proceed. The French had found Means to instil into many leading Men of that State, Jealousies of the Prince of *Orange*; making them believe, that in his Journey to *England* he had been brought over by the King and Duke of *York* into their Opinions; and that his Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, was the Sanction of some secret Measures concerted between them. These Insinuations found too easy Belief; the great Power of the Princes of *Orange* being ever looked on there with a suspicious Eye; for which the Attempts of some of those Princes had given but too much Reason. When his Interest was thus weakened, it was easy to turn the Inclinations there violently towards a Peace, the Necessity of it being apparent, and the Prince, who was the great Obstacle, unable to hinder it. So that the King had Word sent him from thence continually, of the strong Dispositions there towards a Peace. And besides, the French fearing the King of *England's* declaring the War, might overturn at once all they had been doing in *Holland*, endeavoured to shake his Resolutions, by offering a great Sum of Money for his Consent to the Peace concerted between them. This was at first refused; but the ill Humours of the House of Commons increasing at such a rate, that the King found he could not trust them, this Offer began to have its Effect. He saw he had lost his Time of entering into the War; and therefore said, since he found the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon the French Terms, and France offered Money for his Consent, he did not see why he might not take the Money. He ordered Sir *William Temple* to treat with the French Ambassador about it; but he thinking the Affair dishonourable, resolutely declined it.

The Dutch become jealous of the Prince of Orange.

The King lays aside his Thoughts of War.

The Parliament met again on the 23<sup>d</sup>. But

The Parliament meets.



A.D. 1678. But throughout this Session little was done to the Honour or Advantage of our Country. The fencing that had passed between the King and his Parliament had produced a mutual Diffidence; a State of Things in which a Foreign War is not very desirable. And the Steps made in *Holland* towards a Peace, had superseded and rendered fruitless all the King's great Preparations for entering into that War. So that the King and Parliament were only employed in that ridiculous and unprofitable Work, of undoing all that had been done in the foregoing Session.

The King in his Speech told the Parliament, that he was resolved, as far as he was able, to save *Flanders* either by a War or by a Peace. That in either Case he thought it would be necessary to keep up the Army and Navy for some Time; but that he left it to them to consider of Supplies either for their Continuance or Disbanding; and concluded with a Motion for some other Supplies.

Their Proceedings.

The House of Commons upon considering the Speech, resolved, that if his Majesty would enter into the War against the *French* King, that House would support him; otherwise they would consider of providing to disband the Army. This Vote being presented to the King, he returned them Answer, that the *French* King had proposed a Cessation which he believed would end in a general Peace; but since that was not certain, he thought it would be most advisable to keep up the Army and Fleet till that Time. But the Commons either were, or pretended to be, afraid of the keeping up the Army; and therefore voted, that all Forces raised since *September 29.* last, be forthwith paid off and disbanded.

*June 4.* They voted 200000*l.* for disbanding the Army by the End of that Month. Next Day they voted 200000*l.* more for the Fleet. Soon after they received a Message from the King, in which he told them he was of the same Mind as before when he made his Speech, that the Army and Fleet should be kept up till the Peace were concluded: and left it to them whether it would not be dishonourable to recal his Forces in *Flanders* so soon from those Places he had taken under his Protection. Upon this the Term for disbanding those Forces was prolonged to *July 27.* But on *June 15.* they resolved, that after the *Tuesday* following, no Motions should be made for Supplies till after the next Recess.

On that *Tuesday* the King sent for them to the House of Peers, and told them that the Peace was near Conclusion, at least with *Spain* and *Holland.* That *Spain* had written to him, that they were not in a Condition to support *Flanders* long, unless *England* would bear the Charge of maintaining it, even after the Peace; and that to that End it was necessary to keep up the Navy at Sea. That besides, if they would either consult the Honour of the Crown, or his Quiet, it was necessary to add to his Revenue a Fund of

300000*l.* per Annum. In the last Place he desired them to enable him to pay his Niece's Portion which was now become due, and demanded.

But this made no Impression on them. They thanked the King indeed for his gracious Expressions; but absolutely denied the additional Revenue. And when the Lords had added a Clause to the Bill for Disbanding the Army, enlarging the Term for a Month, they refused to agree to it. So that the King, growing more and more uneasy with them, resolved to prorogue the Parliament; which he did *July 15.* passing at the same Time one Act for a Supply of 600000*l.* They were prorogued till *August 1.* but were not suffered to sit till *October 21.*

The Peace was soon after signed at *Nimeguen* between the *French* and the *Dutch*; these latter finding that no Dependence could be had on *England*, from the irregular Conduct of the Parliament, and the Uncertainty and Fluctuation of the King's own Councils. And in about five or six Months, the other Allies were obliged, by the Desertion of the *Dutch*, to come one by one into the same Measures. And thus the Peace of *Europe*, after having been a second Time broken by the *French* Ambition, was again restored, though upon a sandy and tottering Foundation. For the Acquisitions made by *France* in the War were so great, by their Conquests in *Flanders*, and by the Seizure of *Lorraine*, and the *Franche-Comté* towards *Germany*, that the *Netherlands* on one Side, and the Empire on the other were left exposed and open to the first Attack; so that it could not be expected this Peace should be lasting, when fair and defenceless Countries tempted the greedy Eyes of an ambitious Neighbour. And it accordingly happened so about ten Years after.

The Peace of Nimeguen concluded.

The dangerous State in which it left Europe.

Just at the same Time the Peace between the *French* and *Dutch* was signed, the famous *Popish* Plot first broke out. And here begins another and the last Period of this Reign; the Consequences of this Plot continuing to the King's Death; and introducing a total Change in the Face of Affairs. For as this Plot was universally believed, it inflamed to the utmost Fury the Jealousies and Discontents the Nation was already in about the Dangers of Popery, and kindled such Alarms and Fears about our Security at home, as left us no Leisure to attend the Affairs abroad; with which we had very little Communication from this Time till the Revolution. And this Temper was made use of by *Shaftsbury* and other wicked Politicians to carry on their secret Designs; and they found the Way by Means of it to give the King so much Uneasiness, as obliged him, almost in his own Defence, to stop the Torrent of popular Licence by such Arts and Counter-mines, as indeed suppressed those factious Cabals, but were near destroying the Liberties of *England* too. We shall now go on with the particular Narration of the Circumstances attending these extraordinary Events.

The Popish Plot breaks out.



A.D. 1678. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of *August* of this remarkable Year, as the King was walking in the Park, as it was his Custom to do every Morning for three or four Hours, he was addressed to by one *Kirkby*, a Person known to him, as being an Operator in a Chymical Laboratory which the King maintained for his private Amusement. For he delighted much in natural Knowledge, and was well versed in it. This Man acquainted the King that his Enemies had a Mind to take away his Life; and that for ought he knew he might be in Danger, in that very Walk. The King rather surprized than afraid, asked him, how that could be? The other replied that he might be shot at, but added, that he must be private to give a particular Account. The King was so little concerned at the Information, that he resolved to continue his Walk as before; and only ordered him to wait his Return out of the Park. The King took him aside when he came back, and asked him what he knew? He answered there were two Men, called *Honest William* and *Pickering*, who were to shoot him; and that *Sir George Wakeman*, Physician to the Queen, was hired to poison him. That he heard this from a Friend, who was ready to appear and give a fuller Account. The King ordered him to bring him at eight that Evening; when *Kirkby* came, and with him one *Dr. Tongue*, a City Divine. This last presented to the King Papers containing forty three Articles relating to a Plot of the *Papists* and *Jesuits* to kill the King and restore *Papery* in these Kingdoms. The King looked over the Papers; but told them that he was to go to *Windsor* the next Day; and therefore ordered them to go next Morning to the Lord Treasurer; with whom he said he would leave the Papers.

When they came, the Lord Treasurer desired *Kirkby* to withdraw; and then *Dr. Tongue* told him he found the Originals of those Papers thrust under his Chamber-door, but did not know by whom; but that he guessed it was a Person he had some Time before had Discourse with in Relation to such Matters. Being then asked if he knew where to find that Person? He answered he believed it would not be long before he saw him again. Three or four Days after the *Dr.* brought more Papers to the Earl, telling him he had found the Man; who had given him other Informations, but desired not to be known for fear the *Papists* should murder him. The Earl asked if he knew those two Men mentioned in the Papers who were to kill the King; and where they lived? He said they used to walk frequently in *St. James's Park*; and if he had one sent with him, he should be able to shew that Person one or both of them in a little Time. That he did not know where they lived, but he would inform himself as soon as he could, and acquaint his Lordship very speedily.

The Lord Treasurer gave Ear to the Information; and went to *Windsor* to the King; and acquainted him with what had passed, and that he had left a Servant in *London* to

get a Sight of the Men there said to be appointed to kill the King. He desired also that one of the Secretaries of State might send a Warrant for apprehending them; and that some more of the Council might be acquainted with it. But the King was more discerning than his Minister; as in Truth his natural Talents were admirable, had he made right Use of them. He knew how the Nation would be inflamed by such a Story; and foresaw the Consequences that afterwards appeared. So that he absolutely refused to have the Men apprehended, or the Matter known, till a farther Enquiry should manifest either the Truth or the Falshood of these Advices. The Earl went to his Seat at *Wimbleton* not far from *Windsor*; but being warm upon the Scent of this Discovery he left Orders that if *Dr. Tongue* had any thing to say of that Matter he should come to him; or send the Servant the Earl had left with him. This Person went to and fro for some time every Day from *London* to *Wimbleton*; bringing new Informations to the Earl, and at last an Account of the Lodgings of those two Men who were to kill the King. He brought Word also that the Doctor would be able to give notice beforehand, when the Assassines were to go to *Windsor*. Of all these Things the Earl gave the King an Account from Time to Time.

At last, *Tongue* went to *Wimbleton* himself one Night, and told the Earl, that some of those Assassines were to go to *Windsor* next Morning; but that he could so order it that the Earl's Servant might go with them in the Coach; or if that was full, on Horseback in their Company, and watch them so as to give notice of their Arrival; that they might be taken upon the Place; and discovered for want of giving a good Account of their Business there. This was so very particular, that it seemed convincing. The Earl went immediately to *Windsor*; acquainted the King with it, and gave Orders for seizing those Men upon their Arrival. But all this Expectation was cooled by a new Account from *Tongue*, that something had prevented their going that Day; but that they would set out again in a Day or two Days at farthest. But when this Time came, News was brought again that one of their Horses was slipt in the Shoulder, which had prevented them a second Time. These Evasions one after another gave reasonable Cause of Suspicion; and the King was more and more convinced that the whole was a Fiction and Contrivance. But the Earl knowing that he stood very ill with the House of Commons, thought he should ingratiate himself there by shewing his Diligence in the Discovery of a *Papist* Plot; whether it proved a true or false one; so that he still urged to have this Business communicated to others. But the King positively refused it, saying, he should alarm all *England*, and put Thoughts of killing him into People's Heads, that did not think of it before.

Thus the Matter rested for some Time. But

The Manner of its being discovered.

One *Kirkby* first acquaints the King with it.

After him *Dr. Tongue*.

*Tongue* informs the Lord Treasurer of it.

Who gives Ear to his Story.

A.D. 1678.

But the King does not believe it.

Farther Discoveries.



A.D. 1678. But in a little while the Earl was again sent to by Dr. *Tongue*, with an Account of a Pacquet of Letters, to be left at the Post-House at *Windsor* and directed to one Mr. *Bedingfield* a Priest. The Earl was then in *Oxfordshire*; so that this Letter came late to him. Upon the Receipt of it he made haste to *Windsor*, and acquainted the King with the Contents. But he found the King had heard of it already. For *Bedingfield* to whom that Pacquet was sent, finding the Letters to be of a dangerous Nature, desired to wash his Hands of them, and carried them immediately to the Duke of *York*, to whom he was Confessor, protesting that he did not know from whom they came, nor what they meant; and that he was sure they were not the Hand-Writing of those whose Names were subscribed to the Letters. These Letters had such evident Marks of Forgery, as confirmed the King in his Disbelief of the whole Information given by *Tongue*; it being reasonable to suppose those Letters came from him, or his Associates, in Hopes that being found in the Custody of a Popish Priest, they would corroborate his Intelligence. So that the King still persisted to refuse the Earl his Leave to produce those Papers, which he was so earnestly set upon doing. The Duke of *York* on the other hand, feared some Imputation might be laid upon himself, if those Papers, directed to his Confessor, should be stifled. This made him desirous to clear himself by laying them before the Privy Council; and the Earl joining with him, they prevailed upon the King at last.

Which occasions the Story to be made publick.

*Titus Oates* now first appears.

His Information.

It was then a Secret no longer; and from the Council the News flew into the City and Countrey. Every one was immediately busy in telling or hearing of strange Reports, which the Inventions of some, or the Mistakes of others had produced out of the real Truth. And these Rumours falling in with the Jealousies and Apprehensions Men were under before, met with an easie Belief. Soon after *Kirkby* and *Tongue* were ordered to appear before the Privy Council, and deposed to what they had heard, or pretended to have heard; and *Tongue* named for his Informer one *Titus Oates*, a Person who had been dignified with holy Orders, though very unworthy of that sacred Function. He was sent for to the Council, and there swore to the Truth of the Papers delivered by *Tongue*, with a great many other Matters not therein contained. These Depositions were so well received, that the Council ordered him and Doctor *Tongue* Lodgings in *White-hall*, the King's own Palace, with Guards for their Security, and a plentiful weekly Salary for their Subsistence.

The Sum of what he then swore was, That he had been privy to many Consultations and Discourses of the Jesuits about killing the King. That at one Time they designed to shoot him, which was to be done by two Men, whose Names were *Grove* and *Pickering*, the one a Priest, the other a Lay Brother. That afterwards it was thought better to do it by poisoning; and this was to be

done by Sir *George Wakeman*, a Papist, and A.D. 1678. Physician to the Queen. He said also that many Jesuits had disguised themselves, and gone into *Scotland* among the Field Conventiclers, to distract the Government there. That he himself was sent first to *St. Omers*, then to *Paris*, and afterwards into *Spain*, to negotiate this Design. That upon his Return with many Letters and Directions from beyond Sea, to the Jesuits here in *England*, there was a great Consult held by them in different Rooms, in a Tavern behind *St. Clement's Church*, in which he was employed to carry the Resolutions from Room to Room, and so to hand them round. That at that Time a fixed Resolution was taken to kill the King, in one or other of the Ways abovementioned. That while he was going on, waiting for some certain Evidence to accompany his Discovery, he found he was suspected by them; and so durst not trust himself among them any more.

These Things were sworn by him the first Day he appeared before the Council. Upon this he was sent that very Night with a Guard to seize upon the Jesuits and their Papers. And for two or three Days after, he was almost perpetually employed Night and Day, either in apprehending Persons he had sworn against, or in attending the Council. This Fatigue he made Use of afterwards for an Excuse to palliate several gross Inconsistencies, that appeared in the Evidence delivered by him at different Times. Upon his Oath there were apprehended Sir *George Wakeman* abovementioned, Mr. *Edward Coleman* Secretary to the Dukes of *York*, Mr. *Richard Langborn*, an eminent Counsellor at Law; all Papists and Laymen; *Thomas Whitebread*, *John Gavan*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marshall*, *William Rumley*, *James Corker*, and *Thomas Pickering*, Jesuites and Monks, who were accused by him of being Actors in, or privy to the Plot.

That this Plot, as sworn to by *Oates*, was a wicked Forgery and Imposture, is, I believe, little doubted at present by thinking and unprejudiced Men. The Character of the Informer is no small Diminution of its Credit. For though he had worn the Habit of a Clergyman, he was a Fellow of a most infamous Life. He had been once presented for Perjury. He had been made a Chaplain in one of the King's Ships, but was dismissed upon a Complaint of some unnatural Practices, not fit to be named. He afterwards procured a Qualification to be Chaplain to the Duke of *Norfolk*. And that Duke being a Roman Catholick, *Oates* expressed soon after an Inclination to the Popish Religion, not from any Motive of Conscience, but thinking probably to reap some small Advantage by that vile Condescension. He was soon after instructed in the Principles of the *Romish Church*, and became a Member of it. But he found himself disappointed; for he quickly perceived he had lost all Hopes from the Church of *England*, to starve in that of *Rome*; for he had but Ninepence a Day allowed him. At last he was sent to the

Reflections on the Plot.

*Oates's Character.*



A.D. 1678. the *English* Seminary of Jesuits at St. Omers in *Flanders*, where he was treated with great Contempt. From St. Omers, he had been sent through *France* into *Spain*; and from thence returned to *England*, where soon after he broached this Plot. Whether in this he were animated by a Spirit of Revenge for the ill Usage he had received from the Jesuits, or by Hopes of Reward for the Discovery, or whether he was an Instrument of others to swear what was prepared for him, has been variously thought; but must remain a Doubt till the Great Day, when all Secrets shall be revealed. On the other hand, that there has been, and ever will be, a Popish Plot for the restoring that Religion amongst us, will be easily believed by such as know the restless Temper of the Church and Court of *Rome*, and the great Ease with which they can carry on such Designs. For being united under one supreme Head, whose Interest always points the same Way, their Counsels must needs be steady and uniform. And their numerous Religious Orders affording many Thousands of single Men, bound by Vows of Poverty and blind Obedience to Superiors, joined most commonly with furious Zeal and Bigottry, they can never want such Instruments as will be always fit and ready to execute those Designs with the least Trouble imaginable to the Principals. It is no wonder then if with these great Advantages they are continually pushing forward the Interest of their Church in Protestant Countries; as having much to get, and nothing to lose. But that they should design to compass this by killing the King, or by the violent Methods sworn to by *Oates* and his Associates, appears incredible from the palpable Falshoods and Inconsistencies in their Evidence.

Two Accidents confirm the Belief of the Plot.

*Coleman's* Letters.

But there were two Things that happened accidentally to confirm the Belief of the Plot. The first was the seizing of several Letters written in Cypher in *Coleman's* House, which plainly shewed he was really employed in concerting Measures for the restoring the Popish Religion with us. Not that those Letters had any Relation to this Plot, the latest being written in 1676. and the Designs there mentioned being of a quite different Nature. But it was said that here it was plain that such a Design had been formerly carried on; what Change had been made in the Measures since, no body could tell. And no Papers relating to the present Time appearing, it was supposed they were destroyed; and upon this Supposition every Man took the Liberty to imagine what he did not see.

And the Death of Sir *Edmond* *bury* *Godfrey*.

The other Accident that furthered the Belief of the Plot, was this. The Day before *Oates*, *Tongue* and *Kirkby* went to the Council, they had prepared a Narrative of the whole Plot, which was afterwards printed by the Title of *Oates's Narrative*. Three Copies of this they brought to one Sir *Edmond* *bury* *Godfrey*, a Justice of Peace; and *Oates* made Oath to the Truth of it before him. This was done on *September* 27. and thirteen Days

after, *October* 12. being *Saturday*, this Gentleman went out from his House in the Morning, and was met near St. *Clement's* Church at one o' Clock, but was never seen afterwards. He was a Man punctual to good Hours; so that his Family were surprized when he did not come at Night. But as he had an ancient Mother at *Hammer-smith*, they fancied she was dying, and that he was gone to see her. Next Morning they sent thither, but heard no News of him. They sent then to his Brothers, who lived in the City. His Brothers were unacquainted with his Affairs, and did not know but he might have stepped aside for Debt; for People at that Time were busie in calling in their Money, and many broke. But no Creditors appearing about the House, on *Tuesday* they published his being lost. He was an eminent Justice of Peace, and had stayed in *London* to keep Things in order during the Time of the Plague, for which he was knighted; so that he was well known in the City. The Town was for two Days together filled with many different Conjectures, and odd Reports, as Mens Fancies or Inventions suggested. At last, on *Thursday* Night late, the whole City was alarmed with the News, that he was found murdered upon *Primrose-Hill* near St. *Pancras* Church, about a Mile out of Town. His Body was there discovered lying in a Ditch; his Sword was thrust through him, but no Blood was on his Clothes, or about him. His Shoes were clean, his Money was in his Pocket, and his Rings upon his Fingers. There was nothing about his Neck, but there appeared a Mark all round it, an Inch broad, which shewed he had been strangled. His Breaſt likewise was all over marked with Bruises, and his Neck was broke. There were Drops of Wax-lights upon his Breeches; and his Cane and Gloves were near him. It was plain that his Sword was run through his Body after he was dead, because no Blood appeared; and the Mark about his Neck shewed he was strangled. The Body lay exposed for two Days; great Crowds going to see it, as is usual upon such Occasions.

Who is found murdered.

It soon became known in the Town that he had taken *Oates's* Depositions; and he had, it seems, let fall in Discourse some ambiguous Words, that testified an Apprehension of Danger for having done so. Every one upon this concluded that he was murdered by the Papists; for his Money and Rings being found about him, it was plain he had not been in the Hands of common Robbers. And when Mens Minds were thus possessed, and their Passions raised by the moving Sight of his dead Body, it is no Wonder if they flew into the utmost Fury against the supposed Authors of so barbarous an Act. And when their Spirits were thus inflamed, it could not be thought they were in a Condition to examine coolly the Evidence of the Plot. So that every Thing *Oates* said went down easily; and a Man who could keep his Temper so far, as to reason upon *Oates's* Informations, was hated like an Accomplice in the Murder. The People thought

Which raises a great Ferment.



A.D. 1678. thought they could not do Justice to that unfortunate Gentleman, unless they believed, without Examination, all that was sworn against the Papists. So that the popular Torrent ran on the Side of the Plot, with a Violence that nothing could withstand.

Reflections  
on this Mur-  
ther.

As to the true Reasons of this Murther, and the Actors in it, they must (in my Opinion at least) be given up as an impenetrable Mystery. That the Papists should really murder this Gentleman because he had taken Oates's Depositions, seems not likely. For the only Motive they could have for it must be Revenge; for these Depositions being immediately after laid before the Council, could not be suppressed by killing him. And there could be no Grounds even for Repentment, for he was entirely passive in the Matter; and it was not without Reluctancy that he was brought to do what he did. And he lived in good Terms with them before. So that it seems improbable that the Papists should at so critical a Season do such an Act which must enrage the Fire already kindled against them, only for the Sake of an unprofitable and unprovoked Revenge. On the other hand, here was a Magistrate murdered in such a Manner as could not be done by himself, nor was likely to be done by Robbers. No private Enemies of his were ever thought of: So that there remained none likely to do this but the Papists; who might be supposed to be provoked, though unjustly, at the Part he had in this formidable Mischief that was breaking out upon them. 'Tis true indeed, that a Discovery was shortly after given in upon Oath of the Persons concerned in this Murder, who were apprehended and suffered Death for it; but in Return there were other Informations given in, upon Oath also, a few Years after, of many foul and enormous Practices with the Author of that Discovery and with others. And in those Times (I speak it with Horror) Perjury and Subornation grew so common, that no Dependence can, I think, be reasonably had on any Informations of that kind. And as little Weight can be laid on some Expressions of Apprehension and Fear which this Gentleman used to some of his Acquaintance, they being so ambiguously worded that nothing particular can be drawn from them. I leave it to the Reader to judge and take Part on either Side as he thinks fit: I was willing to throw these impartial Reflexions together for his Information, to supply the Want of clear Evidence in this dark and important Matter.

The King published his Proclamation October 20, with a Pardon and 500*l.* Reward to the Discoverers of the Murther. And because it was insinuated, that many might be willing, but afraid to discover, for fear it should be revenged upon them, he published another four Days after, with a Promise of all reasonable Security to the Persons of such Discoverers.

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

The Parliament met October 21, the true Patriots being full of real Fears and Apprehensions, and the discontented under the

same Appearance concealing Hopes of carrying their Ends by the Heats raised throughout the Nation by this Plot. The King was perplexed upon their Meeting; fearing that Affair would be brought into the Parliament, and be made use of to give him a great deal of Uneasiness. For that Reason, in his Speech, he took as little Notice of it, as could at such a Juncture be conveniently done. He also laid his Commands upon the Lord Treasurer, not to communicate the least Thing to them.

But that Lord was so strongly set upon doing it, that the King's Admonitions, and even Commands, were in vain; and the very first Day he brought Oates's Informations before the House of Commons. But this Step had an Effect quite different from his Expectations. Without obliging the Commons it ruined him in the King's Affections; who when he heard of it, fell into a Passion with the Treasurer; and, with more Wisdom than Men generally shew in that Temper of Mind, said to him, Though you do not believe it, you will find you have given the Parliament a Handle to ruin your self, as well as to disturb my Affairs; and you will live to repent it. And this Prophecy of the King's proved a very true one.

The House of Commons was all in a Flame upon these Advices. They sat whole Days from Morning to Night; and proceeded with so much Secrecy that their Minutes and Votes were forbidden to be divulged. The Houses addressed the King jointly; first for a general Fast; secondly, for the banishing of all Popish Recusants ten Miles out of London; and thirdly, for preventing the Access of unknown and suspicious Persons to the King, and for the raising the Militia of London and Westminster to be Guards during the Session.

The King in his Heart disbelieved the whole Plot; but the Stream ran so fiercely, that he was obliged to fall in with it. He issued out the Proclamations desired by the Houses, and seemed to vye with them in Zeal against Popery. Soon after these Proclamations he added two of his own; the first to renew his Commands to all Papists to remove from the Cities of London and Westminster; the other offering a Reward for Discovery of Papists among the King's Guards. The first of these had very terrible Consequences, in driving out great Numbers of that Religion from their Trades and Settlements into strange Places, and Ways of Living they were unpractised in; and was indeed a Piece of Cruelty that nothing can excuse but the Fury of the Times, and its short Duration.

In the mean Time Oates was sent for to the Commons; and at the Bar of that House made a new Edition of his Discovery. He said the Pope had declared England his Kingdom, and had sent over Commissions to several Persons. That he had made Lord Arundel of Wardour Chancellor, Lord Powis Treasurer, Sir William Godolphin, then in Spain, Lord Privy-Seal, Coleman Secretary

The Earl of  
Danby brings  
Oates's Infor-  
mations be-  
fore the  
Commons.

The Com-  
mons in an  
high Fer-  
ment.

The King  
obliged to fall  
in with them.

Oates sent for  
to the Com-  
mons.  
His Discovery  
there.



A.D. 1678. tary of State, Lord *Bellasis* General, Lord *Petre* Lieutenant-General, Sir *Francis Ratcliffe* Major-General, Lord *Stafford* Paymaster-General, and *Langborn* Advocate-General. He said also, that General *Lambert*, the famous Leader under the Rump-Parliament, was to be Adjutant-General. And whereas before he only charged *Coleman* and *Wakeman* by Hearsay, he now swore upon his own Knowledge, that *Coleman* gave eighty Guineas to four Ruffians that went to *Windfor* the last Summer to stab the King; and that Sir *George Wakeman* had undertaken to poison him, and was to have 15000*l.* for it. But this last Charge proved a fatal Blunder to *Oates*; and was the first Thing that shook his Credit. For he had solemnly protested before the Privy-Council, that he could say nothing upon his own Knowledge against those two. And the Excuse he made on Account of his great Fatigue, though it served him at *Coleman's* Trial, when Men were yet too warm to reflect, failed him at the Trial of *Wakeman*, when Length of Time began to restore the Use of Reason.

Many Things therein incongruous.

Many other Things in his Evidence were very incongruous. It was a strange Thing that but twenty Guineas apiece should be given Men to stab the King; and that Sir *George Wakeman* was to have 15000*l.* for killing him a much easier and safer Way. His Commissions too seemed very ill distributed. Lord *Bellasis* was perpetually ill of the Gout. Lord *Petre* had never had any military Command. Sir *Francis Ratcliffe* was a Man who lived at his Ease upon a great Fortune in the North of *England*, and had never stirred from home all that Summer. It was very strange too to see a Rump-Officer, like General *Lambert*, receiving his Commission from the Pope. But besides, that Person through his long Imprisonment was become a Child, and had lost his Memory and Sense. These Things might reasonably have shocked People's Faith in *Oates's* Discovery; but Men were now in a Fit of Believing. So that all he said was greedily swallowed, and the Houses concurred in a Vote, that there hath been a damnable and hellish Plot, contrived and carried on by Popish Recusants, for assassinating the King, subverting the Government, and destroying the Protestant Religion.

An Act passed to disable Papists from sitting in Parliament.

The violent Heats of both Houses against Popery, gave occasion for a remarkable Act to disable Papists from sitting in Parliament; which was at this Time brought in to the House of Commons. And soon after it was debated in that House, to address the King to remove the Duke of *York* from his Presence and Councils. But this Debate was adjourned some Time after it was entered in to till the eighth Day following.

The King gives a gentle Check to the Violence of the Commons.

This Debate made the King uneasy. For he saw that Address would be used to make Way for a Bill to exclude that Duke from the Crown; which the King was resolutely set against. He therefore came to the House of Peers, and sending for the Commons,

A.D. 1678. made a Speech to the Houses, in which he thanked them for the Care shewn by them for his Person; and assured them of his Readiness to do all they could wish for the Security of the Protestant Religion. He then obliquely let them know his Mind, telling them he came to promise his Concurrence in any Laws to secure them in the Reign of his Successor, provided those Laws did not tend to impeach the Right of Succession, and the Descent of the Crown. This was the first Wind that was felt about that important Affair; which proved only a transient Blast: but in succeeding Parliaments grew into so terrible a Storm, as almost shook our Constitution to pieces.

That Design of Exclusion was at this Time not ripe; so that the Bounds the King had set to his Condescension, though well understood, were not taken Notice of; and the Commons addressed the King in a very dutiful Manner to return their Thanks for his most gracious Speech.

Soon after this, *Oates's* Discovery was confirmed by a new Evidence, perfectly suited to the old one. His Name was *William Bedloe*, a Person who had gone thro' many various Circumstances of Life, and had been very infamous in every one of them. He was thoroughly possessed of all those Qualifications that go to the completing of an eminent Rogue. He was of a base Birth, and mean Parentage, so that little Care being taken of his Education, or of any Provision for him, he was forced to make his Way in the World by himself. He might have done this in an honest Way; being not without Capacity. But a certain natural Bent towards Wickedness, which is found in some Dispositions, made him chuse a contrary Course. He was first a poor Foot-boy or Runner on Errands; and afterwards got into a Livery in the Family of the Lord *Bellasis*. After this he turned a kind of Post, or Letter Carrier beyond Sea, in which Condition he got acquainted with the Names and Concerns of People of Fashion. He made use of this to put in Practice an hundred Rogueries, being of a bold and daring Temper, with a good Turn of Wit and Address. Thus he run through all the Arts and Methods of Sharping; going under false Names, and borrowing Money, or other valuable Things, by forged Recommendations, or by personating Men of Figure. He travelled over *France* and *Spain*, under the Character of a Person of Quality, robbing and cheating wherever he went. In the Course of this Sort of Life he had been put into several Prisons, where he suffered great Hardship and Want; so that being used to Wickedness and the Punishments consequent upon it, he was become very dexterous in one, and hardened to the other.

A new Evidence, one *Bedloe*; his Character.

He was just got out of Prison, where he was fed out of the Alms-Basket, when the Reward and Encouragement abovementioned were offered to the Discoverers of *Godfrey's* Murder. Upon this he went from *London* to *Bristol*, and in his Way thither sent a Letter

Pretends to discover the Murderers of *Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey*.



A.D. 1678. ter to Secretary *Coventry*, with a Desire that he might be seized at *Bristol*. This was done accordingly with great Noise; that he might be looked on as a great Discoverer. Nov. 5. he was sent to *London*, where he was dubbed a Captain, and the King's Evidence; and like *Oates* before him, had Guards, and Subsistence at the King's Charge at *White-hall*. When he was examined before the Secretaries of State in the King's Presence, he said he had seen *Godfrey's* Body at *Somerjet-House*; and that a Servant of Lord *Bellasis* offered him 4000 *l.* to assist in carrying it away. That upon this he went out of Town to *Bristol*, but that his Conscience so haunted him that it forced him to discover it. Being asked if he knew any Thing of the Plot, he denied it upon Oath. He said indeed, that he had heard of 40000 Men to be sent from *Spain*, who were to meet as Pilgrims at *St. Jago's*, and to be shipp'd from thence for *England*, which was all he knew. This was a strange Story: Forty thousand Pilgrims was an Army in Disguise, never heard of but in *Bedloe's* Evidence, and the Comedy of the *Rehearsal*. And he could not give any Account of the Fleet that was to transport such extraordinary Invaders. But it plainly appeared he had been better instructed before the next Day. For being then brought before the House of Lords, he abounded in Discoveries, and accused Lord *Bellasis*, Lord *Powis*, Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and *Coleman*, of a Design to kill the King; and told the House he had begun to put a Narrative of the Plot in Writing, and desired Time to finish it. When he was asked whether he knew *Titus Oates*, he positively denied it; but afterwards he brought himself off, by saying he knew him only by the Name of *Ambrose*.

Four Days after, his Discoveries were much enlarged. He said, forty thousand Men were to be ready in *London*; that ten thousand Men were to be sent from *Flanders*, besides the Pilgrims from *St. Jago's* in *Spain*. That *Hull* was to be surprized just at the critical Time the Plot was discovered. That he was told, that all the *Roman* Catholics of any Figure in *England* were acquainted with this Plot, with many other Particulars too long and trivial to be enumerated.

There cannot be a more surprizing Example of the Force of universal Prejudice, than that such an Evidence should gain Attention, much more Belief, among so many wise Men as heard it. How could it be thought that forty thousand effective Men should be ready in *London* for such a Design, when probably there is not that Number of Papists to be found throughout the City, tho' we take in the Women and Children? Or that *Spain* should send over thirty or forty thousand Men to conquer *England*, who would scarce afford half the Number in the late War to defend their own Territories in *Flanders*? But this is not the only Instance when popular Madness has infected very wise and judicious Heads.

The Parliament believed all these strange

Stories, and the King was forced to drive with the Tide, and appear as zealous as they. Through the Course of this Month, nothing was heard of but Addresses and Proclamations against Papists. And on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *November*, the King came and passed the Bill for disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. Another Bill was presented to him for raising the Militia; but the King rejected it, thinking it intrenched upon his Prerogative.

The next remarkable Occurrence was the Trial of Mr. *William Staley*, a Popish Banker, for treasonable Words. One *Carstairs* a Scotchman, a Man of a very ill Character, happened to be in an Eating-house in *Covent-Garden*, where *Staley* was at Dinner in the next Room to him. *Carstairs* pretended he heard him say in *French*, that the King was a Rogue, and persecuted the People of God; and that he would stab him if no body else would. These Words he wrote down, and went next Morning to *Staley*, telling him he would swear those Words against him; and demanded a Sum of Money of him. *Staley* was much perplexed: He saw the Danger of such an Accusation at such a Time, but he was under Difficulties, and refused to part with the Money. So he was apprehended, and five Days after tried and cast. The Evidence against him was positive; and being Strangers, he did not know their Character. He could only urge how improbable it was he should say such Things in a publick Room, and that in a Part of the Town where *French* was so well understood. He was asked while under Condemnation, whether he knew any Thing of the Plot; but he denied it, as also the Words sworn against him. He was executed at *Tyburn*, where he behaved himself very decently. His Quarters were given to his Friends; but they acted so indiscreetly, as to make a pompous Funeral for him, which gave such Offence, that his Quarters were ordered to be taken up and set upon the City Gates.

His Trial was succeeded by that of Mr. *Edward Coleman*. This Gentleman was Secretary to the Duchess of *York* as was said above; a great Bigot in his Religion, and of a busy Head. This engaged him in many Projects for the restoring of Popery here; or at least procuring a Liberty of Conscience for those of that Profession. He had been engaged in a Correspondence with *P. la Chaise* the *French* King's Confessor since the Year 1674. in the Course of which he was continually entertaining him with Schemes and Projects for advancing the Interest of the *French* King, and the Church of *Rome*. He found Means to draw a great deal of Money from the *French* Court upon those Accounts; and 'tis hard to say how far that Consideration might lead him into such Correspondences. For he lived at a vast Expence; and he afterwards confessed himself, that he had diverted some Part of those Sums to his own Use. And his Letters found of nothing but the Necessity of the

And gives  
some Ac-  
count of the  
Plot.

He makes  
new Disco-  
veries.

*Staley's*  
Trial.

An Account  
of *Coleman*.



A.D. 1678. the French King's Purse to carry on his Designs. He seems to have had very good Luck in bartering his Intelligence for ready Money; for his Notions appear but airy and chimerical; the Undertaking he engaged in, being a Matter of more Difficulty than he took it to be.

His Trial.

The Day after *Staley's* Execution his Trial came on. The Evidences against him were *Oates* and *Bedloe*, with his own Papers. The two first charged him with having been privy to several Consults for killing the King, and to another for raising a Rebellion in *Ireland*; and that he had received a Commission to be Secretary of State. As to his Letters they shewed beyond Contradiction, that he had been busy in Projects for introducing *Popery*; and some warm Expressions which his Zeal let fall, were made use of to represent him as a more dangerous Person than he really was. But all this had no Manner of Relation to the Plot; there not appearing throughout all his Letters the least Intention of hurting the King, or of using Violence of any Sort to compass his Undertakings; but much that implied the contrary.

He pleaded this himself when he came to make his Defence. As to *Oates* and *Bedloe* he observed (which was very true) that when he appeared before the Council, *Oates* did not know him. *Oates* excused himself by alledging the Weakness of his Sight, the Candle-light, and *Coleman's* Change of Wig and Habit; but as soon as he heard him speak he said he knew him. He observed also that when *Oates* first appeared before the Council, he charged him only with a Letter, and some Matters so slight, that the Council was ready to let him go at large; whereas had he known these Things he now swore against him, that was the proper time to mention them. *Oates* answered this by complaining of the great Fatigue he had undergone for two Days and Nights before in seizing *Jesuits* and other accused Persons; which he said had so exhausted his Spirits that he did not know what he said. This was a wretched Evasion; but it went down at that Time. In the third Place he said, that whereas *Oates* swore he was privy to a Consult about the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August* in *London*, he desired *Oates* might fix upon some Day, and offered to prove that he was out of Town the greatest Part of that Month. But *Oates* avoided this, by saying he could not fix upon the Day, but only upon the Month. As to *Bedloe*, he could only answer him by solemnly protesting he had never seen him till then in his Life; and concluded his Defence with an Affirmation, that he had seen *Oates* but once before, and *Bedloe* never.

He is executed.

He was found guilty and condemned; but before his Execution many were sent to him from both Houses, with Promise of a Pardon if he would make Discoveries. But he either would not, or which is as probable, could not make any such. So that some Time after, he was executed, and suffered with great Composedness and Devotion, deny-

nying all that had been sworn against him. A.D. 1678.

There went about an idle Story, that he refused to confess upon Promise of a Pardon from the Duke of *York*; and that when he found his Death unavoidable, he cried out in a Passion; There is no Faith in Man! But it was very plain, and he could not be ignorant, that the Fury of the Times was such, that the King had it not in his Power to pardon him, if he had been ever so willing.

*Oates* and *Bedloe* finding their Evidence greedily received, and themselves respected like the Deliverers of their Country, were filled with such Insolence that they proceeded to accuse the Queen herself. Whether they were moved to this by their own Pride to make themselves famous by so illustrious a Criminal, or whether they were set on by others, is uncertain. But now they began to talk of something they had to swear against her. And being examined before the Privy Council, they both deposed that she was privy to the Consult for killing the King. They differed a little in the Circumstances; the one saying that she spoke with great Resentment of the Violations of her Bed, and promised with great Passion to assist in the poisoning; the other, that she wept when she heard the Proposal, and consented with Reluctancy.

The House of Commons upon this Information broke out into a new Flame, and immediately addressed the King to remove the Queen and all reputed *Papists* from *White-Hall*. But the King, instead of returning *Oates* and *Bedloe* Thanks for the Discovery, was highly provoked at their Insolence; and acted upon this Occasion with great Generosity. It would have been an easy thing at that Juncture for him to have freed himself from a Wife he did not at all love; which is an Opportunity that Men of his Character are generally pleased with. But he refused to gratify himself by such Cruelty. He knew she was incapable of such an Action as was laid to her Charge, and was touch'd with Compassion for an unhappy Princess, who had left her own for a strange Country, to be there neglected and ill used; and at last brought in Danger of her Life by a false Accusation. And remembering how faulty he had been towards her in other Respects he could not bear the Thoughts of forsaking her in this Peril. So he resolved to protect her; and to give some Check to the growing Boldness of these Informers; not knowing where they would stop, when all they said was so readily believed. A stricter Guard was put upon *Oates* than before. But an Address came the next Day from the Commons that he might be freed from that Restraint. And thus there arose a struggle between the King and Commons about him. But the King was so incensed at *Oates's* Boldness in approaching so near the Throne, that he would not suffer the Accusation against the Queen to go any farther.

*Oates* and *Bedloe* accuse the Queen.

The King checks their Insolence.



A.D. 1679. At this Time came on the Tryal of *William Ireland*, and *Thomas Pickering*, both Priests, and *John Grove* a Lay Brother. There were arraigned with them *Thomas Whitebread* and *John Fenwick*, both Jesuits. *Oates* and *Bedloe* swore against *Ireland* directly, that he had been present at a Consult held in *August* for killing the King; and *Oates* swore the same positively against *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*. But *Bedloe* charged those two only by Hearsay, so that for want of two positive Witnesses they must have been acquitted by the Jury in Course. Upon this Occasion the Court committed a most enormous and crying Act of Injustice. For when they saw these two must be cleared, they, by a Quirk in Law, pretended to discharge the Jury of them, and put off their Tryal to another Time; though they had pleaded to the Indictment, and the Jury was sworn, and the Witnesses examined. They pretended indeed they had Precedents for this; but as a great Man observes, Precedents against Reason only prove that the like Injustice has been committed before. As to *Pickering* and *Grove*, *Oates* and *Bedloe* swore that they were appointed to shoot the King; and that the latter being a Layman was to have 1500*l.* and the former who was a Priest 3000*0* Masses, which at a Shilling a Mass amounts to the same Sum. That they used to walk together in *St. James's Park* with Pistols for that Purpose. That one Time *Pickering* had an Opportunity to shoot at the King, but that the Flint of his Pistol was loose. Another time there was no Powder in the Pan; and again a third time the Gun was charged only with Bullets; by which Accidents the King's Life was saved. These Disasters one upon another, made a very unlikely Story; but it was all imputed to a special Providence; which solved the Difficulty at once.

The Prisoners absolutely denied the whole, and *Pickering* averred that he had never shot off a Pistol in his Life. *Ireland* brought Witnesses to prove, that he was in *Staffordshire* at the Time *Oates* swore he was in *London*. But *Oates* producing a Woman, who said she saw him in Town about the middle of *August*, which was the Time he swore to, this Defence was overruled. So that they were found guilty, condemned, and executed; but denied stedfastly to the last Moment all that was sworn against them. *Pickering*, whether in Hopes of Discovery, or for other Reasons, was kept alive for above three Months after the others, but nothing was ever got from him.

Some secret Negotiations of the King discovered to the House of Commons by Mr. *Montague*. About the Time of this Trial, there broke out a sudden Flame in the House of Commons, on Account of some mysterious Proceedings of the Court about a Year before, which were now laid open upon the following Occasion. A Quarrel had happened between the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. *Montague*, who had been Ambassador for a considerable Time at the *French Court*. During his Stay there, those dishonourable Negotiations

about Money, which the King submitted to with that Court, passed through his Hands. They being Affairs that required Secrecy, were entrusted to none but the Lord Treasurer; by which Means Mr. *Montague* came to have several Letters of his upon that Subject. Upon this Misunderstanding Mr. *Montague* struck in with the Countrey Party. The Lord Treasurer knew what Secrets he had been entrusted with, and how capable he was of doing him a Mischief by the Letters he had under his own Hand. So he found a Pretence to charge him with a dangerous Correspondence with the Pope's Nuntio; and upon that Ground sent to seize all his Papers, intending to lay hold on his own Letters and destroy them. But the other was too cunning for him, and had taken Care to put the Treasurer's Papers and Letters out of the Way, in safe Hands. The House of Commons, of which Mr. *Montague* was a Member, resented this seizing of his Papers as a high Breach of Privilege; and while they were in that Heat, Mr. *Montague* stood up, and told them he had some Papers of the Lord Treasurer's to communicate to the House, that were of the utmost Consequence. A Committee was presently sent for them; and Mr. *Montague* being ordered to select such as he thought proper to be communicated to the House, he took out two which were immediately read.

The first of them was dated *January 17, 1677*, at which Time the King was making a Treaty with *Holland*, as has been above related. This tended only to shew, that at the very Time when the King was about that Treaty, the *French Court* was well persuaded of his Firmness to them, and had also a good Opinion of the Lord Treasurer. In the second, which was dated *March 25*, afterwards, the Lord Treasurer orders Mr. *Montague* expressly to stipulate with the Court of *France* for the Payment of six Millions of Livres for three Years to the King, upon the Conclusion of the Peace which was then in Agitation. At the Bottom of this Letter was written in the King's own Hand, *This Letter was written by my Order. C. R.*

The Contents of these two Letters, especially of the last, were very startling. There was in the first an Indication of a good Correspondence with the *French King*, at the same Time that we were in Treaty for an Alliance against him. And the vast Pension demanded in the other, not to mention the Infamy of it, implied that some very great Consideration was to be paid in Return. And this, at the Juncture in which these Letters were written, could be no other than giving up to the *French* the Interests of the Allies, and with them our own Safety, and that of *Europe*. These were Reflections which the most loyal Patriots could not forbear making; and the Indignation they conceived, joined with the Clamours of those Enemies which every Prime Minister keeps by his Place, set the House in a Flame; which was not at all lessened by seeing the King's own Hand and Approbation at the

The Commons in a Flame.



A.D. 1679. Bottom of the last Letter. They immediately resolved to impeach the Treasurer of High Treason, and other high Crimes, and appointed Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Harbord* to draw up Articles against him. The Articles were six, but the Strefs of them lay upon that which contained the Negotiations in these Letters; the rest, which related to Misdemeanors in his Office of Lord Treasurer, serving only to make up a Number.

They resolve to impeach the Lord Treasurer.

The Treasurer in great Perplexity.

The Earl was under a great Perplexity. He could not deny the Letters, or the Consequences drawn from them. He thought at first by Way of Revenge, to have exposed all Mr. *Montague's* Letters, by which that Gentleman would have appeared more obnoxious than himself. But here the King interposed, knowing that the farther this Matter was searched into, the more *Odium* was like to fall upon himself, from the great Part he would appear to have in it. So he told the Earl of *Danby*, that he would give him his Pardon to plead against the Impeachment; and farther said, that he owed him more Duty than to expose the private Negotiations between him and the King of *France*; and that he was sure he could not be guilty of such perfidious Baseness to him, as *Montague* had been. However, whether by Permission or otherwise, the Treasurer sent two of Mr. *Montague's* Letters to the House of Commons, the first tending to make appear the Correspondence which the Court of *France* held with the discontented Party in the House of Commons in Opposition to the Treasurer; and the second, to shew that he was extremely hated and suspected in *France*, as one who was an Enemy to their Interest. But these Letters were not suffered to be read; and the House pursued the Treasurer with greater Eagerness than those Lords who were accused for the Popish Plot.

He was soon impeached in Form at the House of Peers. Upon reading the Articles of Impeachment, he stood up, and made a Speech, in which he endeavoured to clear himself from all the Articles, except what related to the two Letters. Concerning them he said, that he had done nothing without the express Order of the King; and in the Conclusion, spoke a great deal to shew that he always was an Enemy to *France*, and was known and believed by that Court to be such.

There arose in the House of Lords a great Debate concerning this Impeachment. The Question was, whether they should receive it as an Impeachment of High Treason, because the Word High Treason was added to it. It was said, the utmost that could be made of this Charge, was to suppose it true; but that if it were, they must needs say plainly, that it was not within the Statute. To this it was replied, that the House of Commons, who brought in this Charge, were to be heard to two Things; first, the Proof of the Crime; secondly, the Nature of it. It was therefore proposed that the House should receive the Charge, and proceed according to the Rules of Parlia-

ment, which were to commit the Person impeached, and appoint a short Day for his Trial. But after a long and warm Debate, the Majority were against the Commitment.

The King was obliged to defend the Lord Treasurer, and this Resolution of the House of Lords encouraged him. So on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *December* he came and prorogued the Parliament to the 4<sup>th</sup> of *February* following.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Conduct of the several Persons concerned in this important Affair was much descanted upon. Some blamed Mr. *Montague* for revealing the King's Secrets; and the more, because it was plainly done out of private Spite to the Lord Treasurer, and not with the least Intention of serving the Publick, which was the only Motive that could possibly excuse the betraying such a Trust. As Mr. *Montague* was blamed by some for revealing these Negotiations, the Earl of *Danby* was no less blamed by others for concurring in them. They said, no Commands of a Prince were a sufficient Excuse for doing an ill Thing. That if what he said in his Speech was true, of his Opposition to the *French* Interests, he ought not to have had the least Hand in promoting them in this Manner. Nor were any Favours received from the King an Excuse for this Concurrence, since the best Return a Minister can make his Prince for great Obligations, is to keep him from pursuing dishonourable Measures; which always bring Shame to his Master, and often Danger. Men of severer Tempers added, that they saw no Reason the King had to complain of Mr. *Montague's* Part in this Affair, it being only the natural Consequence of Things. They said, that when Princes employ their Servants to betray their Countrey, they teach them to be insensible to the Motives of Honour and Conscience; and when Men have been taught to break through those Obligations once to gratifie their Prince, he has no Reason to wonder if they break through them a second Time to gratifie themselves. That it would therefore be happy, if Princes, by this and many like Examples, would be dissuaded from entering into unlawful Counsels; since those who are the fittest Instruments for executing them are, and always will be, for that very Reason, the most likely to betray them.

While this Affair was depending, there appeared a new Discoverer of the Murther of Sir *Edmond* *Godfrey*. This was one *Miles* *Edmond* *Prance*, a Goldsmith, who worked for the Queen's Chapel at *Somerset-House*. This Person had in his House a Lodger, whose Name was *John* *Wren*, with whom he had had some Difference about his Rent which was in Arrear. It seems *Prance* had lain out of his House two or three Nights the Week before the Murther. *Wren* calling to Mind this Absence, but forgetting the Difference of a Week's Time, either really suspected he was then employed in the Murther, or used it as a Ground of Accusation; so that he went and informed against him. There were some

*Prance's* Discovery of Sir *Edmond* *Godfrey's* Murther.

Circum-

The Impeachment occasions a Difference between the two Houses.



A.D. 1679. Circumstances that, had the Time of *Prance's* Absence agreed, gave some little Colour to this Suspicion; for he was a Papist, and personally acquainted with *Grove*, *Pickering*, and *Ireland*, who were lately condemned, and often worked in his Trade at *Somerset-House*, where *Bedloe* deposed he had seen the Body; so that had he been really absent at the Time that was sworn, the other Circumstances agreed well enough. *Prance* was taken up by a Warrant of Council, and *Bedloe*, who was the first Discoverer, was called upon to give an Account of him. *Bedloe* foreseeing this, had found Means to get a Sight of him privately before; so that when he was planted in the Room where *Prance* was brought, he started up, and with a cursed Oath cried out, This is one of the Rogues I saw with a dark Lanthorn about Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey's* Body, but he was then in a Periwig.

*Prance* was brought before the Committee of Council, where *Bedloe* charged him directly with the Murther, and *Wren* with being out of his House those Nights that *Godfrey* was missing. He denied the least Knowledge of the Murther, or the Plot, but confessed he had wrought in his Trade for the Persons above named. He was sent to *Newgate*, where he at first denied every Thing; but at last, (whether compelled by barbarous Usage, as he afterwards swore, is uncertain) he made a Confession. But afterwards again he retracted it before the King in Council. And thus he went on for some Time, denying one Day, and confessing another, till at last he settled upon a Confession.

His Account  
of it.

The Account he gave was this. *Girald* and *Kelly*, two Priests, engaged him and three others in the Murther. The three others were one *Green*, that belonged to the Queen's Chapel; *Hill*, a Servant to one Doctor *Godden*; and *Berry*, the Porter of *Somerset-House*. After this was resolved on, they followed *Godfrey* for several Days. The Morning before they killed him, *Hill* went to his House to see if he were yet gone out, and spoke to his Maid; and finding he was yet at home, they waited for his coming out. They then dogged him to a Place near St. *Clement's*, where he stayed till Night. When he was come from thence, as he passed by the *Water-Gate* at *Somerset-House*, two of them pretended to be in a Quarrel; and a third came to *Godfrey* to desire him, who was a Magistrate, to come in and part them. As soon as he was come in, *Green* got behind him, and pulled him down by his Cravat, and strangled him. Afterwards they carried the Body into Doctor *Godden's* Room, of which *Hill*, who was his Servant, had the Key, *Godden* being in *France*. Two Days after they removed it into another Room, but that being found inconvenient, they brought it back. At last it was resolved to carry it out in the Night in a Sedan, which was accordingly provided, and the Body was carried out in it. When they were got clear of the Town, it was laid upon a Horse which *Green* had provided, who, as *Prance* suppo-

fed, carried it to the Place where it was afterwards found.

The Priests accused were not to be met with, but *Green*, *Hill* and *Berry* were apprehended and brought to Trial. *Bedloe* and *Prance* swore against them as is above related. They on the other hand brought Witnesses to prove, that they came home in a good Hour on those Nights, in which the Fact was said to be done. Those who lived in *Godden's* Lodgings deposed, that no dead Body could be brought thither, for they were every Day in the Room that *Prance* had named. And the Centinels of the Night he was carried out said, they saw no Sedan brought out. This Defence was very strong, but it was forced to give Way to the Fury of the Times; for they were found guilty, condemned and executed. But they denied to the last Moment all that was sworn against them.

*Green*, *Hill*,  
and *Berry*  
tried for the  
Murther.

Executed.

Soon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, it was debated at Court whether it should not be dissolved by Proclamation before the Time of the Prorogation was expired, and it was agreed to do so. For the Earl of *Danby* found a Majority there engaged against him; and the Duke of *York* saw such a Fire kindled among them by the Plot, that there was no Hopes of laying it; and he hoped another Parliament would be cooler in that Affair. The Earl of *Danby* spoke with some of the leading Members about the Dissolution, who consented to it, and undertook that he should be brought off upon that Condition. The Thing being agreed on, a Proclamation was published Jan. 25. to dissolve the Parliament, and call another to sit on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *March*. But the Duke, the Earl, and the Members were all disappointed; for the next Parliament proved warmer both against the Earl, and against Popery, than the other had been. This Parliament had continued above seventeen Years and eight Months, which has given it the Name of the Long Parliament in this Reign. It had passed through great Variety of Tempers and Dispositions; being at first loyal and complying to Extremity; and at last refractory and jealous to as great a Degree. It is represented by some, and called by others, by the Name of the Pensionary-Parliament, but I think unjustly. For their Behaviour was, at the Time they are most charged with Bribery, so opposite and contradictory to the Measures at Court, and gave the Ministers so much Trouble, as plainly demonstrates the Unreasonableness of such an Imputation.

The Parlia-  
ment dissol-  
ved.

The King prepared the Way for the next Parliament, by desiring his Brother the Duke of *York* to retire beyond Sea for some Time. He went first to *Holland*, where he was received with great Respect by the Prince of *Orange* his Son-in-Law. After a short Stay there he went to *Brussels*, where he spent most of the Summer. The Duke began about this Time to be jealous of the Duke of *Monmouth*, whom the King entirely loved, and who was growing very popular. Some unwary Persons

The Duke of  
*York* retires  
beyond Sea.

He grows  
jealous of the  
Duke of  
*Monmouth*.

Persons



A.D. 1679. Persons had carried their Partiality to him so far, as to raise a Report that the King had been privately married to his Mother before she suffered him to lie with her; which made the Duke of *Montmouth* his lawful Son. And this Story was countenanced, by the usual Indiscretion of Love at that Age, the King not being nineteen when he got that Son, as well as by the Lady's Character, which was untainted, except by that single Blot. This Rumour made the Duke of *York* so uneasy, knowing how easily such a Story might gain Ground, when his Nephew was so popular, and himself so suspected, that he got the King, before he went, to declare upon Oath, and sign the Declaration, that he was never either married or contracted to her, or any other Woman, except Queen *Catherine*.

The Parliament meets.

A Dispute between the King and Commons about their Speaker.

Compromised.

The Impeachment of the Lord Treasurer renewed.

The Parliament met upon the Day appointed, when the King and Lord Chancellor having spoken as usual, the House of Commons retired to chuse a Speaker; the Choice falling upon *Edward Seymour* Esq; who was Speaker in the last Parliament. This Choice was very disagreeable at Court, and produced a Contest between Privilege and Prerogative. For when the House of Commons appeared before the King the next Day to present their Speaker, the King refused to confirm the Election, and the Lord Chancellor desired them to return to their House and chuse another; his Majesty having Occasion for *Mr. Seymour* in other Employments. The House returned, and fell into warm Debates; and *Sir Thomas Meres* being proposed by some of the Court Side, was rejected with great Heat. It was generally agreed among them that the House alone had the Choice of a Speaker, and that the presenting him to the King, was a Matter of Form only. So they resolved to stand firm; and on *Tuesday* after waited upon the King with a Representation to that Purpose, but conceived in the usual Expressions of Duty and Loyalty. But the King stood as firm as they, and desired them to return, and do as he directed them. The Commons were still unmoved; and the next Day attended the King again with another Address to the same Purpose as the former. The King said, he would give them an Answer next Day; at which Time he came and prorogued them for two Days longer. During that Time the Difference was compromised, so that *Mr. Seymour* was to be set aside for the present; but the Right of the House was confirmed for the future. And when the House met again, they chose Serjeant *Gregory*, whom the King immediately approved.

This Dispute is said to have drawn the ill Humours of this new House upon the Earl of *Danby*. For they said it was he that had caused this Attack upon the Rights of the Commons, on Account of some private Resentments between *Mr. Seymour* and himself; so that he was fallen upon with the same Violence as before. The Commons sent a Message to the Lords, to put them in Mind of the Impeachment against the Earl, and

to desire he might be committed to Custody. The Earl finding the Storm rising again, and that the King would not suffer him to produce some Papers that were necessary for his Defence, resolved to adhere to the King's Pardon; and to assuage the Fury raised against him, withdrew for some Time.

He withdraws.

When the House of Commons heard of the passing of the Earl of *Danby's* Pardon under the Great Seal, they were all on Fire, and sent for the Lord Chancellor to know how it was done. The Lord Chancellor told them, that himself declined the Office of putting the Great Seal to it, but that upon his Refusal, the King ordered the Seal to be taken out of the Bag, and put to it by another Person. This irritated the Commons more than before; and after a fierce Debate, they resolved to send an Address to the House of Lords to demand Justice against the Earl, and to have him sequestered from Parliament, and committed to Custody. The Lords sent the Black Rod to his House to secure him, but he was withdrawn; with which they having acquainted the Commons, that House ordered a Bill to be brought in to attain him, if he did not render himself to Justice by a certain Day.

The Commons in a Fury.

This Bill after passing the Commons being sent to the Lords, that House altered it from a Bill of Attainder to a Bill of Banishment, which produced three Conferences between the Houses. But the Lords at last yielded, and a Bill passed through both Houses to attain the Earl, if he did not appear on or before *April 21.* next following. This obliged the Earl to leave his Retreat, and *April 15.* he surrendered himself to the Black Rod; and being brought before the House of Lords, he was committed by them to the *Tower*.

The Earl surrenders himself.

The Earl of *Danby* being thus removed, the King found himself on a sudden in the most frightful of all Solitudes, the Want of a Person with whom he could speak in Confidence:

The King enters into new and wholesome Counsels.

A State to which Kings are often obnoxious, and which makes the Throne, encircled with bowing Crowds, more lonely than a Desert. He was sensible of the wrong Measures he had taken, and resolved to give himself Ease by redressing them, and directing his Counsels to salutary and popular Ends. But he was long in settling upon the Person with whom he should concert these Measures. At last he fixed upon *Sir William Temple*, just returned from the Congress at *Nimeguen*, where he had been Plenipotentiary; and the King was not deceived in his Choice, for he was a true Patriot, and faithful to his Prince and Country. With this Gentleman the King consulted the proper Methods to compass his Intentions; and they agreed in the first Place to dissolve the Privy-Council then in being, and call a new one. This new Council was to consist of thirty Persons, of whom fifteen were to be the chief Officers of the Crown and Household for the Time being; the other half being composed of Lords and Commoners who appeared to have the greatest Sway and Credit in both Houses, joined

Being assisted by *Sir William Temple*.

A new Privy-Council called.



A.D. 1679. joined with some few others, whom the King out of any particular Inclination, might think fit to honour with a Place at that Board. The Ends proposed by this Constitution of Council were, first to unite the King with his Parliament, by taking the Leaders there into all Consultations of State; so that by making them Parties to the King's Counsels and Measures, all Complaints of the same in Parliament might be cut off. Or, secondly, if the ill Humours there should unexpectedly grow so outrageous, as to make a Dissolution necessary, it would be much more safely done by the King at the Head of such a popular Council, than any other Way.

While this was privately concerted between the King and Sir William Temple, the sudden Removal of the Prime Minister had produced at Court the Cabals and Intrigues usual upon such Revolutions. The Duke of Monmouth was become very considerable there by the King's extreme Fondness for him, and grown yet greater by the Absence of the Duke of York. He was then in the Height of Confidence with the Earl of Essex, Son of the brave and virtuous Lord Capel, who was beheaded for his Loyalty to King Charles the First, soon after his Master suffered. That Earl had been sent Ambassador to Denmark, was afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was now in the Treasury. These two Lords joined with the Dukes of Portsmouth and Earl of Sunderland to bring the Lord Shaftsbury in Partnership with themselves into Affairs again. So strange Fortune or Dexterity had that Earl, that notwithstanding his notorious Double-dealing and Breaches of Faith, so conspicuous in the many Changes of Parties he had gone through, he had ever the Luck to find Persons who would not only favour, but believe and trust him even to their own Ruin; as afterwards proved the Case of these two Lords, and many others with them. But these Measures were disappointed by those the King took in the mean Time.

When this new Council was declared, it was received by the Court, the City, the Countrey, and in foreign Parts with universal Applause. But in the House of Commons, where the Contrary was most expected, it was received with the greatest Coldness. Those who had kindled the Flames in that House under Pretence of publick Ends, had too many private ones to serve by them to suffer their Extinction. And these were joined by many of the same Temper, who seeing themselves left out of this new Constitution, and thinking they were as deserving as those who were put in, resolved to shew their own Importance by the Mischief they could do. And these two Parties laboured hard, and the more fiercely because unjustly, to infuse a Mistrust of all that had been done. They pretended that all this was a Court Juggle to get Money; that they had been so often deceived from that Quarter, that it was best to have Patience, and see where Things would end, before they trusted to a fair Appearance.

However, the Council went on to deliberate on Expedients for the publick Quiet and Security. Three Things principally demanded their Cares. The first was to lay the Foundation of a good Agreement between the King and the Parliament. And this was to be done by finding some Security against the Dangers of Popery, apprehended upon the Succession of the Duke of York to the Crown; the Plot having heightened those Fears to that Degree, that the two Houses could bear no other Deliberation, till that great Point was settled. The second was to take Measures for the Security of Flanders and Holland, which were left in a very exposed Condition by the Peace of Nimeguen; as we above took Notice. The third was to give some Ease to Scotland, which was heavily pressed under the Government of the Duke of Lauderdale. The last of these could not be obtained of the King; his Answer to those who urged it to him admitting no Reply, namely, that none of them knew Scotland so well as himself. As to the second, it was easily settled to Satisfaction.

But the first proved a very intricate and perplexed Business; not by the Nature of the Thing, but because some found it their Interest to make it so. For the Earl of Shaftsbury made the Duke of Monmouth believe, that if Opportunity were taken by the present Heats to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, he must of Course come to lie in the Duke's Place by the Affection the King bore him, and the Favour of the People. The Duke of Monmouth, who wanted a solid Judgment of his own, was apt to be guided by others; which made him fall too easily into those remote and chimerical Hopes, which proved his Ruin at last. So that these two Lords engaged their Party in an obstinate Resolution to admit of no other Security against the Dangers of Popery, than the entire Exclusion of the Duke of York from the Crown. The King on the other Hand was as obstinately resolved against it; but willing to agree to any Limitations whatsoever. And thus both Sides continuing inflexible, the Nation was left to be torn to Pieces between these opposite Powers.

About this Time Nathanael Reading, a Reading's Lawyer, was accused and found guilty of Trial. tampering with Bedloe to soften his Evidence against the Popish Lords in the Tower. He was sentenced to pay a thousand Pounds, and to stand in the Pillory. This strengthened the Belief of the Plot, as it seemed to be an Acknowledgment of the Truth of what Bedloe was to swear, since that Method of Defence was taken.

The Privy-Council agreed to draw up Limitations of the Crown upon the Succession of the Duke of York, which the King should propose to the Parliament, as a Security against the Dangers of Popery, if that Duke should ascend the Throne. Those Limitations were to be as follows: 1. All spiritual Promotions were to be put out of his Power.

A.D. 1679. The laudable Consultations of the Privy-Council.

The Duke of Monmouth entertains ambitious Thoughts.

Limitations of the Crown drawn up.

The King's Measures every where approved. Except in the House of Commons.



A.D. 1679. 2. In case of the King's Death, the Parliament then in being was to continue indissoluble for a competent Time; or if no Parliament should be then in being, the Members of the last before, without waiting for any Summons, were immediately to assemble. 3. Privy Counsellors, Judges, Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and Officers of the Navy, were not to be removed without Authority of Parliament.

Proposed to the Parliament.

These Limitations the King agreed to, and proposed them to the Parliament, adding, that if any farther Security could be found by them that should not prejudice the Right of Succession, he would willingly consent to it.

But without Success.

But this Condescension was very ill received, and little Notice was taken of it; the Commons being warm upon another Scent.

The Earl of Danby pleads the King's Pardon; at which the Commons are enraged.

For the Earl of Danby had at last pleaded the King's Pardon at the Bar of the House of Lords, which the Commons were much incensed at. They were resolved to push him to the utmost, and voted that the Pardon was illegal and void; and the Speaker with the whole House went up to demand Judgment against him. But the House of Lords were not so clear in their Opinions about the Pardon, which was a Point that had never yet been determined against the Crown. So that the Earl insisting upon his Pardon, and desiring to be heard by his Council, the Lords appointed a Day to hear that Matter debated; and sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them with it. But it set the House in a Flame immediately; and they resolved, that if any Commoner should presume to maintain the Validity of that Pardon without Consent of the House, he should be deemed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England.

A Bill to exclude the Duke of York brought in by the Commons.

While this Affair was depending, the Duke of Monmouth's and Lord Shaftsbury's Party were grown so prevalent in that House, that a Bill was ordered to be brought in for excluding the Duke of York from the Crown. But before it could go through the House, the Parliament was prorogued upon the following Occasion. Several Conferences had passed between the two Houses, about the Manner of trying the Earl of Danby and the Popish Lords; and at last a Committee was appointed of both Houses to consider of the Method of Proceeding. In this Committee the Commons insisted, that the Bishops should withdraw during the whole Trial. This Demand was grounded on a Custom introduced in the Times of Popery, in which the Clergy had entertained a Notion that it was inconsistent with the Purity of their Function, to be any ways concerned in taking away a Life, though it were by the Methods of Justice. This made them always withdraw from Judgments in capital Cases, which was a Rule constantly observed. The Reason of the Demand was, that the Validity of the Pardon would in the first Place come to be debated, when the Earl of Danby's Tryal should come on. Now as the Spiritual Lords did not use to retire from

Trials in capital Cases till Judgment was just going to be pass'd, they would have by Consequence an Opportunity of voting in this Debate, which though it was only a Preliminary to the Trial, was in the present Case the Hinge upon which the Affair turned. And it was well known by the Commons, that the whole Weight of the Bench of Bishops would fall into the Scale opposite to theirs. This made them adhere firmly to this Demand. But the House of Lords suspicious of the least Alteration in the Forms of their Judicature, finding it was the constant Custom for the Bishops to continue upon the Trial till Guilty or not Guilty came to be pronounced, refused to consent. This produced insuperable Difficulties; both Houses being inflexible. And this Breach gave a Pretence for proroguing the Parliament, though the Bill of Exclusion was the true Reason.

The Parliament prorogued.

Soon after the Prorogation of the Parliament, News came of a Rebellion in Scotland, raised by the Field-Conventiclers; which Name took its rise from the following Cause. After Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, the Government there laboured to suppress Presbytery, which was still the Idol of very great Numbers. The Churches were restored to the Episcopal Clergy; and all preaching in any other Place was forbidden. Had the Clergy been careful to enforce these Changes by the Piety of their Lives, and the Care of their Function, this might have had a good Effect. But on the contrary, when they saw the People still apt to wander after their old Ministers, instead of reclaiming the straying Sheep by exemplary and attractive Behaviour, and learned and eloquent Preaching of their own, they called upon the temporal Power to drive them into their Folds by Force. This was executed with many Circumstances of arbitrary and tyrannical Violence. The People who were indeed in their own Natures perverse and untractable to a very high Degree, became ten Times more so by this Usage. At length when they found themselves shut out, not only from the Churches, but often from the Houses, they began to hold their Meetings in the Fields; where they often came armed to prevent their being disturbed by the legal Officers. This had been the State of Ecclesiastical Matters in Scotland, for a long Time; during which the Stubbornness on one Side, and the Oppressions on the contrary Side, kept up and heightened one another. The Fire had broke out once before in the Insurrection of Pentland-Hills, and now it flamed out a second Time.

The Rebellion was ushered in with a barbarous Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. That Prelate had formerly been a Presbyterian and Covenanter; but had turned about upon the Restoration, and procured himself that See by doing so. He had been since a great Promoter of the violent Prosecutions against the Conventiclers, so that he was very much hated by them; and they laid a Design to take away his Life.

The Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.



A.D. 1679. Life, and affected it in a most inhuman Manner. It happened that the Archbishop was going to his Episcopal See at *St. Andrews*, and some of these Men had Notice of it. Seven of them waited for him on that Road, well armed with Swords and Pistols. They came in Sight of his Coach within two Miles of *St. Andrews*, and galloped hard after it. He saw himself pursued, and his Coachman drove as hard as he could: But they soon overtook him, and having killed one of the Horses, and hamstringed the other, stopped the Coach. His Daughter who was with him came out, seeing her Father in Danger, and upon her Knees begged of them to spare his Life, but they threw her down, trampled upon her, and wounded her. At this sad Sight her Father came out to them, and told them he did not know he had injured any of them; but if he had, he was ready to make Reparation; desiring them to spare his Life, and promising that he would give them no Trouble for what they had done. Some of them were moved with Compassion, and one cried, *Spare his grey Hairs*; but the rest cried out, *He must die, and the traitorous Villain, Judas, Enemy to God's People, must receive the Reward of his Apostacy*. He then desired Time to pray, and told them, *he would pray for them*; but they replied, *they cared not for his Prayers, for they were sure God would not bear so base a Dog as he was*. When he heard this, he looked on one of them whom he thought he knew, and kneeled to him, and said, *Sir, you are a Gentleman, I beg one last Favour of you, that since you are resolved I must die, you will spare the Life of my poor Child here; and for this Sir, give me your Hand*. But as he reached out his own Hand to him, the barbarous Wretch cut it almost off with a broad Sword; and redoubling his Stroke, gave him another deep Wound over the Eye, with which he fell to the Ground. But raising himself upon his Knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is enough, you have done your Work*; and afterwards holding up his Hands as well as he could, cried out, *Lord Jesus have Mercy upon my Soul, and receive my Spirit*. While he was saying this, they all fell upon him, wounding him with their Swords in every Part of his Body. The last Words he was heard to say were, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all*; and soon after he expired. When these Wretches found he was dead, they turned to go away; but one of them saying he heard him groan, they came back, and to make sure Work, stirred about his Brains in the Skull with the Points of their Swords. Then they left him, and galloped off, leaving behind them a most shocking Instance of enthusiastick Rage and Cruelty.

The Field-  
Conventi-  
clers take up  
Arms.

Soon after this was done, the Field-Conventiclers assembled together; and making up a Body, proclaimed the Covenant, and burnt several Acts of Parliament made since the Restoration. They soon after grew to a Body of fifteen hundred Men, with which they possessed themselves of *Glasgow*. An Express of this was sent to *London*; and the

King assembled a Council, in which it was A.D. 1679. agreed to send the Duke of *Monmouth* to suppress it. The Duke lost no Time, but went down to *Scotland* immediately, and joining some Troops he found in the North of *England*, with those that were already in *Scotland*, he quickly came up with the Rebels. They were increased in Number to above four Thousand, but were little better than a disorderly undisciplined Rabble; so that their enthusiastick Heat having had Time to cool, they became heartless and dispirited at the Sight of the King's Troops. There was a Bridge over the River *Clide*, which they might have defended, but they took no Care of it, but sent some to treat with the Duke of *Monmouth*. He told them if they would lay down their Arms and submit, he would interpose with the King for their Pardon; but that he would not treat with them as long as they continued in Arms. When they received this Answer, some were for yielding, and others against it; so that they were all in such Confusion, that the King's Forces came over the Bridge, and fell upon them, without the least Attempt on their Side to prevent it. And they did not stand the first Charge, but as soon as they were attacked, threw down their Arms, and ran away. Two or three Hundred of them were killed, and twelve Hundred taken Prisoners. And this short Skirmish put an End to this Rebellion, which is commonly known by the Name of *Bothwell-Bridge*, the Place where the Fight was. The Duke of *Monmouth* returned in Triumph, and was received by the King and Court with great Affection and Applause.

The Duke of  
*Monmouth*  
goes against  
them.

And routs  
them.

In the mean time came on the Trial of five Jesuits for the Plot; namely, *Thomas Jesuits. Whitebread, John Fenwick, William Harcourt, John Gavan, and Anthony Turner*. At this Trial appeared a new Evidence, *Stephen Dugdale*, who had been Bailiff to Lord *Aston*, a Popish Lord in *Staffordshire*. His Carriage and Behaviour gave more Credit to the Plot, than that of *Oates* and *Bedloe*; for he appeared like a Man of Sense and Sobriety; whereas *Oates* made himself odious by an unsufferable Licence in speaking of all Persons; and *Bedloe* was a scandalous Libertine. But in some time this new Witness proved as bad as the rest. *Oates* and *Bedloe* repeated the Evidence they had given before; excepting that *Bedloe* charged them upon his own Knowledge with what he had before only spoken of by Hearsay. And the Reason he gave was that the Practices of *Reading*, mentioned above, had engaged him to soften his Evidence; he being told that the Popish Lords would take as well any Kindness done to the *Jesuits*, as to themselves. This was an open Confession of Perjury, which ought to have set him aside for a Witness ever after. And Judge *Wylde*, a worthy and ancient Judge, told him when he said this, that he was a perjured Man, and ought to come no more into Courts, but go home and repent. But People were not yet cool enough for Reflexion; so that not only



A.D. 1679. only this passed over, but the Judge was turned out for his Freedom. *Dugdale* confirmed *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Evidence, by Accounts of the Consultations of the *Jesuits* in *Staffordshire* about the same Time. *Brance* too added his Part towards the Charge against *Harcourt*, and said, moreover, that he told him of 50000 Men that were to be in Readiness to establish Popery.

The Prisoners in their Defence brought a great many Witnesses from *St. Omers*; who all said, that *Oates* was at that Place at the Time he said he was in *London*; and mentioned very particular Circumstances which confirmed their Testimony. *Oates* in Answer brought six or seven Persons who swore they saw him in *London* at that Time. But one of these afterwards confessed himself perjured. Upon the whole the Jury brought them in Guilty; the Testimony of the *St. Omers* Scholars being got over by a Notion that prevailed in that credulous Time, that Papists have Liberty to commit any Crime that will serve their Religion. It is indeed certain from undoubted Facts, that some of the *Romish* Church have upon those Occasions made very free both with their Words and Oaths; but it was carrying the Consequence too far, to lay it down as a Rule that Papists are therefore never to be believed. The five *Jesuits* continued to the very last, denying in the most solemn Manner all that was sworn against them.

They are executed.

*Langhorn's* Trial.

Their Trial was succeeded by that of *Mr. Richard Langhorn*; *Oates* swore, that he was acquainted with the Consultations for killing the King, and consenting to them; and that he had in his Custody the Patents for the Lords in the *Tower*; and one to himself to be Advocate of the Army. *Bedloe* swore, he had seen him register treasonable Letters relating to the Plot. In answer to this Evidence, he called the same Witnesses that had been brought the Day before to prove *Oates* perjured. And whereas *Oates* had named *Mrs. Grove's* House, at which he said he lay during the Time of the Consult; he produced *Mrs. Grove* to testify that he never was there about that Time, which was confirmed by her Maid. He argued also many Things relating to the Improbability of the Evidence; but the Times were not yet cool enough to bear Reason: So that he was brought in guilty and condemned with the five *Jesuits*, who were tried the Day before him. He was reprieved for some Time in hopes that he would make Discoveries; but he persisted to the last in affirming, that he could make none, and that all that was sworn against him was false. He spent the Time allowed him in writing some devout and well composed Meditations.

The Parliament was prorogued in form to the 14<sup>th</sup> of *August*; but when the Time drew near of their assembling again, the King was unwilling to meet them. He found the Current ran so strong in the House of Commons for the Bill of Exclusion, which he was resolved not to consent to; that he despaired

of coming to any Agreement with them. So A.D. 1679. he determined at last to dissolve the Parliament by Proclamation; which was accordingly done, and another summoned to meet October following.

The Parliament dissolved.

In about a Week after this, came on the Trial of *Sir George Wakeman*, with *William Marshall*, and *James Corker*, two *Benedictine* Monks, and *William Rumley*, a Lay Brother of that Order. Against *Wakeman*, *Oates* swore, that a Letter was sent by him to one *Ashby*, a Jesuit then at the *Bath*, containing Directions for the Management of his Health; but that in the same Letter, *Sir George* took Occasion to mention his Design to kill the King. *Oates* related also his Story about the Queen's consenting to the King's Death; though this was no Evidence against *Wakeman*; but it served to make it thought that he, being the Queen's Physician, was likely to engage in the same Design. *Bedloe* swore he had received from *Harcourt*, who was executed, a Bill of 2000 Pounds, in Part of a greater Sum, which was given him to poison the King, as *Sir George* and *Harcourt* both told *Bedloe*. Against *Marshall* and *Corker*, *Oates* and *Bedloe* both swore that they were privy to the Design of killing the King, and that they were consenting to a Consult of their Order, for raising 6000 Pounds to carry on that Design. *Oates* swore the same against *Rumley*, but *Bedloe* had nothing to say against him. So that he was acquitted of course.

The Trial of *Sir George Wakeman*, and others.

But by this Time Men were a little more calmed than they used to be. The Executions that had been made of so many Persons, began to raise Pity in the compassionate Tempers of *Englishmen*; and the obstinate Denials of those who suffered increased the Concern, and People came to call in question the Truth of many Things they believed at first, when they found them supported only by the Testimony of three or four infamous Wretches, and denied by the most solemn Protestations of dying Men. So that their Minds were prepared to receive the evident Proofs of the Perjury of the Witnesses which appeared at this Trial.

*Sir George Wakeman* said in his Defence, that it was true he sent a Letter of Directions to *Ashby* at the *Bath*; but he proved by his own Servant, and the Apothecary at the *Bath*, that it was not written by himself, but dictated by him to his Servant, and that there was no mention in it of the King or Queen; and besides, produced the very Letter. Upon this, *Oates* was forced to say, That was not the Letter he saw; but he was easily answered by the Improbability that a Man should write two Letters upon the same Account. He observed also a great Blunder *Oates* had made; by saying that in the Letter he saw *Sir George* ordered *Ashby* to use a Milk Diet with the Bath, which were two Things entirely inconsistent. He observed farther, that *Oates* at first charged him upon Hearsay, and being asked whether he knew any Thing more against *Sir George Wakeman*, he solemnly protested he did not; whereas



A.D. 1679. whereas he now swore against him on his own Knowledge. Oates in Answer to this pretended he was then so weak and weary, he did not know what he said; which Evasion had passed at Coleman's Trial, but Men were now grown cooler. Another gross Falshood happened to be found in his Evidence against Corker, who he swore was the Superior of his Order; whereas it was proved that another Person was Superior, and had been so for some Years. Upon the Whole, the Jury acquitted the Prisoners; only Corker and Marshall being Priests, and as such obnoxious to other Laws, were remanded to Prison.

The Prisoners acquitted.

The King falls sick.

Which occasions a great Alteration at Court.

The King soon after fell sick at Windsor with a Fever, in which, though he soon recovered, the Fits were so violent at first, as made Men apprehensive of Danger; which caused an universal Terror and Concern in the Nation while the Sickness lasted, and introduced a great Revolution at Court afterwards from the following Causes. Upon the late Alteration made there by the Imprisonment of the Earl of Danby, the Authority and Confidence of prime Minister came to be parted among four; the Lord Sunderland, Lord Effex, Lord Halifax, and Sir William Temple. The last of these was fonder of his Ease than of Honours; so that in no long Time after he had brought about the new Constitution abovementioned, he began to withdraw from Court to his Retirement in the Countrey, leaving the Cares of Business to the other three Lords, and touching them himself but by the Bye. So that at the Time of the King's Illness, the Earl of Effex and Lord Halifax were about him, in the Height of Confidence with him. The Duke of Monmouth was at the same Time too in his Height of Favour with the King, as well as of Popularity, though he had no Influence on the Steps of the Court, being unable to hinder the Prorogation of the Parliament, which was done entirely against the Will of all his Party. While the King was ill, the Lord Shaftsbury had threatened to revenge this Prorogation upon the Advisers, meaning the Lords Sunderland, Effex and Halifax. The two last seeing the Duke of Monmouth so great, who was led at Pleasure by Lord Shaftsbury, began to fear he might have Power to put his Threats in Execution, if the King should die. So they cast about to save themselves, thinking the Lord Sunderland secure by his Relation to Lord Shaftsbury. To this End they opposed to the Duke of Monmouth, his powerful Rival, the Duke of York; whom they persuaded the King to send for with all Hastie and Secrecy, at the Time his Sickness was so violent. The Duke came Post from Flanders to the King at Windsor; but upon finding him well recovered, it was agreed that the Journey should be received by the King and three Lords as coming from himself, and with great Signs of Surprise. But there is scarce any Dissimulation so exquisite that a jealous Enemy will not see through. The Earl of Shaftsbury doubted the Truth, and enflamed the Duke of Monmouth so much

The Duke of York returns.

more against those Lords upon that Account, A.D. 1679. that they found no Way to secure themselves, but by the Ruin of those two. And they succeeded so well in their Endeavours, that the Duke of Monmouth was disgraced and sent over into Holland; and Lord Shaftsbury turned out of the Council where he was President. But the Duke of York, after he had gained this Victory, found himself by the Necessity of Affairs, obliged to retire again; which he did, first to Brussels, and then with the King's Leave into Scotland.

The Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftsbury disgraced.

By this Time all Hopes of any Good from the new Measures the King had entered into, were entirely dissipated; and a melancholy Scene succeeded to the End of this Reign. The Blame of this seems to lie entirely at the Earl of Shaftsbury's Door, who, though brought into Affairs at that Time, found himself without that Height of Credit and Authority he desired; and therefore in Revenge, kept up all the former Heats in the House of Commons, by the Interest he had with the Duke of Monmouth, and his Party. It was indeed an amazing Thing, that so many Men of Integrity and Understanding as were in that House, would deliver up themselves to one who had been so little before a Counsellor, and Instrument of arbitrary Power; and can only be accounted for by a Spirit of Infatuation and Madness, with which the wisest are at some Times possessed; since there cannot be a more evident or certain Maxim of State than this, That such an one may easily turn a mischievous Incendiary, but never become an honest Patriot.

The Practices the Earl of Shaftsbury had entered into with the late House of Commons, he continued in the new one; and they had that Effect, that the King seeing what Temper the Parliament was like to meet in, resolved to prorogue it for three Months longer. He had once determined to prorogue it for a Twelve-month, and declared that to be his Mind in Council with so much Stiffness, that he would not suffer any Thing to be spoke there to the contrary. But he afterwards changed the twelve Months to three, and a Proclamation was issued accordingly. Who advised the King to this Prorogation is not very clear; for the Earls of Effex and Halifax, who appeared the highest in Confidence, were so more in Shew than in Reality. It seems to be the first Step the King made towards that resolute Conduct he fell into afterwards; which in a little Time turned the Scale on his Side, and brought in a perfectly new Scene of Affairs.

The Parliament prorogued.

Soon after this Prorogation, a new Discovery broke out, which in those Times were very much in Fashion. One Dangerfield, a very great Rogue, and a very bold and dexterous one, was the Informer. This Fellow had found Means to hide in the Lodgings of one Colonel Roderick Mansel, a Bundle of seditious and dangerous Letters; and when this was done, gave Information to the Custom-House Officers of some prohibited Goods there; and came with them upon the Search,

The Meal-Tub Plot.



A.D. 1679. his Intention being, that those Letters might be discovered there, as it were, by Accident. What his real Design was in this, is hard to guess; for he was so impudent a Liar, that no Credit can be given to what he said of it afterwards himself. But it happened that the Officers missed the Place where he had put the Letters, so that he was forced to find them himself; and as soon as he saw them, before he had Time to look upon them, he cried out, *Here is Treason!* The Officers carried the Papers to Court, but the Forgery appeared so evident, that they were ordered to be returned, and nothing was done upon them. But Colonel *Mansel*, who knew *Dangerfield* and his Character, and heard he had been concerned in the finding the Letters, took Pains to seek him out, and discover the Roguery. At last he found him at the House of one *Mrs. Cellier*, a Popish Midwife, a Woman of a good Share of Wit, but a bold lewd Creature, whom *Dangerfield* had been long, and, no doubt, very well acquainted with. The Colonel caused him to be brought before the Council, where after a full Hearing, the Imposture was detected, and *Dangerfield* sent to *Newgate*. Two Days after, in searching *Cellier's* House, a Paper Book was found hid in a Meal-Tub, which contained the Scheme of a Plot, which was to be sworn against several eminent Persons among the Protestants; as Lord *Shaftsbury*, *Effex*, *Hallifax*, and many others. This raised new Alarms and Conjectures; and *Dangerfield*, upon hearing this, pretended to make a Discovery of the whole Design. He swore that the Project was contrived between *Mrs. Cellier* and the Countess of *Powis*, to take off the Odium of the Popish Plot from their Religion, by inventing another among the Protestants. But *Dangerfield* hoped to become now an Evidence as great as *Oates*; so that he not only produced this Relation, but added many Things about his being tempted to kill the King, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and this he swore against the Earl of *Castlemaine*, Husband to the famous Duchess of *Cleveland*, the King's former Mistress, the Lady *Powis*, and *Mrs. Cellier*. This last Charge was very unkind to his old Acquaintance; but the Friendships of such loose Creatures do not use to be very constant, and perhaps too there had been some Quarrels between them, which frequently attend such lewd Intercourses. But when the Matter came to be tried in Court, *Dangerfield* was proved so infamous a Wretch, that no Credit could be given to what he swore; so that all whom he accused were acquitted, and he was thrown aside for a profligate Impostor. What was the real Truth of this Affair, is very hard, and not material to know; but it served at first to keep up the Alarms and Fears Mens Minds were filled with; and afterwards to weaken the Credit of the Popish Plot, when it was found how easily Impostures might be invented of the same Kind.

During the Interval of Parliament, the Lord *Shaftsbury* employed all his Arts to

keep alive till the next Sessions, the Flames A.D. 1679. that had been kindled without Doors. In the City, Occasion was taken from the Custom of burning the Pope in *Effigie*, which the Zeal of our Ancestors introduced upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Accession-Day, to celebrate the same in such a Manner, as might draw great Crowds of Spectators, and raise and inflame the Passions of the Weak, who are sure to make a very great Majority in all numerous Assemblies. So on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Nov. The Pope burnt on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November. a long Procession went through the City from *Bishopsgate* to *Temple-Bar*; in which the Pope, attended by his constant Companion the Devil, was carried with great Solemnity, and accompanied with Cardinals, Priests and Monks of several Orders. But the most moving Part of the Procession, was a Figure representing Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* carried on Horseback, which to make the greater Impression, was attended by a Bellman; with a doleful Sound, putting the People in Mind of his barbarous Murther. This idle Shew was attended with great Multitudes, and made a strong Impression upon silly People, who are always found at such Sightings in great Abundance.

All other Methods were taken to raise Other Arts used to inflame the People. Fears among the People, and give Uneasiness to the King, that could be thought of. And because the Dangers of Popery were a standing Topick, Pamphlets were written and dispersed, in which the Cruelties of that Religion were represented in such frightful Colours as might terrifie and distract Mens Minds, upon the View of a Popish Successor. And because it was apprehended that the King would not suffer the Parliament to sit upon that Day to which they were prorogued, tumultuary Petitions were set on Foot in most Places to be presented to the King for the sitting of the Parliament at that Time; and he was pestered with several to that Purpose, attended by great Numbers. The Duke of *Monmouth* was sent for, and came over again to *England*; and instead of waiting on the King, made Progresses through several Counties; many Thousands coming to see him, whom he studied to oblige by all the Arts of Popularity. And this was the Course held on by that Party till the Parliament actually sat, which was not till the next *October*.

But all these Machinations ended in the Ruin of that restless Head that directed them. By straining so hard, he only came to find that the Weight was above his Strength; and when he had raised the Stone as high as he could, it rolled back upon him with such a Violence, that he narrowly escaped being crushed to Pieces by it. The King was roused from his natural Indolence by the continued Provocations he had met with; and the Steps taken by the seditious Party, were so like those by which his Father was ruined, as alarmed him with very just Apprehensions. But by his Father's Fate he was directed to use contrary Measures to his; and he took the Warning, and by a steady and resolute Conduct, kept the Crown upon



A.D. 1679. upon his Head, and procured himself at last Victory and Quiet. He rejected the Petitions for the sitting of a Parliament with all the Marks of Displeasure to those that brought them. And to shew his Resentment and Firmness, soon after he had received the first Intelligence of the Practices on foot to procure those Petitions, he issued out a Proclamation to prorogue the Parliament ten Months longer than he at first proposed. He was encouraged in this by a Party that was daily increasing; which took its rise from a Suspicion that sober and dispassionate Men began to entertain of the Scope and Tendency of these tumultuous Proceedings, which appeared too riotous and seditious to be directed to any good End. The Heats which the Popish Plot had raised, began to cool with many Persons, and the wicked Designs carried on under that Cover grew more and more apparent to Men of Penetration. These Notions and Suspicions gaining Ground every Day, the Nation which was before unanimous in the Belief and Prosecution of the Plot, became divided into two Parties. The first of these continued in the same Heats as before, and were blind to every Thing but the Dangers of Popery; while the other began to call the Truth of the whole Plot in question, and to apprehend a second Time the Troubles of 1641. These differing Sentiments were soon improved into furious Animosities; Mens Passions being, as is natural, worked up and heightened by Contradiction. The Diffension growing more and more violent, the two Parties began to invent opprobrious Names for each other. Those who believed the Plot looked on their Opposites as Papists in disguise, and called them by the Name of *Tories*, a common Name for the wild *Irish* Robbers, who are all Papists. Those on the contrary Side looked on their Adversaries as Rebels and Enemies of the Church; and in return bestowed upon them the Title of *Whigs*, which was the Name given the *Scotch* Conventiclers, who were sworn Enemies to Episcopacy, and frequently in Rebellion. But in some Time it came to pass, that these Names which were at first given and taken as Terms of Reproach, came to be looked on and assumed as Titles of Honour by the Zealots on both Sides. And this was the Rise of those two famous Words, which have kept the *English* Nation in a Fit of Madness for above forty Years together.

The Rise of the Names of *Whig* and *Tory*.

The King gets the Ascendant over the seditious Party.

But this Difference of Parties, as it was a great Encouragement to the King, so it proved a great Shock to the Leaders of the discontented; it being a Blow they did not look for. They had now fair Warning of their Danger if they went on, and were offered the Choice of Submission with Security, or Obstinacy with Peril. But that Party being led by a Head of deep and dark Designs, were persuaded to go on with their Intrigues, in prospect of gaining their Point at last; and many were thus drawn in to their Ruin. For the loyal Party, as they called

themselves, daily increased, and with the King at their Head grew so powerful, that they prevailed over the other, some of whom afterwards lost their Lives, which others avoided only by Banishment.

Jan. 26. The Parliament met according to the Prorogation; but it was only to be prorogued a second Time to April 15. the King telling them he found a longer Interval necessary for quieting Men's Minds. And two Days after this, he sent for the Duke of York from Scotland. The Resentment of these Proceedings wrought so upon the Lord *Ruffel*, Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, four leading Members in the House of Commons, who had been upon that Account taken into the new Privy-Council, that they desired Leave to withdraw from thence, under Pretence of being unable to serve the King any longer while the present Counsels were followed, which he readily granted. This Step of theirs seems to have been owing to the Persuasions of Lord *Shaftsbury*, who desiring to strengthen his Party by the Countenance it would receive from Gentlemen of their Figure and Worth, found it necessary to make such a Breach between them and the King, as this Retreat must in course produce. But it seems to have been a great Error in those Patriots to do this, even upon their own Principles; the Presence of a faithful Counsellor being certainly never more necessary, than when Princes are inclining to unsafe or dangerous Measures. Their Example was followed by several others, who desired to be dismissed from their Posts; all which only served to offend the King, and give him Reason to suspect turbulent and dangerous Combinations.

A.D. 1680. The Parliament prorogued.

Upon which many Members of the Privy-Council withdrew.

About this Time some Prosecutions were on foot arising from the Plot. One Sir *Thomas Gascoigne*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman of eighty five Years of Age, was tried at *Westminster* for High-Treason, upon the Accusation of two who had been in his Family, named *Bolton* and *Mowbray*. But the Jury acquitted him. The same happened not long after to *Richard Tasborough*, Esq; indicted upon the same Account; as also to Mrs. *Cellier* abovementioned. The Earl of *Castlemaine* was indicted upon *Dangerfield's* Evidence; but acquitted also.

Sir *Thomas Gascoigne's* Tryal.

He is acquitted.

As also the Earl of *Castlemaine*.

Mean Time the King's Party gained Ground; and in Answer to the Petitions for the sitting of the Parliament, Addresses came up from many Counties, in which they expressed their Abhorrence of the seditious Manner in which those Petitions were promoted. And thus the Names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorers* came to be thrown at each other, by the contending Parties. The Report mentioned above of the King's Marriage with the Mother of the Duke of *Monmouth*, being now again set about, the King repeated once more his Declaration to the contrary in the most solemn Manner; which was also registered in the Court of Chancery.

*Petitioners* and *Abhorers*.



A.D. 1680. *Bedloe* died this Summer at *Bristol*. As he was on his Death-bed, the Lord Chief Justice *North* went to him, being then on the Western Circuit, and examined him in those tremendous Circumstances, about the Truth of what he had deposed. He denied that the Duke or the Queen ever had any Intention to kill the King; but said, that all that he had deposed besides was true, which he attested on the Word of a dying Man. And constantly affirming this, he passed into another World. All this appears very amazing and very startling; since it is certain his Evidence was full of the greatest Improbabilities; that he sometimes changed it, and sometimes contradicted himself. And as to his Life and Character, they were as wicked and infamous as could be. These Considerations seem at least to balance his dying Attestations; and how far so bad a Man, after such a Life, might be given up to a feared and hardened Conscience at last, I leave to others to judge.

*Bedloe's Death.*

Confirms the Truth of what he swore with his dying Words.

A Poll for Sheriffs at *Guild-hall*.

This Year there was a tumultuous Election of Sheriffs at *Guild-hall*; which was the first of its kind, though not the last. The Method used before in the chusing of Sheriffs was this. A Person being pitched on that was of Figure in the City to serve that Office, the Lord Mayor used to nominate him Sheriff by drinking to him with a particular Ceremony. This Person was then put up at the Common Hall, and used constantly to be elected Sheriff of *London*, together with some other, who was made Sheriff of *Middlesex*. This Method had been continued for many Years; the Place of Sheriff being of that Nature, both as to Trouble and Expence, that no Man used to take it that could avoid it; and many had paid the Fine, though it was a considerable Sum, to be freed from the Fatigue of it. But now when the Nation was divided between two furious Parties, the Place of Sheriff began to appear of Importance, on Account of the Power they have of impannelling, and therefore of chusing, the Jury-men in all Tryals. So that when the Person drank to by the Lord Mayor was put up, the Common-Hall, in which the *Whigs* had a Majority, rejected him, and caused two other Persons to be put up, which were Mr. *Slingsby Bethel*, and Mr. *Henry Cornish*; who were afterwards elected, though not without a Poll; which was used for the first Time upon this Occasion.

A Change in the Ministry.

During the Summer a Revolution happened at Court. The Lord *Effex* and Lord *Hallifax* decayed in their Credit with the King, who was entering into Measures not agreeable to their Sentiments. These Lords were not long in finding this out; and soon after the same appeared more openly. For though they were mentioned in the Meal-Tub Plot, as Persons to be sworn against, which made them particularly concerned to know the Truth of that Affair, they were left out of the secret Examinations about it. This they resented so much, that Lord *Effex* left the Treasury, and Lord *Hallifax* went

down to his Countrey-Seat. This voluntary Removal made room for Mr. *Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Rochester*, and Mr. *Godolphin*, afterwards Earl of *Godolphin*, to fill their Places in the Council, and in the King's Confidence. And these two, together with the Lord *Sunderland*, who kept his Post, composed the Ministry, in whose Hands the Secret and Management of Affairs lay. These Ministers did their utmost to give Content and Quiet to the People's Minds; and because the Power of *France* was a Subject of popular Fears, they concluded a defensive Alliance with *Spain* against that Crown; and proposed to do the same with other Courts and States of *Europe*.

But these Steps gave Apprehensions to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He found himself baffled in his Measures without Doors by the King's steady Resolution, and the Change daily growing in Men's Minds; and he began to fear that his Party in the two Houses might be induced to desert him. There were among these many Persons of great Influence upon the Score of their Worth and Probity, who took that Side out of a sincere Concern for the Protestant Religion, which they thought could be secured no other Way but by the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*. The general Reputation of these Men for Honesty and Disinterestedness was that which supported the Party; the Lord *Shaftsbury's* own Character upon those Accounts being very unequal to such a Weight. So he found himself in Danger of being abandoned, if any popular Counsels at Court should, by giving Satisfaction to those real Patriots, assuage those Jealousies which were his only Security. Therefore he found himself obliged to cut off all Possibility of future Confidence or Reconciliation, by engaging them, while their Fears were yet warm, in some desperate Step that might cause an irreparable Breach. And he effected this, by persuading several Lords and Commoners of Rank to go with him, and present the Duke of *York* as a Recusant in *Westminster-hall*. This was a notable Strain of Policy in Lord *Shaftsbury* for his own Security; because it united so many considerable Persons in the carrying on his Designs to exclude the Duke from the Crown, which they were now engaged to in their own Defence, after such a Provocation given. But it was a mighty Error in those amongst them who were true Lovers of their Countrey, to enter so desperately into Measures which appeared every Day less and less practicable, and could therefore end in nothing but their own Ruin, or that of their Countrey by a Civil War.

The Duke of *York* presented as a Recusant.

But the Boldness of this Attempt startled some of the Ministers to that Degree, that they gave their Advice in Council that the Duke should be sent away again before the Parliament met; and though the rest of the Council were of another Mind, they prevailed upon the King to agree to it. So the Duke went away to *Scotland* the Day before



A.D. 1680. the Parliament met; but not without Affairances of his Brother's Steadiness in the Affair of the Exclusion.

The Parliament meets.

Their intemperate Heat.

Oct. 21. the Parliament met. The King told them in his Speech of the Alliances he had made with *Spain* to restrain the Power of *France*, and of his Readiness to do any Thing for the Security of the Protestant Religion, that might leave the Crown in its legal Course of Descent. The Commons returned to their House, and chose *William Williams*, Esq; their Speaker. But the Flames that had raged in the former House, were raised in this again by the same Breath that had kindled them before. They fell upon several of their Members who had been Abhorrrers of the late Petitions, and presented an Address against Sir *George Jefferies*, desiring that he might be removed from publick Offices. They also sent their Serjeant at Arms into several Parts of *England*, to bring up Abhorrrers as Delinquents. This was very arbitrary, and a Mark of extravagant Heat, unbecoming the Dignity of such an Assembly. But as this Proceeding was notoriously unjust, it gave Occasion for an Enquiry to be made into their Right of imprisoning any but their own Members. And many to whom the Serjeant was sent refused to come up. One Person who was committed by them, moved for his *Habeas Corpus*, and one of the Judges had the Courage to grant it. So that they rather lost than gained Ground by these furious Proceedings; not to mention the Scandal and Indecency of them.

The Exclusion-Bill brought in by the Commons.

But they were not long before they took up the Exclusion-Bill again. By the late Attack upon the Duke of *York*, those concerned in it were so rivetted to one Interest, that they could propose no Safety to themselves till the Exclusion was compassed. So in five Days after the Lord *Russel* moved, that the House would consider of Measures for securing the Protestant Religion. This was seconded by many of the Members; and after many Debates upon that Subject, a Motion was made, that a Committee might be appointed to bring in a Bill to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown of these Realms. This was opposed by some, who moved that some Expedients might be rather thought of that might secure Religion, without breaking into the lineal Descent. But these were overpowered by so great a Majority, that their Opposition only served, as is usual in such Cases, to make the Stream run the more fiercely the other Way. So a Committee was appointed, and a Bill brought in accordingly; which, though vigorously opposed by some few Members, passed the House by a great Majority, and was carried up to the Lords for their Concurrence, by almost the whole Body of the Commons. But it met with a very different Reception in that House. The Dignity and Splendor of the Peerage being derived from the Prince, produces in Return among that Body, a profound and peculiar Veneration for the Crown and its Prerogatives; the Glory

Rejected by the Lords.

and Majesty of which reflects a Lustre on A.D. 1680. their own Privileges and Honours. So that factious or popular Notions make their Way with great Difficulty and Resistance in that House; the Members of which have been always accustomed to look upon the Distinctions of Birth and Rank with a kind of superstitious Reverence. Hence it is that the Body of the Peers have always been a Guard and Defence to the Rights of the Crown; and jealous of the least Invasions upon them; as it proved in the Affair of this Bill. For notwithstanding the strenuous Endeavours of the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Effex*, *Sunderland*, and some others, it was thrown out by the House of Lords by a great Majority; the No's being sixty three, and the Yea's only thirty.

The rejecting the Bill in this manner, set the House of Commons in a Fury; and because the Lord *Hallifax*, who by some secret Causes was carried about to the Court again, appeared at the Head of the Debates against the Exclusion-Bill, and by his Reasonings influenced the House, with great Diminution to Lord *Shaftsbury*, over whom he visibly triumphed, they presented an Address to the King to remove him from his Presence and Councils for ever. This was a very ill-judged Proceeding, and brought great Scandal upon them; it being such a notorious Infraction of all Freedom in Debates, as was most apparent and inexcusable.

Which puts the Commons in a Flame.

But their Resentments fell most heavily on the Lord *Stafford*, who had been impeached by them of High-Treason, and was soon after brought to Trial in *Westminster-hall*, with the Ceremonies usual upon those Impeachments, the Lord Chancellor being made Lord High Steward for that Time. The Evidence against him were *Dugdale*, *Oates*, and one *Turberville*, a new Evidence lately come in. The Sum of what they swore was, that the Lord *Stafford* was engaged in a Design to take away the King's Life, and to introduce the Popish Religion; and *Dugdale* swore, that the Lord *Stafford* had offered him 500*l.* to kill the King. *Turberville* also swore the Lord *Stafford* had proposed to him at *Paris* to kill the King. The Lord *Stafford* in his Defence proved, that he was near the *Bath* at the Time when *Dugdale* swore he was in *Staffordshire*; and denied solemnly that he had ever seen *Turberville* at *Paris*. He then made Remarks upon the vicious Lives and Poverty of the Witnesses, which might naturally lead them into Perjury, when so much was to be got by it.

This was the Sum of his Defence. But He is found when Judgment was given upon him, he guilty. was found guilty by fifty five Lords, and acquitted only by thirty one; so that Sentence was passed upon him by the Lord High Steward. His Behaviour throughout was very composed and affecting; denying in the most solemn Manner, and with all the Marks of Sincerity, every Thing that had been sworn against him.



A.D. 1680.

Makes some Discoveries, but denies the Plot he was charged with.

The Barbarity of *Bethel* and *Cornish* to him.

He is beheaded.

Warm Resolves of the Commons.

Addresses the King to consent to the Exclusion.

The Council divided upon it.

During the Interval between Sentence and Execution, he was much urged to make Discoveries, as the only Means to save his Life. He promised to discover all he knew, and was brought to the Bar of the House of Lords. He gave there an Account of some Measures that had been taken at the beginning of the King's Reign to gain some Ease to the Roman Catholics; but that these Measures had been quashed by Chancellor *Hyde*, and were in themselves perfectly legal, and to be carried on by Parliamentary Methods. As to the Plot for which he was accused, he continued to deny the least Knowledge of any such Design.

*Bethel* and *Cornish*, the Sheriffs, did a very shocking Thing with respect to this unfortunate Nobleman. For when they understood that the King had changed the Execution of the Sentence to beheading, as is always done to Persons of Quality, they presented a Petition to the Commons, in which they set forth their Doubts whether the King had it in his Power to alter the Sentence. This was very foolish, as well as cruel, it being the only Way to save his Life, by alarming the King in defence of his Prerogative. But the Leaders in the House were wiser; and to prevent all Delays they got a Resolution passed, that the House is content with the Execution of the Sentence by way of beheading. And soon after (Dec. 29.) it was executed accordingly, under which the Lord *Stafford* behaved himself in a Manner becoming a good Man and a good Christian, denying constantly all that had been sworn against him. His Blood was the last that was shed upon Account of this Plot.

Notwithstanding the Bill of Exclusion was thrown out by the Lords, the Commons were still busy and restless to bring about that Point some Way or other. The King had made another Speech to them, in which he repeated his Offers of concurring in any Security for the Protestant Religion, that might not interrupt the lineal Descent. The Commons upon this resolved themselves into a Grand Committee, where they passed many warm Resolutions; that a Bill be brought in for banishing all considerable Papists; that Religion and Liberties are in danger so long as there is a Prospect that the Duke of *York* will succeed to the Crown; that Bills be brought in for an Association of the King's Protestant Subjects; for frequent Parliaments; for continuing the Judges *quam diu se bene gesserint*; and against illegal Exactions of Money. Then in Answer to the King's Speech they drew up an Address, in which they requested him, in Consideration of the Dangers that would arise from the Succession of the Duke of *York* to the Crown, he would please to depart from the Reservation in his Speech.

This Address was of too much Importance to receive an immediate Answer; and when it came before the Council there was a Division about it. Sir *William Temple* proposed, that the King should avoid a positive

Answer, and excuse it to the Commons, by representing to them the Importance of this Affair, and the Necessity of knowing the Sense of both Houses before he declared himself; and that if they would concur in any Bill or Address to that Purpose, he would let them know his Mind. By this he might avoid a direct Breach with the Commons, and yet secure himself from any future Troubles of the same kind; there being no Danger that the two Houses should concur in any Application of that Nature. But others of a less mild Disposition, or who wanted to bring the King to a Disuse of Parliaments, having the other Measures in view which afterwards were put in Practice, advised a positive Denial of their Request, let them take it how they pleased, and this last Advice prevailed; and Sir *William Temple* carried the King's Answer to the House.

While this was in Agitation at the Council Board, the Zeal of the Commons against Popery, made them think of a Bill for the strengthening of the Protestants, by some Indulgence of Dissenters, which was brought in and passed both Houses. Some Part of their Time was spent in drawing up Articles of Impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, for stifling the Plot, and unjustly prosecuting some Writers and Sellers of Pamphlets. But at last on the 5<sup>th</sup> of *January* they read the King's Message to them, which they had suffered to lie three Days without taking any publick Notice of it. The Purport of it was to let them know, that he was sorry to find them so set upon the Bill of Exclusion, that they would think of no other Remedies, but that he was confirmed in his Opinion against that Bill by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. So that the only Answer he could send to that Address, was to recommend to them the Consideration of some other Means for the securing of the Protestant Religion, in which he promised his Concurrence.

But this was so far from giving Satisfaction to the Commons, that they flew into the most violent Heats; and that very Day resolved, that there could be no Security or Safety for the Protestant Religion, the King's Life or Government of this Nation, without passing a Bill to exclude the Duke of *York*; and that all other Means without it, would be not only insufficient, but dangerous. And to carry the Difference to the utmost Height, to this Resolution they added another, that till a Bill be passed for excluding the Duke of *York*, the House could not give any Supply to his Majesty. They voted farther, that those who advised the King to adhere to that Opinion against the Exclusion-Bill, were Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom. And the Storm gathering Strength by Continuance, they fell upon several of the King's Counsellors whom they suspected, as Lord *Hallifax*, Mr. *Hyde*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Clarendon*, and *Feverham*; and voted an Address that they might be removed from all Places

A.D. 1680.

A.D. 1681.

The King refuses his Consent.

The Commons in violent Heats.



A.D. 1681. Places of Honour and Profit, and from the King's Presence and Councils for ever. And because they had no Evidence of any Misdemeanor whereon to ground such an Address against them, they voted that common Fame was a sufficient Ground; though it seemed very hard to bring so much Disgrace and Prejudice to any Man upon the Testimony of so noted a Liar. And to carry Matters to the utmost Extremity, because they apprehended the King might raise present Money by the Anticipation of that Revenue which was already settled upon him, they voted that whosoever should have any Part in supplying the King by such Anticipations, should be deem'd a Hinderer of the fitting of Parliaments, and should be responsible for it in Parliament.

This was extravagant to the last Degree, and tending to dissolve the Constitution, by breaking off all Hopes of Agreement and Confidence between the King and his Parliament. So that this ungoverned Fury was very much blamed. It provoked the King, as may be well imagined, so that he determined to put an End to their Sitting, finding no Hopes of their coming into any Temper. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of January he had resolved to come and prorogue them. But the Commons had private Notice of this, and assembled early in the Morning, and before the King sent for them, came to the following warm Resolutions. First, that whoever advised the King to prorogue the Parliament, unless in order to pass a Bill for excluding the Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King, of the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner of France. Secondly, that the Laws against Recusants ought not to be extended to any but those of the Church of Rome. Thirdly, that the Laws against Protestant Dissenters ought not to be executed. These Votes were much censured, it being thought a great Invasion of the Legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the Execution of Laws. But when they had done this, they were sent for up, and prorogued for ten Days. The Bill for Ease of Protestant Dissenters was to have been then presented to the King for his Assent. But the King, who was turning to arbitrary Counsels, was desirous to keep that Party in Subjection, by the Dread of the Laws hanging over them, though unwilling to enflame the Heats by refusing it. So that an Expedient was found (but a very unjustifiable one) to save the King the passing his Negative, by the Clerk of the Crown's withdrawing it, at the Time it was to be presented.

On the Day of the Prorogation the Commons had sent their kind Commendations and Thanks to the City of London; and this produced a Petition to the King from the Common-Council, testifying their Surprise at the Prorogation, and desiring the Parliament might sit at the Time appointed. But the King was only provoked by this unreasonable Interposition to dissolve it the sooner, being resolved to shew himself inflexible

to all such irregular Applications. So two Days before the appointed Meeting, he issued out his Proclamation to dissolve the Parliament, declaring his Intentions to call another on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, which was to meet at Oxford. And dissolved.

An Alteration was made in the Ministry soon after, by the Removal of the Earl of Sunderland, whose Place was filled by the Lord Hallifax. That Earl, though in the Height of Confidence with the King, had thought fit to become a zealous Promoter of the Exclusion-Bill, not only against the King's Mind, but his express Commands. This was certainly a very unaccountable Step, as those of refined Statesmen sometimes are, and highly provoked the King, who believed his Appearance on that Side made the Commons think the King was inclined to yield to them, and engaged them to drive that Point with the greater Violence. On the other Hand, the Lord Hallifax had made his Way into the King's Favour again, by the Figure he made in Opposition to the Exclusion-Bill; so that he became one of the Ministry, with great Credit and Confidence.

The Elections for Members of Parliament were carried on throughout the Nation with great Zeal; and they fell upon the same Persons with those of the last, with very little Alteration. But the discontented Party finding themselves strengthened during the sitting of Parliament by the Neighbourhood of the City of London, where their Side had a Majority; and having, or pretending to have, Apprehensions of some Force to be put upon the Parliament, when separated from their fast Friends, a Petition was presented to the King by several Lords, representing the Danger the Parliament would be exposed to at Oxford, from the Papists and their Adherents, of whom too many had crept into his Majesty's Guards, that Liberty of speaking according to their Consciences would be thereby destroyed, and the Validity of their Acts and Proceedings be left disputable; that the Straitness of the Place no Ways admitted such a Concourse of People as follow the Parliament, and that the Witnesses the Commons wanted to make good their Impeachments, were unable to bear the Charges of such a Journey; and therefore they prayed the Parliament might, as usual, sit at Westminster, where they might consult and act with Safety and Freedom. The King very well understood the Drift of this Petition, and was confirmed by it in his former Resolution. He remembered what Trouble had been given to his Father, when the seditious Party of the two Houses were supported by the Tumults of the neighbouring City, and feared the same again when Circumstances were so much alike. So that instead of returning any Answer to this Petition, he only frowned upon those who presented it, without taking any other Notice of it. A Petition offered the King against calling the Parliament at Oxford.

At this Time a strange kind of Alarm was given by one Fitz-Harris, an Irish Papist. Plot. Which he rejects.

This

The Parliament prorogued.



A.D. 1681. This Man, with what Intent is not very clear, had laid a Scheme to write a treasonable Libel against the King, under the Disguise of a zealous Enemy to Popery. This Scheme he communicated to one *Everard*, who fearing he designed to trepan him, got Witnesses to hear what passed between them. This Matter was so carried on, that Evidence being had against *Fitz-Harris*, he was apprehended.

The King goes to Oxford.

Tumultuous Bodies of Men attend the Members.

The Parliament meets.

Their Proceedings.

The Commons impeach *Fitz-Harris*.

The Time of the Parliament's Meeting drew near, and the King went down to Oxford to attend them. It was a great Disappointment to the Leaders of the disaffected Party, that they were carried so far from their Friends in London; but the Zeal of a great many there remedied, in some sort, that Inconvenience. For under a Notion of guarding the Parliament against the Papists, there came down with the City Members, a numerous Body of Horsemen well armed, wearing Ribbons in their Hats, with these Words, *No Popery, no Slavery!* Many other of the Members came with the like Retinues, who attended them upon the same Pretence. And thus the Meeting of the Legislature of England became like a Rendezvous of Soldiers; while cool and sober Men, if any such were left while the Nation was kindling into such fierce Animosities, looked with Terror on this mustering of Forces, as a Prelude to a civil War.

The Parliament met on the Day appointed; the Gallery of the publick Schools being prepared for the Lords, and the Convocation House for the Commons. The King in his Speech complained of the ill Usage he had met with from the late House of Commons, desired them to proceed in the Prosecution of the Plot, and in finding Means to secure themselves against Popery. But he at the same Time requested them not to be so fond of one particular Expedient, as to reject all others. Then mentioning the Exclusion, he told them he would never be brought to consent to it; but if they could find Means, in Case of a Popish Successor, to put the Government into Protestant Hands, he would readily assent to it.

The Commons returned to their House, and having chosen the same Speaker as before, they first fell upon the Enquiry, how it came to pass that the Bill for easing Protestant Dissenters was not presented to the King. But a farther Examination of this was put off till a Conference was had with the Lords upon it. A Report was spread, whether true or not is uncertain, that *Fitz-Harris* was employed by the King or Ministers to draw up the Libel he was charged with, and that the Design was to send it to all the Heads of the Protestant Party, as they called themselves, and then by a sudden Search of all their Houses to find, and charge it upon them. This Rumour was easily believed by a House of Commons so disposed as this was, and gave the Leaders Hopes to raise new Fires out of his Examinations. So they determined to impeach him in Parliament, and by that Means to

deter all inferior Courts from meddling with him. A.D. 1681.

But all Heads in the House of Commons were so full of the Danger of a Popish Successor, that other Matters soon gave Way to it. And five Days after their Meeting, they turned their Thoughts that Way. A Paper of Expedients was first read, by which it was proposed to banish the Duke of York five hundred Miles from any of the Dominions of our Crown. That the Administration should be put in the Hands of a Regent, which should be the Princess of Orange; or in Case of her Decease, the Lady Anne; but that the Regent should govern in the Name and Style of James the Second. The rest of the Paper consisted only of Articles for securing this Establishment. But the Majority was so fixed upon the Exclusion, that this Scheme, which was not without its Difficulties, was set aside, and a Bill for the Exclusion was ordered to be brought in again.

And bring in the Bill of Exclusion.

But before the Bill came to its first Reading, an Incident happened that afterwards gave a Pretence to the King to dissolve the Parliament, which he was heartily tired of, seeing them again running into the Heats of the Exclusion, and having resolved to try new Measures for the Establishment of his Power and Authority. The Incident was this. Upon the bringing in the Impeachment against *Fitz-Harris*, the Lords, who had a great Majority on the King's Side, were determined to reject it, seeing what was intended by it. And a Precedent was found in the Time of Edward III. in which an Order was made, that the Lords should not judge and condemn Commoners. This Order, in Truth, only related to Proceedings against Commoners at the King's Suit; but it was now applied to all Proceedings whatever, as a weak Pretence will serve, when Men are resolved before-hand. When the Commons were informed of this Refusal, they fell into high Votes; and resolved, 1. That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons to impeach any Person, whether Peer or Commoner; and that the rejecting of the Impeachment by the Lords is a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments. 2. That in the Case of *Fitz-Harris*, where the Commons had impeached him, and declared that in convenient Time they would bring their Articles against him, for the Lords to refer his Trial to the Common Law, is a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution, an Obstruction to the Discovery of the Popish Plot, and dangerous to the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion. 3. That for any inferior Court to try *Fitz-Harris*, should be looked on as a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

The Lords reject the Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris*.

Which occasions great Heats among the Commons.

This Fury the King took as a Handle for dissolving them; and on the Day when the Exclusion-Bill was read first, and ordered a second Reading, the Commons, who proceeded next to *Fitz-Harris's* Affair, were interrupted on a sudden by the Usher of the Black-

Upon which the Parliament is dissolved.



A.D.1681. Black-Rod, who commanded their Attendance on the King in the House of Peers. He then in few Words told them, there had been great Heats between the Lords and Commons; and that their Beginnings were such, that he could expect no good from them, and therefore he was come to dissolve them. And immediately the Lord Chancellor declared the Parliament dissolved, after it had sat but seven Days. This unexpected Dissolution struck both Houses like a Clap of Thunder; and while all Men were in Amaze and Consternation, as the News was carried from one to another, the King took Coach, and left *Oxford*, making all possible Haste to *Windsor*, from whence the next Day he came to *Whitehall*.

A new Face  
of Affairs.

This Dissolution introduced a new State of Things. The King receiving so much Uneasiness from his Parliaments, resolved to continue (for some Time at least) without them, finding the ill Humours that had been kindled by the Plot, to be collected and break out with the most Fury and Strength in the House of Commons. The great Incendiary being deprived of that Engine, fell to cultivate the more industriously the Seeds of Faction and Disturbance he had already sown in the City of *London*, which was of a more permanent Constitution, and now became his chief Instrument. But the King beat him out at last from thence too, as will be hereafter related; which completed his Triumph over all that Party that had troubled him so long, and made him Master again.

Reflections  
upon it.

Had the Methods he took to this End been strictly right and justifiable, we must have praised his Wisdom, and admired his Felicity, who could so soon and so entirely recover that Regal Dignity and Authority that had been so dangerously incroached on during the Heats raised by the Popish Plot. But there were many dark Practices carried on in order to this, and the Consequence of the Victory was such, as made the very Foundations of *English* Liberty to tremble. And this alarmed in some Time wise and moderate Men, and begat a third Party, called by the Name of *Trimmers*; but stronger in Weight, than in Number; the far greater Part of the Nation, and even those of Understanding and Integrity, running with Violence into one or other of the mad Extremes. The chief Thing that can be alledged to excuse the King's Proceedings is, that the Dissolution of the Parliament was necessary; in which, though many wise and virtuous Men were found, there were many others of different Characters, who either pursued Designs of their own, or were animated by those who did; and that the violent Measures he fell into afterwards, were the Effect of Necessity, as much as Choice, it being necessary to pursue resolute Counsels when once entered into. But it made all honest Men lament the Unhappiness of their Countrey, which was brought to such a Condition, that no Measures could be taken to preserve its Peace, but such as must endanger

its Liberty. And they detested and execrated those Men, whose ungoverned Passions did then, or should in after-times, by stirring up, or unseasonably provoking the People, bring it to that perillous State. The Truth is, the Temper of the Nation was such, by its Division into two furious Parties; one directed by a dark and unfathomable Head, whose Designs, though never well understood, could be no other than bad ones; the other growing as madly fond of a Prince, professing a Religion destructive of our own; that it seems to have required a Wisdom more than human, to bring our Constitution through all these Dangers into a safe Port. And therefore, when we look back upon those Times, we ought to admire and bless the Divine Providence, which so mercifully watched over our Safety, that through all these Storms, and others more dangerous that afterwards arose, our happy Form of Government was not only conducted safely, but strengthened and perfected by the fierce Conflicts it met with.

Not long after, the King published a Declaration, in which he set forth the ill Usage he had received from his Parliaments, and his own Intentions for the publick Good; promising his best Endeavours for the suppressing of Popery, and declaring that it was yet his Intention to hold frequent Parliaments, and hinting that a Meeting of that Kind might not be far off. When this Declaration was read in Council, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* proposed, that it should be read by the Clergy in all Churches and Chapels, which was easily agreed to. This was an indiscreet Step, though well meant; and the Precedent now set, drew a fearful and dangerous Storm upon the Clergy in the next Reign. But as that excellent Man did himself encounter and overcome it so nobly, we ought to pass a mild Censure upon a Failing, whose Consequences were so hard to be foreseen. This Declaration could not be supposed to want Answers, and there came out two very well written. But the Dissolution of the Parliament was such a Blow to that Side, that they declined daily. So that the King's Declaration met with as great Success as could be desired; and Addresses came up from all Parts of the Kingdom, condemning the Bill of Exclusion, and the Proceedings of the late Parliament. All the Publick Papers written against the Court Side were suppressed, while Mr. *L'Estrange* in the *Observer*, some unknown but excellent Writers in a Paper called *Heraclitus Rident*, and Mr. *Dryden* in some of his Poetical Works, employed all their Parts in defending the King, and exposing the Proceedings of opposite Party.

Soon after this *Fitz-Harris's* Trial came on. The Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* was intimidated by the Votes of the House of Commons, and declined trying him. But Sir *Francis Pemberton*, one of the greatest Lawyers of his Time, undertook it, and was put in the other's Place. When *Fitz-Harris* was arraigned, he put in a Plea against the

The King's  
Declaration.

Two An-  
swers to it  
published.

*Fitz-Harris*  
arraigned.



A.D.1681. Jurisdiction of the Court; alledging, that having been impeached by the House of Commons, he could not be tried there. But this Plea, after long Debates, was over-ruled. So he pleaded Not Guilty to his Indictment; but alledging, that a material Witness for his Defence was in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off for a Month.

Plunket's Trial.

In the mean Time came on the Trial of Doctor *Oliver Plunket*, a Popish Titular Archbishop of *Armagh*, who called himself Primate of all *Ireland*. He was a worthy and good Man, who notwithstanding the high Title given him, was in a very mean State of Life, as having nothing to subsist on, but the Contributions of a few poor Clergy of his own Religion in the Province of *Ulster*, who having but little themselves, could not spare much to him. In these low Circumstances he lived, though meanly, quietly and contentedly; meddling with nothing but the Concerns of his Function, and dissuading all about him from entering into any turbulent or factious Intrigues. But while the Popish Plot was warm, some lewd *Irish* Priests, and others of that Nation, hearing that *England* was disposed to hearken to good Swearers, thought themselves qualified for the Employment. So they came over with an Account of a Plot in *Ireland*, and were well received by Lord *Shaftsbury*. They were also examined by the Parliament, and what they said was believed. They were very profligate Wretches, and some of the Priests among them had been censured by *Plunket* for their Lewdness. So partly out of Revenge, and partly to keep themselves in Business, they charged a Plot upon that innocent quiet Man; so that he was sent for over, and brought to Trial. The Evidences swore, that upon his being made Primate of *Ireland*, he engaged to raise sixty or seventy Thousand *Irish*, to be ready to join with the *French* to destroy the Protestant Religion, and to get *Dublin*, *Londonderry*, and all the Sea-Ports into their Hands; and that besides the *French* Army, there was a *Spanish* Army to join with them, and that the *Irish* Clergy were to contribute to this Design. *Plunket* in his Defence alledged the Improbability of all that was sworn against him, which was apparent enough. He alledged, that the *Irish* Clergy were so poor, that he himself, who was the Head of a whole Province, lived in a little thatched House with only one Servant; having never above sixty Pounds a Year Income, so that neither he nor they could be thought very likely to carry on a Design of this Nature. But the Fact being positively sworn against him, and the Jury unacquainted with the Witnesses Characters, and the Scene of Action, he

Found Guilty.

'Tis said that the Earl of *Essex* was so sensible of the Injustice done him, that he applied to the King for a Pardon; and told him, that the Matters sworn against *Plunket* were so absurd in themselves, that it was impossible for them to be true. But the King answered him in a Passion, *Why did you not declare*

*this then at the Trial? It would have done him A.D.1681. some good then; but I dare pardon no body; and concluded with saying, His Blood be upon your Head, and not upon mine!*

The next Day came on *Fitz-Harris's* Trial. The Fact was too plainly proved against him, to admit of much Dispute; but the Impeachment of him by the House of Commons so intimidated the Jury, that he had been acquitted, had not one of them by threatening to fast with the rest, brought them over to his Side. So that he was found guilty, and condemned. In the Interval between Sentence and Execution, many dark Practices with him were charged by both Parties upon each other; of the Truth of which it is hard, and not necessary, to determine.

The Storm which had been raised first against the Papists in general, and then against the Duke of *York*, not without Danger to the King himself, now shifted to the opposite Point, and began to blow against that very Party that had fomented its Rage before. *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, two of the Witnesses in the Popish Plot, were now employed against their former Friends and Supporters. The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others of his Party, were taken up and committed to the Tower, upon a Charge of high Treason. Among these were one *Stephen Colledge*, a Joyner by Trade, who by his Fury and Extravagance on that Side, had got the Name of the Protestant Joyner, being no otherwise remarkable. This Man was one of those that attended the City-Members, when they went to *Oxford* to sit in the Parliament there. So he was charged with an Information of High-Treason. But when the Bill against him was brought before the Grand-Jury in *London*, they returned it *Ignoramus*; which was a great Strain of their Oaths, a kind of Ties that were but little regarded in these Times. Thus *Colledge* was saved in *London*; but the Treasons alledged against him, being designed to be executed at *Oxford*, he was triable there. And a Grand-Jury of that County found the Bill. So he was sent down to *Oxford* for his Trial. He had a Counsellor and Solicitor allowed him for his Defence; but as he went to his Trial with some Papers of Instructions they had given him, he was on a sudden hurried into an House, and his Instructions were violently taken from him; so that he was sent to be tried in a very fit Posture to make his Defence. When he was brought to the Bar, he complained of this to the Court; who made themselves so far accessary to it, that it was with much ado that he got Part of his Papers restored. Two of them, which were not of his own Hand-Writing, were absolutely refused him, under Pretence that they were Libels. They contained indeed some warm Expressions, which had in Prudence been better let alone; but the Proceedings at his Tryal gave but too much Ground for them. When he had at last recovered so many of his Papers as the Court thought fit to let him have, his Trial began. *Dugdale*, *Turberville*,

His Trial.



A.D. 1681. *Turberville* and others, swore many dangerous and treasonable Words against him, which such an indiscreet hot Man was likely enough to speak, though without any Thought of putting them in Practice. *Colledge* was upon a Negative; so that he could only defend himself by invalidating the Credit of the Witnesses. The famous *Titus Oates* engaged now openly with his Brethren, *Dugdale* and *Turberville*; and the positive Contradictions upon Oath that passed between these Men at this Tryal, lessened very much the Credit of the Plot they had before sworn to. *Oates* attested solemnly, that *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, had both denied to him that they knew any Thing against *Colledge*, with some other Things to weaken their Testimony; while the others in return protested upon their Oaths, that every Thing he testified so confidently was utterly false; so that they fell out in the open Court in a very indecent Manner. This made good Diversion for those who disbelieved the Plot; but it was very shocking to considerate Persons to see what Wretches these were whose Testimony had taken away so many Lives, and thrown the Nation into such a dangerous Combustion. In Conclusion the Jury brought in *Colledge* guilty of High-Treason; and fourteen Days after, he was executed. On the same Day *Oates*, whose Pension had been some Time abridged, was turned out of his Lodgings at *White-hall*, and stripped entirely of his Salary.

He is found guilty, and executed.

*Oates* discarded.

The French Refugees relieved.

This Summer the French Protestants being driven from their native Countrey by the Persecution now raging throughout France, came over to England in great Numbers, and were received by the King with all the Marks of Royal Favour, and relieved by the People with a truly Christian Tenderness and Charity.

A Bill of High-Treason exhibited against the Lord *Shaftsbury*.

The Court having gained a Victory, though a very barbarous one, over poor *Colledge*, were encouraged to strike at the great Leader himself. And as it was no difficult Matter in those Days to find or to make Witnesses, a Practice that can never be mentioned without Horror, a Bill of High-Treason was exhibited against the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at the *Old-Baily*. Eight Witnesses were examined against him, who swore to many treasonable and extravagant Speeches, which were like enough to escape a Man of his Temper, though it might be doubtful too whether the Witnesses had such Things said to them. For they were Men of no Character, or else of a very bad one. But besides this, a Paper was found in his Study of an Association, upon which great Strefs was laid, though it was neither written, nor any where marked, with his own Hand; nor so much as laid in the Indictment. It is said, that after the Danger over he always protested he knew nothing of it, or how it came there; which shews how little Strefs ought to be laid on such remote Proofs. 'Tis probable it was given to him, but carelessly laid aside and forgot, as a Thing of no Importance. This Association was to unite all those who signed it in

an indissoluble Bond, to withstand the Duke of York's Succession to the Crown, and to oppose to the utmost Extremity all who should adhere to him. This last Circumstance was construed to extend to the King, who adhered very stedfastly to his Brother in the Affair of the Exclusion. But the Grand Jury being impannelled by *Pilkington* and *Shute*, the two Sheriffs, who were of the Earl's Party, they returned the Bill *Ignoramus*, which was received with great Shouts by the People who were there; his Party still continuing the strongest in the City, where great Rejoicings were made upon his Deliverance. And four Days after he was bailed at the *King's-Bench*.

In Opposition to the Endeavours of the disaffected Party in England, the Duke of York, who was sent into Scotland, found means to get the Parliament of that Kingdom, to settle the Succession of that Crown upon him by a solemn Act. Soon after the Earl of *Argyle* was tried there for High-Treason, and condemned, but found means to make his Escape.

The Escape of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was a great Mortification to the Court; and as it exasperated the one Party, and encouraged the other, the National Feuds flamed out this Year to a portentous Height. The Court to keep their own Side firm to them, set them upon the Dissenters; the Malignity of humane Nature being such, that Men seldom stick closer to one another, than when they have a third Person to do Mischief to. So the Laws which till now had lain asleep, were roused and let loose upon the Dissenters, and Men were made to believe, that they were all Rebels and Republicans in their Hearts. And the Execution of those severe Laws coming into the Hands of Knaves and Fools, who are sure to be busiest upon such Occasions, many Acts of unchristian Barbarity were of course committed. While this was doing, occasion was taken from the Association found at the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s, to procure a new Set of Addresses from every County and Town, abhorring that Association, and filled with all the Strains of Loyalty the Penmen could invent. And because in divided Nations each Party always thinks it self so much nearer the right Way, by how much it goes farther from the other; therefore the Court Party, to make amends for the Disloyalty and Sedition they charged their Antagonists with, ran as madly into the other Extreme. The Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance were revived, and inculcated and pressed both by Lawyers and Divines with such Warmth and Contention, as though Servitude and Chains were Blessings mightily to be wished for, and the Depth of Slavery were the Perfection of National Happiness.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of February a Murther was committed upon one Mr. *Thynne*, a Gentleman of a great Fortune, after a very strange and unusual Manner. As he was riding in his Coach in *Pall-Mall*, three Men on Horseback came up, and one of them discharged a Musketoon into the Coach with two

Returned Ignoramus.

The Succession of the Crown of Scotland settled on the Duke of York.

The Dissenters persecuted.

Passive Obedience revived.

A.D. 1682. The Murther of Mr. Thynne



A.D. 1682. two Brace of Bullets, which gave Mr. *Thynne* several mortal Wounds; after which they rode off and made their Escape. They were soon after seized, and found to be Foreigners. The one whose Name was *Vratz*, was a German, born in *Pomerania*, and a Captain of Foot; the other was a *Swede*, and a Lieutenant, whose Name was *Stern*; the third, whose Name was *Borofki*, being a *Polander*. *Vratz* at his Examination confessed the Fact with Unconcern, and said that he came to attend Count *Coningmark*, a German Lord, in his Travels; that some Affronts had been offered to the Count by Mr. *Thynne*, which the Count intended to resent by fighting him: That himself with the other two attended him on that Design; but that instead of stopping the Coach, as their Purpose was, in order to make Mr. *Thynne* come out to fight, the *Polander* mistaking the Sign, discharged his Musketoon at him and killed him. A few Days after Count *Coningmark* was also seized at *Gravesend*, and was brought to Tryal with the other three. But the Count, who was a Favourite of the King's, was with great Difficulty, as well as Partiality, helped off by the Bench; so that he was acquitted; the other three being condemned. The *Swede* and *Polander* suffered with Signs of Repentance; but *Vratz*, who was filled with empty Notions of Honour, more prevalent in other Countries than in our own, continued to the last to justify what he had done. It was found at last, that Mr. *Thynne* and the Count were Rivals in their Addresses to the Lady *Ogle*, sole Heiress of the noble Family of the *Piercies*, and a vast Fortune; and that the Count had taken this Method to rid himself of his Competitor. The Action was certainly both base and barbarous; but it is said, that it gave Occasion to some to remember another Lady, whom Mr. *Thynne* was reported to have used very unworthily. It seems she had long and unmoveably withstood the unlawful Solicitations of the Duke of *Monmouth*, though armed with all those Advantages of Person and Fortune that strike the Eyes and Hearts of Women. And the Duke, like a true Libertine, enraged with the Disappointment, persuaded Mr. *Thynne* who was his intimate Friend, to delude and betray her in Revenge. Mr. *Thynne* consented to this wicked Proposal, and by pretending honourable Love, got into the Lady's Affections; and taking one of those Opportunities that may sometimes be found, if Men are so wicked as to seek them, ruined her Honour, and then abandoned her to Tears and Shame. It would be well if the Example of this signal Retribution would deter Men from the like Crimes; which, how common soever, or little regarded, scarce ever escape a Punishment, either publick or private.

The Duke of York gains Ground.

The Duke of York soon after this returned from *Scotland* to *Newmarket*, where he met the King; from whence they went together to *Cambridge*, where they were received with great Pomp and Ceremony, with many Complements to the Duke on his prudent Conduct in *Scotland*. And soon after he

returned with the King to *London*. His A.D. 1682. Power increased now every Day. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen came to congratulate his Return; and a solemn Invitation was made him by the Artillery Company, of which he was Captain-General, to dine with them at *Merchant-Taylor's Hall*, where he was received with an affected Profusion of Shew and Respect. A Letter was sent after him from *Scotland*, written by the Bishops there; containing their Thanks to him for his wise Government of that Kingdom; and Care was taken to make it publick. Shortly after he set out again for *Scotland*, to bring back his Family which he had left there behind. His Stay was short, but his Return became remarkable by a great Danger he escaped. For though the Ship was piloted by one of the best Coasters in *England*, she chanced to strike upon a Sand over against the Mouth of the *Humber*, and the Duke, with some Persons of Quality, were obliged to save themselves in the Long-boat and go aboard another Ship. The Love of the Sailors to their Master was very much to be admired; it being reported, that when they perceived that the Duke was safe, they set up an universal Shout for Joy of his Escape, though they saw themselves ready to be swallowed up every Moment. From thence he returned to *London*, where his Friends were grown so numerous, that the whole City was filled next Night with Bonfires for Joy of his Arrival. He continued there to the End of this Reign, in full Authority and Power.

The discontented Party received a great Blow this Year in their last Fortrefs, the City of *London*; two Sheriffs, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Rich*, and Sir *William Pritchard* the Lord Mayor being elected out of the opposite Side; so that the Government of the City being taken from them, they were reduced to a very low Ebb. Many unfair Practices were however said to be used in bringing this about; and it was likely enough those Reports might be true. For a Court never wants Instruments for such Practices, in a Nation divided into two furious Parties; the Spirit of Party Rage being such, that honest Men, if Knaves by a strange Chance are wanting, will do those Things to maintain and raise their own Side, which they would not do to increase their private Fortunes.

Be the Cause what it will, the Effect was, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* finding his last Battery taken from him, and ready to be turned against him, was afraid to tarry any longer in the Nation he had so fatally disturbed. He was now reduced to the utmost Extremity of Madness and Despair; being enraged to find himself baffled in all his Undertakings, and to increase his Mortification, by the King too, of whom he had so mean an Opinion, that he once bragged that he would walk him leisurely out of his Dominions. Vexation and Anger for his many Disappointments tormented him so, that it even turned his Head; and took from him the Use of his truly admirable and profound Capacity; and he fell into Notions and Counsels

He escapes a great Danger by Sea.

The City of London in the King's Power.

The Earl of Shaftsbury goes over to Holland.

Sir John Moore



A.D. 1682. fells so wild, impracticable and precipitate, that his own Party began to fear and shun him. So that declining in his Credit with one Side, and dreading the Revenge of the other, he at first absconded; till not able to bear the Mortification of being forced to hide himself from those he had so much despised before, he at last went over into *Holland*; not only to the great Triumph of his adverse Party, but to the great Satisfaction of his own; among whom many worthy and true Patriots began to find their Error in trusting themselves to him too far. He went over to *Holland*, but lived a very little while after.

Had the Court been contented with their Success hitherto, little had been done that was not either justified, or excused at least by the Law of Self-Defence; and perhaps that was not necessary to give Peace to the Nation at such a turbulent Time. But Mankind is so framed as never to know how to stop, when their Enemies are once reduced; and nothing less will serve than an entire Suppression and Destruction. The King had followed his Blow as far at least as was consistent with the Liberties of a free Nation, and had procured himself Peace and Victory on all Sides, but he could not be satisfied with this. He now wanted to secure himself against any Disquiets of the same kind; which Security was not to be had without too great an Incroachment on the legal Rights and Privileges of his People. And now the Ballance of Power began to preponderate as much on the King's Side, as it had done before in the popular Scale. Not content with seeing the Government of the City in the Hands of Persons well affected to him, he resolved to bring it entirely under his own Direction. To this End a Writ called *Quo Warranto*, was brought into *Westminster-hall* by the Attorney-General in *Hilary Term*, against the City of *London*, to make them shew by what Warrant they pretended to be a Corporation, and to have the Privileges mentioned in that Writ. The City answered to this at the *King's-Bench Bar*, setting forth their Rights, and the Manner and Times in which they were granted; to which the Attorney-General reply'd, setting forth some Things done by them contrary to the Duty of a Corporation, by which their Charter was said to be forfeited. The first was, that they had exacted some Tolls in their Markets illegally; and the second, that the Common-Council there had framed and presented a scandalous Petition, in relation to the proroguing of the *Westminster* Parliament.

It was a strange Thing to make the Privileges of a great and famous City to hang upon such Cobwebs as these; for the Tolls exacted in their Markets were deemed so reasonable by those who paid them, that the Thing had never been contested in any Court of Law. And to make the City accountable for an Act of the Common-Council, was not only unequitable in it self, but contrary to an express Law, that the City should not

be punished for the Misdemeanors of those who bore Office in it. But the Bench was prepared beforehand to do as they were bid. So that the Arguments on both Sides being heard for Form's Sake, the Court declared, that the Liberties and Franchises of the City were forfeited into the King's Hands. After this the Attorney-General moved, that Judgment might not be entered, till the King's Pleasure were farther known; the Intention of which was, to give Opportunity for Practices with the Citizens, to induce them to resign their Liberties of themselves, to avoid the Odium of taking them by Violence. And the Fears of some, the secret Hopes and Designs of others, and the wild and inconsiderate Loyalty of a third Part concurring, the Common-Council was wrought on to carry a most submissive and abject Petition to the King; confessing the late Misbehaviour of the City, which had drawn upon them his Majesty's Displeasure, imploring his accustomed Clemency, and begging his Commands and Directions. They were received superciliously enough; and the Conditions upon which they were to be made capable of the Royal Grace were told them; which were, 1. That no Lord-Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, Coroner of *London*, or Steward of *Southwark*, were to exercise their Offices till they were approved by the King under his Sign-Manual. 2. That if the King should disapprove a Lord-Mayor, upon Signification thereof the Citizens should chuse another in a Week's Time; and if the second Choice were also disliked, the King should then nominate the Person. 3. The Condition of the Sheriffs was to be upon the same Foot. 4. The Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, might with the King's Leave, displace any Alderman, Recorder, &c. 5. Upon the Election of any new Alderman, if the Court of Aldermen should disapprove him, the Ward should proceed to a new Choice; and if that Choice was disliked also, the Court might appoint another in his Room. 6. The Justices of the Peace should act by the King's Commission; and that the settling these Matters be left to the King's Counsel at Law. These imperious Regulations being debated on at the Common-Council, there was not found a Majority who had the Courage to reject them; so that it was agreed by the odds of eighteen Voices to submit to them. And the two Sheriffs waited on the King the next Day to acquaint him with it.

The King was now absolute Master of the City, and Practices were set on foot, which were in most Places successful, to induce the other Corporations to surrender their Charters, and submit to new ones to be framed by the Court. So that being also enabled by a frugal Management of his standing Revenue, to live without Parliamentary Supplies, his Power became formidable not only to his Enemies, but even to the true Lovers of our Constitution. And to increase his Power, there was at this Time a Discovery of a very

The Liberties of the City declared forfeited.

The City submits.

Hard Conditions imposed on them,

Other Corporations surrendered their Charters.

The Rye-House Plot breaks out.



A.D. 1682. very made of a Plot among some of the disaffected Party, to kill the King and subvert the Government, which, whether true or false, served, as such Discoveries always do, to strengthen both the more.

An Account  
of the  
Grounds  
thereof.

From the Time of the Earl of Shaftsbury's going away, there used to be Meetings of a Set of Men of that Party at the Chambers of one Mr. West in the Temple; at which Place various Discourses were held by them concerning the State of their Affairs. In these Conferences many Things had been talked of in a loose and extravagant Manner, relating to the Means and Facility of killing the King and his Brother, and making an Insurrection, with other Matters tending to the same Purpose; which was a Discourse well enough suited to violent Party-Men of bold Tempers and desperate Fortunes. In these Conversations they used a kind of Cant for fear of being overheard and understood; calling the Assassination the *Lopping-Point*, the King and Duke of York by the Names of *Captain* and *Lieutenant*; and using some other Terms of the like Nature. The Persons chiefly concerned in these Meetings were one Colonel John Rumsey, who had been an Officer in Cromwell's Army, and had since served in Portugal with Reputation; Robert Ferguson, a Scotchman by Birth, and an Independent by Profession, a Man of Intrigue, and of a bold and dangerous Spirit, capable of any Enterprizes, good or bad; Richard Goodenough, who had formerly been Under-Sheriff, and wickedly industrious in packing Juries; to whom were sometimes added others of the same Side, who delighted in such Discourse, and whom the Cabal could trust with it. There was one Richard Rumbold, who was a Maltster, and had served in Cromwell's Army, who was sometimes with them also; together with the Lord Howard of Esrick, a Man of an ill Character, and notwithstanding his Title, in very mean and necessitous Circumstances. To such a Knot of Men, bigotted to Party, of Spirits naturally turbulent and unquiet, pinched by Want and uneasy Circumstances, and despairing of seeing better Times, it is easy to conceive that dangerous Discourses, and seditious and treasonable Projects must be very agreeable Entertainment. It happened that Rumbold had a Farm near Hoddefdon, in the Way to Newmarket; near which the Road was so narrow that there was just Room for a Coach to go near it. He being at one of their Meetings, when they were discoursing of the *Lopping-Point*, as they called it, told them he had seen the King go by there in his Journeys to Newmarket, so ill attended, that if he could but have stopped the Coach a Minute or two, by overturning a Cart or some such Obstacle, he could easily have shot the two Brothers, and made his Escape over Grounds, where he could not have been followed. Another Time as they were upon the same Subject, when Lord Howard was present, he said he thought it best to have the King and Duke shot at the Play-House; because as he

added, they would then die in their Calling. A.D. 1682. There was one Captain Walcot, an Irish Gentleman, who sometimes was at their Meetings; who declared himself against an Assassination, but offered to concur in a Rising. These and the like wicked Discourses they used, it seems, to entertain themselves with.

But a great Question here arises, whether these Schemes and Projects had not some deeper Roots than the Cabals of a few inconsiderable Men, there being soon after an Account published by Authority, in which all the chief Men of the discontented Party were said to be engaged, and assisting in the same Measures. To this one may briefly answer, that in such mysterious Questions, the only sure Way not to be mistaken, is to suspend one's Assent to either Side; but as every one desires to have something of Probability to rest on, where Certainty is not to be had, I must give it as my private Opinion, still submitted to better Judgments, that there was no more in it than is above related. That there were some dangerous Consultations among that Side, appears plainly from the dying Confessions of some Persons executed for the same; but that any of the eminent Persons who were accused by the Witnesses in this Plot, were really guilty of what was laid to their Charge, seems exceedingly improbable and incredible for these Reasons. First, because the Witnesses against them were Men of very infamous Characters; secondly, because the Law was vehemently stretched to take away their Lives; and lastly, because they denied with their dying Words what the Witnesses had sworn against them. But to return to the Narration.

It happened that Goodenough had acquainted one Josiah Keeling, an Anabaptist in the City, with the Discourse usual with the Company at the Temple; and had employed him to try their Strength in the City, to know whom they might depend upon in case of a sudden Rising. But Keeling, fearing the Danger of such like Undertakings, grew very uneasy, and at last resolved to discover what he knew. So he went to the Secretary of State, Sir Lionel Jenkins, to acquaint him with what he had heard. The Secretary took his Depositions, but let him know at the same Time, he could make no Use of them, unless they were confirmed by another Evidence. Upon this Keeling introduced a Brother of his into Goodenough's Company; and Goodenough trusting him, spoke to him with all possible Freedom about their Designs, mentioning the killing of the King and Duke. This being drawn from Goodenough, Keeling carried his Brother to the Secretary's Office, where the former Depositions were confirmed by this new Testimony. The Secretary let them both go; but the other Keeling, who was trepanned by his Brother into an Evidence against his Will, is reported to have sent Word to the Persons in Danger to keep out of the Way.



A.D. 1682. Three Days after the Plot broke out, and filled the Town with strange and various Stories as usual. Several Persons were taken up, and a Proclamation was issued for apprehending such as could not be found. In a Day or two after the Proclamation was issued, first *West*, and then *Rumsey* came in; having perhaps concerted their Measures before. They both joined in a Discovery of what they had really heard in their Clubs, and pieced out, by Help of Invention, what their Memory did not furnish them with. They deposed, that their Party had intended a Rising on November 17. being Queen *Elizabeth's* Accession-Day, when the burning of the Pope used to be performed with Solemnity; but that afterwards it was resolved to defer it till the Sunday after, when every Body was at Church. That a Plot was laid to kill the King at *Rumbold's* House; which being known by the Name of *Rye*, or *Rye-House*, gave this Plot the Name of the *Rye-House* Plot. That *Walcot* made a Scruple of killing the King, but engaged to attack the Guards; so that *Rumsey* himself undertook that Service. This was to be done by the Assistance of forty Men who were to be there in Readiness; with twenty of which *Walcot* was to fall upon the Guards, while *Rumsey* with the other twenty was to stop the Coach, and kill the King and his Brother in it. Of these forty they could name but eight. They said that they were divided in their Opinions how they should do after the King was killed, some being for riding off immediately over the Grounds, while others were for defending themselves against the Guards till Night, by Help of a Mud-Wall and a Moat, with which the House was inclosed; and not for making off till then. That *West* had bought Arms for this Use as upon a Commission for a Plantation; and that *Walcot*, *Rumbold*, and *Goodenough* had undertaken to find the rest of the Men, besides the eight abovementioned, and the Horses necessary for them. That this was to be done when the King was at *New-Market* in *March* last; but that a Fire which happened in that Town, and burnt down the greatest Part of it, obliged the King to return to *London* a Week sooner than he intended; by which all their Measures were broken, there being then neither Horses, Men nor Arms provided. There had really been a Correspondence between the discontented in *Scotland*, and those here; of which these Witnesses had chanced to hear something, but could say nothing on their own Knowledge.

Remarks  
thereon.

This Story was liable to several Exceptions. No Person of Figure was named who was to head the Rising. What was sworn about the *Rye-House* Attempt, seemed very improbable on several Accounts. It was not easie to conceive how forty Horsemen could be brought without Suspicion into a little Farm House, or could be well lodged there; or how forty Men could think to defend themselves against the King's Guards after such an Attempt, only by a Mud-Wall and a Moat, so as to get off afterwards. Nor

did it appear where these Men and Horses were to be had; it being only said, that three of their Cabal had undertaken to provide them, which seemed a very slight Account of so important a Matter; a Provision of that Nature not being so easily made. And it appeared very unlikely, that any in their Wits should put off the doing this till a Week before the Time of Execution: As if the procuring so many Men and Horses fit for such a desperate Service, were a Thing to be done in half an Hour.

It had happened also, that one Day the Lord *Russel*, one of the Heads of the disaffected Party, and who had been a great Promoter of the Bill of Exclusion in the House of Commons, was invited by the Duke of *Monmouth*, to meet him and some of his Friends at one Mr. *Shepherd's*, a famous Wine-Merchant of that Party. The Lord *Russel* consented to this, as having a Mind to taste some of that Merchant's Wines. So he went with the Duke, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*. When they came, they found *Rumsey* and *Ferguson* there, whom they knew to be two of Lord *Shaftsbury's* Instruments. The Lords did not like their Company, and resolved to go back; but Lord *Russel* having designed to taste *Shepherd's* Wines, got them to stay till he had done that. In the mean Time, *Rumsey* fell into Discourse with *Armstrong*, and talked to him, which he knew he might safely do, about a Project of surprizing the King's Guards. *Armstrong*, who had formerly commanded in them, disagreed with him, and shewed him his Mistakes. This Conference lasted while Lord *Russel* was tasting the Wines, after which he went away with the Duke, and the other two; not having spoke a Word in the whole Discourse between *Rumsey* and *Armstrong*. This real but accidental Fact, *Rumsey* improved into a deliberate Consultation about surprizing the King's Guards, at which he swore that Lord *Russel* was present, and consenting. That Lord was very obnoxious to the present ruling Powers, on Account of the Share he had in the Exclusion-Bill, so that he was soon apprehended and committed to the Tower. He was eldest Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, and Heir to the vast Estate of that Family; a truly religious and virtuous Gentleman, actuated in all his publick Proceedings by a tender Concern for his Countrey's Welfare; being placed above all self-interested Pursuits, both by his Fortune and his Virtues. But the Warmth of his Imagination was an Overmatch for the Solidity of his Judgment; which made him sometimes pursue his truly honourable Designs, though with an upright Heart, yet with an unskilful Zeal. This laid him open to the Arts of ill-designing Men, and drew him in to countenance by his Concurrence, those violent Measures which were set on Foot during the two last Parliaments; which as they were both unreasonable and dangerous, could not have been carried to those Heights, if the universal Reputation the Lord *Russel* had justly acquired for Probity and Virtue, and the

The Lord  
*Russel* apprehended.  
His Character.



A.D. 1682. the great Zeal with which he was seen to promote them, had not given them Countenance.

Others apprehended.

Lord Howard becomes an Evidence.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Effex*, the Lord *Grey* of *Werk*, Colonel *Sidney*, with Mr. *Trenchard*, and Mr. *Hamden*, who had stickled for the Exclusion in the House of Commons, and some *Scotch* Gentlemen, were also sent for. The Duke of *Monmouth*, by the King's Permission, as 'tis said, found Means to escape; but the others were apprehended; only Lord *Grey* found Means to get away from the Messenger by making him drunk. The Lord *Howard* was also apprehended, who soon after made himself an Evidence. He attested that the Duke of *Monmouth* had told him, that Mr. *Trenchard* had undertaken to bring a Body of Men from *Taunton*. He confirmed the Story of the Rising intended in *November*, but he knew of no body that was to be at the Head of it. He added, that a Council of six was instituted, of which himself, the Duke of *Monmouth*, Colonel *Sidney*, Lord *Russel*, the Earl of *Effex*, and Mr. *Hamden*, were Members; and that they had had several Debates about an Insurrection; but that they resolved before they entered on it, to know what Condition *Scotland* was in; and that Colonel *Sidney* had sent one *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to bring him a sure Information from thence, and that he gave him sixty Guineas for his Journey. On this Testimony, the material Part of the Plot depended; for as to what was sworn by the other Witnesses, it was of so little Importance, on Account of the Meanness of those who were accused, that a dangerous Conspiracy could not easily be framed out of a Combination of such insignificant Persons. Besides the Lord *Howard*, there were apprehended Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, *William Hone* a Joyner, *John Rouse*, and *William Blague*.

*Walcot's* Trial.

The first of these was soon brought to Trial at the *Old-Baily*. *Rumsey* swore, that the Prisoner was at *West's* Chamber, and there agreed to command a Party that was to charge the Guards; and was present at other Consultations, which was confirmed by *Keeling*, *Bourne* and *West*. Besides this, a Letter of his was produced, that was written by him to the Secretary of State, in which he acknowledged that he knew of dangerous Designs, and offered his Service to discover them. The Prisoner said in his Defence, that he came accidentally to the Meetings, and only to hear News; and that while the King was at *Newmarket*, he was ill of the Gout, and could not therefore undertake any such Enterprize as attacking the Guards. Upon the Whole, he was brought in Guilty of High-Treason.

*Hone's* Trial.

After him, *William Hone* was brought upon his Trial. Upon his Arraignment, he had offered to plead Guilty to part of the Indictment, but refusing to do so to the Whole, he was put upon a Jury. *Keeling* swore that he had been present at traitorous Consultations, and was to have been one of the Assassins at the *Rye-House*; and that he

had talked of taking off the *Blackbird*, and *Goldfinch*, by which were meant the King and the Duke. *Hone* confessed that he had said something about the *Blackbird*, but not about the *Goldfinch*. But this was only Talk. *West* swore he had spoke to him about making a bold Push at the two Brothers, the Captain and Lieutenant; by which he meant the King and the Duke. Besides this, Sir *Nicholas Butler* deposed, that the Prisoner used to be full of Plots and Contrivances of this Nature; and particularly, that he had once framed a Design for killing the King and Duke with Cross-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*. Upon the Whole, he appeared to be a very hot prating Fellow, but scarcely in his Senses, as may be imagined from his Project of *Bow-Steeple*, and therefore not likely to be trusted with a Conspiracy. But his dangerous Expressions were so evidently proved, that the Jury soon brought him in Guilty.

On the same Day, the Lord *Russel* was brought to his Trial. *Rumsey* and Lord *Howard* swore against him as was above related; and *Shepherd*, the Wine-Merchant, confirmed the Lord *Russel's* being at his House. Lord *Russel* positively denied what Lord *Howard* had sworn, but as to *Rumsey's* Evidence, he was much perplexed to make his Defence. He could not deny his being at the Place, though he knew he had not consented to the Matter proposed by *Rumsey* to *Armstrong*; and he was advised by his Counsel not to confess any Thing about it, as he once intended to do, and to relate the whole Thing as it was. So that all his Defence consisted in debating some Points of Law; as whether a Design to surprize the King's Guards were Treason, and whether not only to levy War against the King were Treason, but the bare imagining to do so, which was all that was laid to his Charge. But both these Questions were determined against him; so that he was brought in Guilty, and condemned.

He is found Guilty.

On the same Day that he was tried, the Earl of *Effex* cut his own Throat in the Tower. The King and Duke of *York* being there by Chance at that very Time to see some Invention about the Ordnance, a Report was raised, as if it had been done by some other Persons, and afterwards laid upon himself. But the Truth was, he was subject to very black Fits of the Spleen; and was remarkable for praising and justifying Self-Murder upon several Occasions, in common Discourse. Besides, the Manner in which his Throat was cut, was such as made it plain it could be done by no Hand but his own. These Circumstances were, it seems, so well known to the Family, that they never gave themselves the Trouble of a farther Enquiry; though a warm and indiscreet Man, got himself afterwards a great deal of Trouble, by a Notion he had of his being murdered by others.

The Earl of Effex kills himself.

After the Lord *Russel* had received Sentence, his Friends were busied in contriving all possible Methods to save his Life. Money was offered without Measure or Count-

ing



A.D. 1682. ing to all that had Credit. He offered from himself, but with great Indifference, to live beyond Sea in any Place the King should name, and never to meddle with *English* Affairs; which was all his Friends could bring him to. But either the King, or the Duke, or both, were so set against him, that all these Efforts were in vain. So he set himself to prepare for Death with the Quiet and Repose of a pious Christian; who having had always in his View that inevitable Change, had wisely provided long before to make it happy when it should come. For in the midst of all the Temptations that Youth and Affluence could lay in his Way, his Life had been remarkably strict and unblemished; and though at his first setting out into the World, he had fallen into some Excesses through the Fire of Youth, and the Force of ill Example, he soon recovered himself, and had lived for many Years a Pattern of Temperance and Piety. His whole Behaviour was a Triumph over Death; and was attended with such uncommon and exemplary Circumstances of Christian Fortitude, that it will not be amiss to enlarge a little upon them. During the last Week of his Life, he spent the Mornings alone; and at Noon he was attended by Doctor *Tillotson* and Doctor *Burnet*, to assist him in preparing for his approaching Change, which he saw coming towards him, with Tranquillity and Unconcern, like one who knew he should be no loser by it. He told the Divines that were with him, that he felt none of those Transports that other pious Persons felt; but said, that he had a full Calm in his Mind, no Palpitations of Heart, nor Trembling at the Thoughts of Death. He even shewed a Cheerfulness and good Humour at those Times when he was obliged to suspend for a while Employments of a serious Nature. When the Sheriff brought him the Warrant for his Execution, he took it and read it without any Concern; and after the Sheriff was gone, said to a Friend, it was not decent to be merry with such a Matter, else he was going to tell him, that they two should never sit together again in the House of Commons to vote for the Bill of Exclusion. For *Rich*, who was the Sheriff, though now on the other Side, had formerly voted for the Exclusion in that House. The Day before his Death he fell a-bleeding at the Nose; upon which he said, I need not let Blood now to divert this, that will be done to Morrow. For in Respect to his Quality, his Sentence had been changed to Beheading. The Night before his Execution it rained hard: If such a Rain, said he, comes to Morrow, it will spoil a great Shew, which is but a dull Thing upon a rainy Day. The Day on which he was beheaded, he refused to lose any Time in being shaved; and gave it as a Reason, that he was not concerned in his good Looks that Day. He asked what he should give the Executioner, and being answered ten Guineas; he said with a Smile, it was a pretty Thing to give a Fee to have one's Head cut off. Thus the Remembrance

The Lord  
*Russel's* Behaviour under  
Sentence.

of a religious and virtuous Life, enabled a Man to look Death in the Face with so little Trouble, that it furnished him with Matter to be pleasant upon.

The Morning he was executed, he went into his Chamber six or seven Times, and prayed by himself. He drank some Tea, and a little Sherry. He wound up his Watch, and said, he had now done with Time, and was going to Eternity. About ten o' Clock the Sheriffs called him. He met the Lord *Cavendish* at the Bottom of the Stairs, and they embraced very tenderly; for they had been intimate Friends. After Lord *Russel* had left the other, upon a sudden Thought he came back to him, and pressed him earnestly to apply himself more to Religion, telling him what great Comfort and Support he had felt from it in his Extremity. Lord *Cavendish* had before offered to change Cloaths with Lord *Russel*, and stay in Prison for him while he made his Escape; but his Friend would not consent to it. Doctor *Tillotson* and Doctor *Burnet* went in the Coach with him to the Place of Execution, which was *Lincoln's-Inn* Fields. He was singing Psalms a great Part of the Way, and said, he hoped to sing better very soon. When he came upon the Scaffold, he walked about it four or five Times; and then delivered a Paper containing his Speech to the Sheriffs. He spoke a few Words; protesting he had always been far from any Designs against the King's Life or Government; that he prayed God to preserve both, and the Protestant Religion; that he wished all Protestants might love one another, and not make Way for Popery by their Animosities. After this he kneeled down and prayed by himself. Then Doctor *Tillotson* prayed with him. He afterwards prayed again by himself; and then undressed himself, and laid his Head upon the Block, without any Change of Countenance, and his Head was cut off at two Strokes.

This was the End of one of the firmest and truest Patriots our Countrey was ever blessed with; I mean for the Integrity and Uprightness of his Intentions; for his Conduct was not without Errors, as has been already observed. But his Virtues were so eminent and so rare, that they cast a Veil at once over all his humane Mistakes.

In the Speech he left with the Sheriff, he owned that there was some Discourse at *Shepard's* about seizing the Guards, and that he had heard such Talk in other Places, but denied that he ever gave his Consent to it at any Place; but on the contrary, had upon one Occasion declared passionately against it. This Speech was animadverted upon by several, with the usual Severity of Party-Zealots, who can believe nothing but what makes for their own Side. But the Seriousness and Sincerity so remarkable in this Gentleman, is a sufficient Answer to all the Reflections cast on him by those whom Prejudice had made insensible of his Worth.

The Doctrine of Non-Resistance, which was so naturally introduced and nourished



A.D. 1682. by the Remembrance of the late Rebellion, had been inculcated with so much Zeal, and imbibed with such an Eagerness and Thirst by most of the Church of *England*, that even wise and moderate Men could not help sucking in a Prejudice so diligently infused. This produced a Difference of Opinion between the Lord *Ruffel*, and the two Divines that attended him; which latter pressed this Doctrine with so much Strictness, that Doctor *Tillotson* wrote him a Letter, in which he told him he thought he could not leave the World with a well-grounded Peace of Mind, unless he acknowledged his Error in maintaining the contrary, and particularly and deeply repented of it. But it does not appear that his Admonition produced any Effect; which is not to be wondered at, since the Transactions that happened in the next Reign convinced the pious and worthy Author himself of his Mistake in pushing that Doctrine so far.

The Marriage of the Lady *Anne* with Prince *George* of *Denmark*.

About this Time Prince *George*, second Son to the King of *Denmark*, married the Lady *Anne*, second Daughter to the Duke of *York*; which Marriage to a Protestant Prince, completed the publick Satisfaction that had been carried so high by the Match of her elder Sister to the Prince of *Orange*. The Prince of *Hanover*, since King *George* I. of *England*, had been here two Years before to make his Addresses to her; but he was scarce arrived, before his Father sent for him back for a Match with the Duke of *Zell's* Daughter, which did then more accommodate the Family. Prince *George* and Lady *Anne*, by a Felicity that seldom reposes on Princely Beds, lived many Years together in all the Pleasures of the most perfect Conjugal Love; in this Respect only unhappy, that of the numerous Children with which their Marriage-Bed was blessed, not one lived to Ripeness of Years.

The City and other Corporations new modelled.

Soon after the Charter of the City of *London* was taken away, and a Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs were sworn before the Privy-Council into those Offices, and received Commissions under the Great Seal, by which they were empowered to act; but this was only to be done during the King's Pleasure. What was done in *London*, was done also in most other Corporations, who had either by Force or Persuasion, been wrought on to surrender their Charters. To all these new Charters were given, in which Care was taken to leave the King power enough over them.

A.D. 1683.

There were now almost three Years elapsed since the last Parliament at *Oxford* was dissolved; and according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments, a new one was to be thought of by this Time. But the Court either not thinking the Elections well enough secured yet, many of the Charters not being yet come in, or for some more secret Reasons, resolved after some Debates among the Ministry, not to call any.

Colonel *Sidney's* Trial.

The next remarkable Occurrence we meet with about this Time, is the Trial of Colonel *Algernon Sidney*. He was of a noble De-

scient, being of the Family of the Earl of *A.D. 1683. Leicester*; a noted Republican, and who had been so eminent on that Side during the Rebellion against King *Charles* I. that he was appointed one of the High Court of Justice for the Trial of the Royal Martyr; though he never sat there, which procured him his Pardon after the Restoration. He had all the Fire and Spirit of a Republican, mixed with a good Degree of Extravagance. Lord *Howard* was the only Evidence against him; so that for want of another he must have been acquitted in course, had not the fruitful Invention of Lawyers found out something to supply that Want. It happened that when *Sidney* was apprehended, and his Papers as usual, seized on, a Treatise of Government of his Writing was found amongst them. It was composed in Answer to a Book written by Sir *Robert Filmer*, in which he asserted the Divine Right of Monarchy upon the eldest Son's succeeding to the Authority of the Father. This Work of *Sidney's* has been since published, and is penned with an uncommon Life and Force. In this Treatise some Passages were found, which though little more than declarative of the Rights of a free People, were in those Times, when unlimited Power in the Prince and unlimited Obedience in the Subject were all the Mode, construed into Treason. So the writing this Book was joined with the Plot; and the Court having now more than one Witness against him, that is, one to the Plot, and those who found the Book in his Custody, he was brought to Trial. He was indicted for conspiring to levy War, &c. and to promote those his wicked Designs, for writing a treasonable Libel, in which he advanced many traiterous Positions quoted at large in the Indictment. Lord *Howard* was the Evidence against him as to the Plot. He charged *Sidney* with being one of a Council of Six, who were to direct the other Conspirators. He had been very much obliged to *Sidney* for many kind Offices done him, which made his appearing against him in this Manner monstrously ungrateful. Whether it were Resentment for this Ingratitude, or whether *Sidney* thought his Defence lay another Way, is uncertain; but when he was asked, as usual, after Lord *Howard* had done his Evidence, if he would put any Questions to him, he only answered in a sullen Manner, he had nothing to say to him. But he called several Persons, some of which were of Quality, who deposed that Lord *Howard* had solemnly protested to them all, that he knew nothing of any Plot. He also observed how improbable it was that *Howard*, who could not raise five Men, and had not five Shillings to pay them, should be taken into such Consultations. The Libel came next to be considered. It was urged by the King's Council, that here was another Overt-act of Treason, which could not be denied, it being found in his Custody. To this *Sidney* answered, that it was not proved the Book was written by him; that Similitude of Hands was not a Proof in Criminal Causes;



A.D. 1683. Causes; that what was there written, were his own private Thoughts and Speculations, not communicated to any; that the Book was not finished, and none could tell how it was to have ended; a Man writing against Atheism, sets out the Arguments for it in his full Strength; but he was not therefore to be concluded an Atheist, because such a Chapter is found in an unfinished Book. It was also plain that this Treatise and the Plot, were Things entirely independent and unconnected; so that the Witnesses to the one, did not in the least strengthen the Testimony of the other, and therefore could not amount to two Witnesses in the Sense of the Law. But to this it was answered, that if there were two Witnesses, one to the Treason, and another to a Circumstance tending to Treason, these were the two Witnesses the Statute required. In Conclusion *Sidney* was cast, and condemned; and in three Weeks after, in Regard to his Quality, beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. His Behaviour before and at his Death, though firm and undaunted, was nothing so amiable as that of the Lord *Russel*; being mixed with a disagreeable Heat and Extravagance, that favoured too much of Enthusiasm.

He is found guilty, and condemned.

The Duke of Monmouth appears at Court.

About this Time an Accident happened, which surprized the City and Court. The Duke of *Monmouth* had lain hid in *England* all the Summer; but was now designing to go beyond Sea, and to engage in the *Spanish* Service. The Lord *Hallifax*, who was in great Confidence with the King, and out of Enmity to the Lord *Shaftsbury* with whom he had an irreconcilable Quarrel, had assisted the King in the resolute Counsels he fell into which gave so wonderful a Turn to the State of Affairs, began to find Matters pushed to much greater Extremities than he intended or approved. He thought the only Way to stem the Torrent which ran on with such a dangerous Rapidity, would be to oppose the Duke of *Monmouth's* Interest to the Power of the Duke of *York*. He not only found Means to correspond with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but gave him the Draughts of Letters which he should send to the King. These submissive Letters were of that Efficacy, that the King, who loved him passionately, was easily wrought upon, and resolved to restore him to his Favour. The Difficulty was, that the King absolutely insisted on his making a general Confession of the Plot, with which the Duke was loth to comply; but at last he was persuaded to satisfy the King by the Interposition of the Lord *Hallifax*; who advised the Duke to be silent for some Time, and patiently to bear the Censures that would of course pass upon him but being neglected, would quickly vanish and die of themselves. But this Advice was more prudently given than followed. The Duke was introduced to the King, and with all Humility fell at his Feet; confessing in general Terms his Offences against the King, and begging his Forgiveness. He then applied himself to the Duke with Expressions of great Defe-

rence and Respect. The King was delighted at his Heart to have him near him again; and this Incident might probably have given a great Turn to Affairs, had it been rightly made Use of. But the very next Day the Duke indiscreetly suffered himself to be again surrounded with Men of the same Stamp he used to converse with before; which gave Uneasiness to his Friends, and Hopes to his Enemies. However this was not so much minded, but that in the next Gazette an Account was published, that the King had pardoned him upon his confessing the whole Plot; and the King had also said in Discourse, that the Duke had confirmed all that Lord *Howard* had testified. This was made Use of by the Duke of *Monmouth's* false Friends to make him uneasy; and as soon as his Pardon was passed, they persuaded him to publish openly that he had confessed nothing at all: which, though partly true, was not to be said at that Time, and in that Manner, when the King had asserted the contrary. This Indiscretion laid him open to still greater Inconveniences. For it being soon carried to the King by some of the Duke's Creatures, the King was so unsatisfied, that he now ordered him to write a Confession under his own Hand. This Order perplexed him very much; he was afraid to refuse, and unwilling to obey. At last, the Lord *Hallifax* got over his Difficulties, by representing to him that he might safely confess he knew of a Plot; that Word being of an ambiguous Signification, and implying not only a Conspiracy against the King's Life, but dangerous Consultations of any Kind, which he could not deny his being privy to. He also laid before him the Service he might do his Friends by such a general Letter, which by gaining the King's Heart, would enable him quickly to recompense to them the seeming Prejudice such a general Acknowledgment could bring them under; and that this Confession could do them no real Hurt, because the King had promised it should never be given in Evidence. Thus he was induced to write a Letter to that Purpose, which Lord *Hallifax* carried to the King, who remained fully satisfied with it. But the next Day the Duke came again to the King in a great Disturbance, desiring earnestly that his Letter might be returned him. The King endeavoured to make him change his Mind, and spoke to him a good while with great Calmness. But finding him at last not to be persuaded, he returned him his Letter, but ordered him to leave his Presence and the Court immediately. This threw him again upon his own Party, who received him with a Joy and Welcome, that proved in the End a fatal and a killing Kindness to him. After some Days he went beyond Sea, and after a short Concealment appeared publicly in *Holland*, when he was received by the Prince of *Orange*, with a very particular Respect; which was not displeasing to the King, who loved him with such a Fondness, that no Misbehaviour could take it away. The

Banished again.



A.D. 1683. The Port of *Tangier* on the *Barbary* Coast, at the Entrance of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, had been in our Hands ever since the King's Marriage; and many expensive Attempts had been made to cast up a Mole to make a secure Harbour there. But these Endeavours proving unsuccessful, and the Place lying exposed to the *Moors* its Neighbours, who had made many furious Attacks upon it, it was thought that the Expence of keeping it would not answer the Convenience. Therefore the Lord *Dartmouth* was sent thither, with Orders to evacuate the Place, and blow up all the Works, that they might be of no Use to the *Moors* or *Spaniards* if they should hereafter come to possess it; which was accordingly done.

The Earl of *Danby*, and the Popish Lords committed to the *Tower* for the Plot, had often moved to be bailed, but could not obtain it till now. But by this Time the Dread of Parliaments was over, and the whole Bench of Judges agreed to bail them; and accordingly they were discharged from their Confinement. The Lord *Petre* died about a Month before, protesting to the last that he was innocent of every thing sworn against him.

A.D. 1684. From this Time to the End of the King's Reign was a State of general Tranquillity; the discontented Party having been so long crushed, that their Spirits were quite broke; like a Spring which, if too long and violently restrained, loses at last the Power to restore it self. So that to the King's Death little happened remarkable; the Prosecutions of some of that Side making up the whole History of the Time.

Mr. *Hambden* above-mentioned came to be tried the first. But there was no Evidence against him but Lord *Howard*, without any Circumstance to support his Testimony. So to the end he might not escape, he was ordered to be tried for a Misdemeanor, for proving which one Witness is sufficient. The Jury brought him in Guilty, and a Fine of 40000*l.* was set upon him; which amounted to an Imprisonment for Life.

Two Days after, there came on the Trial of *Laurence Braddon* and *Hugh Speke*, for defaming the Government, by spreading a Report that the Earl of *Essex* had been murdered in the *Tower*. They were found guilty; and the former fined 2000*l.* and the other 1000*l.* Shortly after Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, a Clergyman, was tried for writing a Book, entitled, *Julian the Apostate*, and was fined five hundred Marks for the same. And after him Sir *Samuel Barnardiston*, for scandalizing the Evidence of the late Plot, was fined 10000*l.* Soon after *Titus Oates* was arrested at the Suit of the Duke of *York* in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, for calling him Traytor, and other opprobrious and insolent Language, which naturally flowed from his Mouth. He let Judgment go by Default, upon which he was sentenced in 100000*l.* Damages, which laid him in Prison to the End of this Reign.

Among those who fled at the first break-

ing out of the Plot, was one *Holloway*, who used to make one sometimes at the Meetings at *West's* Chambers, spoken of before. He not appearing nor being found, a Writ of Outlawry was issued against him, and he happened afterwards to be found and apprehended in the *West-Indies*, where he fled for Refuge. He was brought over from thence in the Beginning of the Spring this Year; and April 21. he was brought to the King's-Bench Bar, and was offered a Trial notwithstanding his Outlawry. But he, having probably some Hopes of a Pardon if he saved the Court that Trouble, declined it, and promised to tell all he knew. He confessed he had been drawn into some Meetings with *Rumsey* and the rest, where it had been consulted how to raise an Insurrection, and that himself with two more had undertaken to manage a Design to seize *Bristol*, but that no Progress had been made in these Enterprizes. This Confession not satisfying the Court, he was ordered to be executed.

In June Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who was also in the Proclamation and had fled, was taken at *Leyden* in *Holland*, and brought over here. He was brought to the King's-Bench Bar upon a Writ of Outlawry. He pleaded for himself that he ought to be tried though he was in an Outlawry, there being an express Statute, that if an outlawed Person came in at any Time within a Year, he was to have the Benefit of a Trial notwithstanding his Outlawry. Now there were several Months of the Year to come since his Outlawry; so that his Time for deliberating being not expired, he ought to have the Benefit of the Law, though he was brought by Force; since it was uncertain whether he did not intend to surrender himself before the Year was out. But this Plea was over-ruled, and he received Sentence; and in six Days after was executed.

The remaining Part of the Summer was chiefly employed in the surrendring the old Charters, and receiving new ones, which thro' the Fears of some, and the mad Loyalty of others, was grown into a Fashion among the Corporations in *England*.

In the Middle of November there was a remarkable Trial of one Mr. *Rosewell*, a dissenting Teacher. Three Women of very infamous Characters deposed against him treasonable Words spoken by him at a Conventicle. They swore to two or three Periods, in which they agreed so exactly, that there was not the least Variation in their Depositions. *Rosewell* made a strong Defence. He proved that the Witnesses were lewd and infamous Persons: That he had always been a loyal Man, even in *Cromwell's* Days, and constantly prayed for the King in his Family, and in his Sermons often insisted on the Obligations to Loyalty. As to the Sermon in which the Witnesses swore he delivered those Words, he shewed what his Text was, which the Witnesses could not remember, nor any Thing else in his Sermon but the Words sworn to. His Text and his Sermon had no relation to those Words.

Several



A.D. 1684. Several Witnesses who had heard the Sermon, and some who had taken it in Short Hand, declared he said no such Words; which were in themselves so wild, that no Man in his Wits could be supposed to say them in a publick Place. It was highly improbable that three Women should remember so long a Period upon one single Hearing, and all remember it so as to agree with that Exactness they did. *Rosewell* offered to put the whole upon this short Issue; he would pronounce a Period as long as that to which the Women had sworn, and in the Tone of Voice with which he used to preach, and then leave it to them to repeat it if they could. *Jefferies*, who was Lord Chief Justice, behaved himself very rudely; and gave the Charge with great Severity against the Prisoner. So that in spite of this powerful Defence, the Jury brought him in Guilty. But when the Words sworn against him were examined by Men learned in the Law, they were found not to be Treason by any Statute. So *Rosewell* moved for an Arrest of Judgment, till Counsel should be heard on his Side on that Question. And the King had heard so many Stories of the Infamy of the Witnesses, that he ordered the Court and Council to yield to the Arrest.

He is brought  
off.

While the King was in this Height of Power and Authority to which all submitted, he was still unsatisfied. He saw that his present Greatness was upheld, not as at his first Coming by the united and ardent Love of the whole Nation, but by the Fears of one Part, and the Madness of another; and he had too much Discernment, not to know that his Throne could not long rest with Safety upon such unstable Supports. He resolved therefore to set it once more on its true and steady Foundation; and to that End to give Satisfaction to his People by calling a Parliament, sending away the Duke of York, and recalling the Duke of Monmouth. But this hopeful Project proved abortive by the King's sudden Death.

#### *Works of Piety in this King's Reign.*

AS we have thought fit (and as we hope with good Reason) to deviate so far from Sir Richard Baker's Method, as to give a regular History of Parliamentary Proceedings, which that Author has not done, we have been obliged to give in course an Account of the Taxes and new Laws that occurred in this Reign, which we think it needless therefore to repeat here. And the Affairs of the Church having so near a Connexion with those of the State, we have chosen to put them together. Of Works of Piety, the first in Order is the rebuilding the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, and the other Churches, after their Destruction by Fire in 1666, which was ordered by Act of Parliament to be done at the Publick Expence, by a Tax on Coals. In 1669. the Theatre at Oxford was erected by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1673. a Mathematical School was founded in Christ's

Hospital in London; and in 1681. the Writing School there was built. Also that noble Structure of *Chelsea-College* was begun in this Reign. We may under this Head not improperly mention the *Royal Observatory* at *Greenwich*, founded by the King for making Observations on the Heavenly Bodies.

#### *Casualties in this Reign.*

BESIDES the Plague and the Fire of London, of which we have given an Account above; there happened in the Town of *Northampton* a terrible Fire on the third of September 1675. just nine Years after that of London, by which that whole Town was almost destroyed. And in the Year 1676. a Fire happened in the Borough of *Southwark*, which consumed no fewer than six hundred Houses. Several Comets appeared during this Reign; among which one in 1680. was the most remarkable, which appeared first before Sun-rise, and then again after Sun-set, sending out at its second Appearance a prodigious fiery Tail, of so great a Length that it reached over a fourth Part of the Heavens. In the Year 1683. there happened a most violent Frost, which began about the Middle of December, and continued till February 5, without any considerable Intermission. During this Time the *Thames* was frozen over with a solid and contiguous Ice, in all Places above the Bridge; Booths being built thereon, and thousands of People continually upon it, some passing and repassing about their Affairs, and some diverting themselves. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of January Coaches drove over at *Somerset-House*, and at the Temple. On the 23<sup>d</sup> of January, being the first Day of *Hillary Term*, Lawyers and others, who had Affairs at *Westminster*, went over the Ice from the Temple to *Westminster-Hall*, and back again, as if it had been on Land; some on Foot, and some in Coaches, which carried People between the Temple-Stairs and *Westminster* for the same Fare as by Land, and plyed there for Customers as the Watermen used to do. Below Bridge many Booths were also built, and People crossed the River upon the Ice; and the Sea was so frozen round the Shores of England, France and Holland, that for a Fortnight no Packet-Boat could go out, or come in.

#### *Of his Marriage and Issue.*

HE had but one Wife, *Catharine*, Infanta of Portugal, who survived him, but he had no Issue by her. But his Natural Children were numerous. By Mrs. *Lucy Walters* he had *James Scot*, whom he created Duke of *Monmouth*. By the Lady *Boyle*, Viscountess *Shannon*, he had *Charlotte*, who by Marriage became Countess of *Yarmouth*. By Mrs. *Catharine Pegge*, *Charles Fitz-Charles* created Earl of *Plymouth*. By *Barbara Duchess of Cleveland*, *Charles Fitz-Roy*, created Duke of *Southampton*; *Henry Fitz-Roy*, created Duke of *Grafton*; *George Fitz-Roy*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; and *Charlotte*, married



A.D. 1684. married to the Earl of *Litchfield*. By Mrs. *Eleanor Gwin*, a Player, he had *Charles Beauclerc*, created Duke of *St. Albans*; and another Son, named *James*, who died young. By *Louise de Querouaille*, Duchess of *Portsmouth*, *Charles Lenox*, created Duke of *Richmond*. By Mrs. *Mary Davis*, *Mary Tudor*, married to the Son of the Earl of *Derwentwater*.

*Of his Personage and Conditions.*

**H**IS Person was tall and well made; and his Constitution vigorous. His Complexion was black, and his Features strong and harsh; but dignified and heightened with a certain Majesty that shewed the King, even when he condescended to lay his Character aside, which he often did. He had a very lively and sprightly Turn of Wit, as many of his Sayings testify, which have been carried down by Tradition to our Times; and it had something in it so peculiarly his own, that no Man of any Taste can be easily deceived in any Saying related for his. He had an excellent Understanding, a ready Apprehension, and a sound Judgment; little or no Literature, but a great Compass of Knowledge in the Arts and Sciences. In particular, he was a perfect Master of every Thing that belongs to Sea-Affairs; and understood the Architecture of Ships so well, that he might have been said to be more exact therein than became a Prince; if it were not a Part of Knowledge so peculiarly becoming an *English* King. He was the best bred Man of his Age; and had a most captivating Easiness and Affability of Behaviour, which he knew how to temper so, that he could make himself familiar without losing his Dignity; and it was to his surprizing Mastery in this Art, that he owed the universal Affection his Subjects had for him; who loved their Prince as an agreeable and well-natured Companion, whom they had not so much Cause to admire as a faithful and provident Ruler. He was full of Diffimulation, and very expert at it, yet mostly without any ill Intention, or any other than just to make himself easy for that Moment with those he had to do with; to compass which trifling End, he used as much Art as Men use to employ upon much deeper Designs. With all his Remissness, he would sometimes be so industrious and indefatigable, that no Man would either toil longer, or be able to manage it better. He had such an utter Aversion to any Constraint, that he could not bear the short Formalities his Kingly Office obliged him to pass through; so that with as much Wit as most Men ever had, and as Majestick a Mien, he could not on Premeditation, whether at Parliament or at Council, act the Part of a King for a Moment, either in Words or Gesture, as great a Command as he had of both. This Temper, too much indulged, seems to have produced the many Errors of his Life; for he could not persuade himself to undergo that Restraint which is necessary at the En-

trance into a steady Course of Wisdom and A.D. 1684. Virtue; so that having formed no Scheme of Life but that of pleasing himself, he was tossed to and fro, like a Vessel a-drift, as the various Accidents of his Life, and the different Turns of his Inclinations and Appetites, uncertain and unregulated as the Winds at Sea, chanced to drive him.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

**O**N the first of *February* the King eat little all Day; and came to Lady *Portsmouth* at Night, and called for a Porringer of Spoon-meat. He did not like it, so he eat but little. After he was a-bed he was heard to groan most of the Night. Next Morning there appeared a Paleness and Ghastliness in his Looks; he complained of a heavy Oppression at his Stomach, and about his Heart. He sat down to be shaved, but did not sit straight as he used to do, but continued in a stooping Posture with his Hand upon his Stomach. After this Dr. *King*, a Physician, and a Chymist, came to wait on the King; who being then amusing himself with a Chymical Process for the fixing of Mercury, had sent for him. All the King's Discourse to him was so broken, that he could not tell what he meant. The Doctor amazed at this went out, and meeting the Earl of *Peterborough*, told him the King was in a strange Humour, for he did not speak one Word of Sense. The Earl desired him to go in again to the Bed-Chamber, which he did. And he was scarce entered, when the King, who seemed all the while to be in great Confusion, fell down all on a sudden into a Fit like an Apoplexy; he looked black, and his Eyes turned in his Head. The Physician, who had formerly been an eminent Surgeon, said it was impossible to save the King's Life without letting him Blood immediately, which he accordingly did. The King came out of that Fit, and the Physicians approved of what Dr. *King* had done. But still the Effects of the Fit hung upon him, and he complained very much of a sharp Pain about his Stomach. The Physicians very much apprehended the Return of another Fit, and that it would carry him off; so that he was looked upon as a dead Man. The Bishops came to assist him with those religious Helps that are necessary to a Man in such a dangerous Condition. Dr. *Sancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Compton* Bishop of *London*, and Dr. *Ken* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, spoke to him one after another, on the Subjects proper for such a serious Occasion; but he gave them no Answer. Three Days after another Fit returned; and then the Physicians told the Duke of *York* he was not like to live a Day to an End.

The Duke immediately sent for *Huddleston*, a *Romish* Priest, who had a great Hand in saving the King after the Fight at *Worcester*, and ordered him to be carried to the Lodgings under the Bed-chamber. He was then told, that he was to administer the Sacraments

The King falls down in a Fit.



A.D. 1684. craments to the King according to the Usage of the Church of Rome. As soon as he had prepared every Thing necessary, it was made known to the King; who ordered every Body to leave him, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, and the Door was double locked. Then Huddleston administered to the King the Sacraments used in the Romish Church in such Extremities. This was done in about half an Hour; after which the rest of the Company was called in. Bishop Ken, deeply affected at the Sight of one who had been both a mighty Monarch and a grievous Sinner lying before him in the Agonies of Death, was kindled into a pious Flame, and spoke to him with such an Elevation of Thought and Expression that he was like a Man inspired, but the King took little Notice of what he said. The Bishop pressed him several Times to receive the Sacrament; a Table with the Elements upon it ready to be consecrated being brought into the Room; but the King always declined it, saying, he was very weak. The Bishop then pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in the Communion of the Church of England. But he made no Answer to this, but consented that the Bishop should give him Absolution; which, if he thought at all, he thought could do him no hurt. So the Bishop read over him the Absolution; which seems to have been a charitable Error in that Saint-like Man, seeing the King expressed no Sense of Sorrow for his past Life, or any Purpose of Amendment. The King suffered much inwardly, and often complained he was burnt up within. He bore his Pains, and the Approach of Death with a Calm and Constancy that amazed all who saw him, and knew how he had lived; and once said, he hoped he should climb up to Heaven's Gates.

He gathered all his Strength to speak his last Words to the Duke; to which every one listened with great Attention. He expressed his Kindness to him, and said that he now delivered all over to him with great Joy. He then recommended to him the Duchess of Portsmouth, Mrs. Gwyn, and his Natural Children; but said nothing about Religion, his Queen, his People, or his Servants. The next Day he died, in the fifty fourth Year of his Age; having reigned, if we reckon from his Father's Death, thirty six Years, and eight Days; or, if we reckon from the Restoration, twenty four Years, eight Months, and nine Days.

The King dies on the fourth Day.

Suspensions of his being poisoned.

The critical Time at which the King died, made it suspected that he was poisoned; and many Circumstances were observed that gave Suspicion: But as this is a Matter not positively determined, we shall refer the more curious of our Readers to Dr. Wood's Memoirs; where the Arguments *pro* and *con* are set forth with a Prolixity not proper for this Place.

His Funeral.

His Funeral was solemnized on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February in Westminster-Abbey, whither his Body was brought from the Painted-Chamber, Prince George of Denmark being

chief Mourner, supported by the Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort. The Procession was met by the Dean and Prebendaries at the Entrance into the Church; who having performed the sacred Rites usual on those solemn Occasions, the Body was deposited in a Vault at the East End of the South Isle in King Henry the Seventh's Chappel.

Men of Note in his Time.

THE Return of the King and Constitution was accompanied by that of Learning, Knowledge, and Politeness. The Number of famous Men who appeared and flourished in this Reign is too great to be set down without Danger of omitting many eminent Names; but in conformity to our Author's Method, we shall mention such as at present occur. Among Statesmen we find the Earls of Clarendon and Southampton, two wise and excellent Ministers; whose Prudence and Integrity will make their Memories honoured, while British Liberty is valued. To these we may add Sir William Temple, who obtained so much Honour by his successful Negotiation of the Triple Alliance: As we might also the Lord Halifax, if he did not as much belong to the two following Reigns: And the Earl of Shaftsbury, if the ill Use he made of his great Capacity did not shut him out from that Fame which ought to be the Reward of Virtue only. Many eminent Divines also rose up to withstand the Torrent of Vice and Impiety, which began to overflow at this Time: As More, Wilkins, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Patrick, Lloyd, Sprat, and many others; who have introduced a Way of Writing on Religious Subjects, that has a Solidity and Beauty in it little known or understood before. In Philosophy and Mathematics some towering and gigantick Genius's sprung up: As Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wallis, Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Newton, (afterwards Sir Isaac) Dr. Halley, the living Glory of our Countrey, with others, of great though inferior Fame, who sprung from that Seminary of useful Philosophers, the Royal Society. In Poetry, the great Author of *Paradise Lost*, a Work which raises the Renown of the English Muse as high as that of the Greek or Roman; Dryden, who completed what Waller had begun, in refining the Numbers of the English Versification; with Otway and Lee, famous for Tragedy. In this Reign also was written, though not published, the Earl of Clarendon's noble History of the Rebellion, in which the Excellencies of the two great Roman Historians, Tacitus and Livy, are united; the profound Politicks of the one being joined to the flowing Eloquence of the other. Another admirable Performance of the same kind, the History of the Reformation by Dr. Burnet, since Bishop of Salisbury, appeared in this Reign. The Art of War was so little exercised after the Restoration, that the Military Genius had no Occasion to shine out on Land; and the Names of those who signa-



A.D.1684. lized themselves at Sea, have already been mentioned in the Course of the History.

MAYORS and SHERIFFS of LONDON in this King's Reign.

In 1660.

SIR Thomas Alleyne, Mayor.  
William Bolton, William Peake, Sheriffs.

In 1661.

Sir Richard Brown, Mayor.  
Francis Menbil, Samuel Starling, Sheriffs.

In 1662.

Sir John Frederick, Mayor.  
Sir Thomas Bludworth, Sir William Turner, Sheriffs.

In 1663.

Sir John Robinson, Mayor.  
Sir Richard Ford, Sir Richard Rives, Sheriffs.

In 1664.

Sir Anthony Bateman, Mayor.  
George Waterman, Charles Doe, Sheriffs.

In 1665.

Sir John Lawrence, Mayor.  
Robert Hanson, William Hooker, Sheriffs.

In 1666.

Sir Thomas Bludworth, Mayor.  
Sir Robert Viner, Sir Joseph Sheldon, Sheriffs.

In 1667.

Sir William Bolton, Mayor.  
Sir Dennis Gawden, Sir Thomas Davies, Sheriffs.

In 1668.

Sir William Peake, Mayor.  
John Forth, Francis Chaplin, Sheriffs.

In 1669.

Sir William Turner, Mayor.  
John Smith, James Edwards, Sheriffs.

In 1670.

Sir Samuel Starling, Mayor.  
Dannet Forth, William Gomelden, Patience Ward, Sheriffs.

In 1671.

Sir Richard Ford, Mayor.  
Jonathan Dawes, Robert Clayton, John Moor, Sheriffs.

In 1672.

Sir George Waterman, Mayor.  
Sir William Pritchard, Sir James Smith, Sheriffs.

In 1673.

Sir Robert Hanson, Mayor.  
Henry Tulse, Robert Geffery, Sheriffs.

In 1674.

Sir William Hooker, Mayor.  
Sir Nathanael Herne, John Letbieulier, Sheriffs.

In 1675.

Sir Robert Vyner, Mayor.  
Thomas Gold, John Shorter, Sheriffs.

In 1676.

Sir Joseph Sheldon, Mayor.  
John Peake, Thomas Stampe, Sheriffs.

In 1677.

Sir Thomas Davies, Mayor.  
William Rawstone, Thomas Beckford, Sheriffs.

In 1678.

Sir Francis Chaplin, Mayor.  
Richard How, John Chapman, Sheriffs.

In 1679.

Sir James Edwards, Mayor.  
Jonathan Raymond, Simon Lewis, Sheriffs.

In 1680.

Sir Robert Clayton, Mayor.  
Slingsby Bethell, Henry Cornish, Sheriffs.

In 1681.

Sir Patience Ward, Mayor.  
Thomas Pilkington, Samuel Skute, Sheriffs.

In 1682.

Sir John Moore, Mayor.  
Dudley North, Peter Rich, Sheriffs.

In 1683.

Sir William Pritchard, Mayor.  
Peter Daniel, Samuel Dashwood, Sheriffs.

In 1684.

Sir Henry Tulse, Mayor.  
William Goslin, Peter Vandeput, Sheriffs.

A.D.1684.



# THE REIGN

OF

## King JAMES II.

A.D. 1685.

The Duke  
of York made  
King.

His excellent  
Declaration.

**A**S soon as King *Charles* was dead, the Crown devolved upon *James* the Duke of *York*, his Brother. On the same Day he came to the Privy-Council, and made a Declaration as is usual at the Entrance into Government. He declared that he would endeavour to follow the Example of his Brother, more especially in his great Clemency and Tendernefs to his People: That he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that was not the only Story that was made of him; and that on the contrary, he should make it his Endeavour to preserve the Government, both in Church and State, as by Law established. That he knew the Principles of the Church of *England* were for Monarchy; and that the Members of it had shewed themselves good and loyal Subjects; therefore he would always take Care of it, defend and support it: That he knew the Laws of *England* were sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wish: And that as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property; Concluding, that as he had often ventured his Life in Defence of this Nation, so he would go as far as any Man in preserving it in all its just Rights and Liberties.

The King's Friends were marvellously delighted with this truly Royal Declaration, and his Enemies were satisfied, or at least silenced by it. So that this Declaration was magnified by all as a Security for our Religion, Laws and Liberties, of the strongest Nature that could be given; and the more, because it was the King's voluntary Act, which his Honour would not suffer him to break. The common Phrase was, *We have now the Word of a King, and a Word never yet broken.* And a Set of Addresses came from all the Parts of *England*, conceived in such Terms as shewed that no Fears or Jealousies were left.

In this universal Satisfaction two Things done by him, were passed over with less

Animadversion than they deserved. The first was, that on the *Sunday* immediately following he went openly to Mass; which expressed an ill-boding Zeal, that could not contain itself within the Limits of a decent and prudent Moderation. The second was his issuing out a Proclamation to cause the Customs and Excise to be levied as before his Brother's Death. Now as these Revenues had been settled on the late King only for Life, the Power of collecting the same had determined at his Death, and could not legally be renewed without Consent of Parliament. It is true, that no Doubt could be made that the Parliament (which was expected to sit very soon) would grant those Duties; but still as none was yet in being, the Thing was both illegal, and of dangerous Example. But though it caused some Whispers among watchful and discerning Men, the Generality were little affected by it.

To remove the Prejudices entertained in relation to a Popish King, two Papers were published which were attested by the King to have been found in his late Brother's strong Box. The Scope of these two Papers was to shew the Necessity of a constantly visible Church, and of a Guide in Matters of Faith; which could only mean the Church of *Rome*. The Publication of them tended to procure favourable Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*, from the Approbation of so popular a Prince as King *Charles II.* and to shew by his Example, that the Church of *England* might be safe under a Monarch of that Religion.

The hasty Advances made by the King in favour of his Religion, were taken more Notice of by Foreigners than by our own Nation. Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, a wise and diligent Minister, and well acquainted with the Temper and Affairs of *England*, took the Liberty in a private Audience he had soon after of the King, to tell him, that he saw several Priests about him, who would importune him to alter the established Religion in *England*, but that he in-

8 Y

treated

A.D. 1685.

Published two  
Papers of the  
late King's.

The King  
warned of  
his hasty Pro-  
ceedings.



A.D. 1685. treated his Majesty not to give Ear to them; for that if he did, he would repent of it too late. It is said, the King took this Freedom ill; and asked the Ambassador in a Passion, whether in *Spain* they did not advise with their Confessors; to which *Ronquillo* answered briskly, Yes, Sir, we do, and that's the Reason our Affairs go so ill. It is said also that Pope *Innocent XI.* writing to the King on his Accession to the Throne, told him that he was highly pleased with his Majesty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but that he feared it might push him too far, and that he might bring upon it a great Prejudice, and upon himself with it, by attempting that, which his Holiness was well assured by long Experience, could not succeed. Such early Warnings arrived to this unfortunate Prince!

His Conduct  
in other Mat-  
ters agreeable  
and popular.

In other Matters he behaved himself in a very popular Manner. There was a Lady near the Court, one Mrs. *Sidley*, by whom he had had several Children. But now he gave a solemn Promise to his Queen and his Priests, that he would see her no more. But he forgot this Promise in some Time. He spake openly against Lewdness, and declared a Detestation of Drunkenness. He sat many Hours in a Day at the Council, the Treasury, and the Admiralty; for he understood Sea-Affairs extremely well, and being naturally frugal, would look into his Revenue himself. These Beginnings were very promising, and Men said, there would now be a Reign of Action, and not of Sloth and Luxury as the last. He affected to stand upon high Terms with *France*, and to treat its haughty Monarch upon the Foot of Equality. And when he sent the Lord *Churchill* over with the Compliments upon his Brother's Death, he ordered him to observe nicely the Ceremonies and Respects used to him. And when the *Mareschal de Lorge* came over with an Answer to the same, Care was taken at the Court of *England* to observe those Forms to a Tittle. He also gave out that he would live in a particular Confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*. And because *Cbudleigh*, his Envoy, had been wanting in his Respect and Observance to the Prince, he recalled him. All which Things were very acceptable, and well taken.

Oates's Trial.

The first remarkable Occurrence was the Trial of Doctor *Titus Oates* for Perjury, upon two Indictments. He had been arrested at the End of the late Reign in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the present King, when Duke of *York*, whom he had very insolently abused in Words. The Jury gave one hundred Thousand Pounds Damages, which laid him in Prison. He was afterwards indicted for Perjury, and had pleaded Not Guilty to two Indictments for that Offence; but the Trial being put off, the late King's Death intervened. The Indictments alledged against him were, first that he had sworn that a treasonable Consult was held by the Jesuits, in the Strand in *London*, April 24, 1678. where he was present; whereas he was at no Con-

sult at all, nor in *England* at that Time. A.D. 1685. The second was for swearing, that *Ireland*, one of the Persons executed for the Popish Plot, was in *London* on the twelfth of *August*, and first and second of *September* of the same Year; whereas *Ireland* was at those Times in *Staffordshire*. The Witnesses examined were the same as had given Evidence at the Trials; namely, the St. Omer's Scholars, one of which had since taken Orders in the Church of *England*, who swore to the first Indictment; and the Relations and Acquaintance of *Ireland*, who swore to the second. The Trials held two Days, and the Jury found *Oates* Guilty of both Indictments. The Sentence against him was, that he should be deprived of his Canonical Habit, that he should stand three Times in the Pillory, and afterwards be whipped, first from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and two Days after from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; besides which, he was to remain a Prisoner during Life, and to stand five Times in the Pillory, every Year. This Sentence was censured as too severe for the Mildness of the *English* Laws, more especially after the Whipping had been executed; which being at once a dismal and publick Spectacle, wrought upon the compassionate Tempers of *Englishmen*, to consider him with more Pity than perhaps he deserved.

Found Guilty, and receives a severe Sentence.

Not long after *Thomas Dangerfield* was also convicted for writing and publishing his Narrative about the *Meal-Tub* Plot, and sentenced to be whipped, one Day from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and the next Day from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. It happened, as he returned the first Day in a Coach from that dreadful Execution, one Mr. *Robert Frances*, a Barrister of *Grey's-Inn*, came to the Coach Door, where it chanced to stop, and used indiscreetly some taunting Words to him, upon which *Dangerfield* spit in his Face. The other upon this thrust a little Cane he had at him, and struck him under, or as some say, in the Eye; with the Pain of which, joined with that of his Whipping, he died in a few Hours. *Frances* upon this was apprehended, condemned and executed; the Act having so ill an Appearance that his Life could not be saved, though he professed to the last Moment, that it was a Thing purely accidental, and without any premeditated Malice.

*Dangerfield's* Trial and Sentence.

The King and Queen being crowned with great Solemnity, Writs were issued out to call a Parliament, to assemble on the nineteenth of *May*. In the mean Time while all Things were in this apparent Tranquillity, a Design was formed by some Malecontents in *Holland*, to raise a Rebellion both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Earl of *Argyle* had been condemned in *Scotland* about three Years before, for a Fact which could not easily be construed to a Fault, much less to High-Treason. But he made a Shift to escape from that unjust Sentence, and to get over into *Holland*. He there met and conversed with many other disaffected Persons of both Nations; with whom he formed a Project to fail

The Earl of *Argyle* projects a Rebellion.



A.D. 1685. fail to Scotland; where his Estate and Interest were great, and the Discontented numerous. His declared Intentions were to redress the Grievances the Kingdom of Scotland suffered under the Government of the Duke of York; but the secret Scheme laid among his Party was, as 'tis said, to reduce the Monarchy there to a Commonwealth. The Duke of Monmouth, who was obliged to take Shelter in Holland after his Difference with King Charles, mentioned above, used to converse sometimes with these People, who persuaded him to make an Attempt upon England, at the same Time they began the Enterprize in Scotland. The English Malecontents agreed to this, and pressed it also upon him. They urged to him that he was so popular, especially in the West of England, that as soon as he should shew himself, he would have Multitudes at his Command. That the City of London was so disaffected to the King, that when he should have sent away some Part of his Troops to meet the Danger in Scotland, he would be obliged to keep the rest about him for the Safety of his Person. So that the Duke would have full Time to assemble an Army, and go and meet him upon equal Terms.

The Duke of Monmouth persuaded to make an Attempt on England.

The Duke of Monmouth had by this Time tasted so much of the Changes of Life, as had disposed him to Seriousness and Retirement and Repose, more than to any such laborious and turbulent Undertakings. Besides this, he was in absolute Want of all Necessaries for such an Enterprize; for he had neither Money to pay his Soldiers, if he should be able to raise any, nor Officers to conduct them. So that he refused to hearken to this disagreeable and hazardous Proposal, and took a Resolution to go and spend the Summer in Sweden; being obliged to leave Holland at the Instance of King James, with whom the States and the Prince of Orange were forced to comply.

He refuses it at first.

The Duke of Monmouth's little Council consisted chiefly of Lord Grey of Werk, Mr. Wade, and Colonel Matthews, Englishmen; and Mr. Fletcher, and Robert Ferguson, Scots. The two first of these were violently set upon the Attempt; and their Importunity, joined with that of the Earl of Argyle, at length over-ruled the Duke's own Inclination and Judgment, and the Advice of the others.

But is at last prevailed on.

Argyle fails to Scotland.

The Earl of Argyle, who was first ready, set Sail with three small Vessels for Scotland, and had a very prosperous Voyage. He came first to the Isles of Orkney, where he sent his Boat ashore to get Intelligence: but the Boat was stopped; and the Men secured; and the Wind chopping about, he was obliged to sail away, and leave them. The Winds were afterwards very favourable, and turned as his Occasions required; so that in a very few Days he arrived in Argyleshire, his own Country. But the Notice that had been sent from Orkney of his coming, enabled the Government to prevent him, and to seize on most of the Gentlemen of his Country, which saved them, though it

helped on his Ruin. Yet he got between A.D. 1685. three and four Thousand of his Highlanders about him. He issued out two Declarations, the one in the Name of the whole Party, the other in the Name of the Earl alone; summoning all Scotchmen in general, and the Earl's Relations and Vassals in particular, to join with them.

In the mean Time the Parliament of England met. The King's Speech was to the same Effect as his Declaration; to which he added, that in giving those Assurances, he used the same Words as at his coming to the Crown, to shew that he then spoke them not by Chance, and consequently, that they might firmly rely upon a Promise so solemnly made. He then desired to have his Brother's Revenue settled upon him; and lastly acquainted them with the Earl of Argyle's Invasion of Scotland, the Account of which was just arrived.

The Parliament meets.

The Houses immediately joined in an Address of Thanks for the King's gracious Declaration confirmed by his Speech; to which the King answered, *They should always find him as good as his Word.* The Commons voted the King the same Revenue for Life, as had been settled on his Brother. And a joint Resolution passed both Houses, that they would stand by and assist the King with their Lives and Fortunes against the Earl of Argyle; and all Rebels and Traitors whatever.

But the Earl's Attempt gave the King no great Trouble. Few Persons came in to him, and the other Noblemen and Gentlemen raised their Vassals, and pressed him so close, in Conjunction with the regular Troops, that he was obliged to cross over, by the Help of his Ships, into an Island called Bute. He stayed in that Island, till he had eat it up, and then came over again into Argyleshire; where he fortified a Castle called Ellengreg, and lodged there the Arms and Ammunition he had brought with him; ordering his Ships to anchor near it, to secure the same from any Attempts by Sea. But a Squadron of the King's Ships, which was pursuing him, having Intelligence of this, soon mastered the Earl's Vessels, and then the Castle itself, with the Magazine laid up there. This Loss struck Terror into all of his Party, who began to desert; those who remained with him, retreating before the King's Troops, and covering themselves behind Rivers and Marshes. But at last they found themselves so closely followed, that they separated by Night into small Parties, taking different Ways. The Earl of Argyle, with that Body which accompanied him, marched towards Galloway. But the Guides, through Malice or Mistake, led his Company into a Bog, where their Horses stuck fast, and most of the Riders were obliged to leave them, and shift for themselves on Foot. The Earl got out his own Horse, and rode on alone, through unknown and private Ways, till he came to the Banks of the River Clyde. Here he was met by two sturdy Fellows, who guessing he might be one

Argyle miscarries in his Attempt.



A.D. 1685. one of the Party, though they knew not who he was, bid him stand and surrender; but he answered them with a Pistol Shot, which missed them. They were armed as well as he, and fired at him again, and one of their Bullets wounded him. He would then have rode away, but his Horse was utterly spent, and could scarce move; upon which he dismounted, and taking his Pistols with him, endeavoured to escape on Foot; and made to the River, designing to wade or swim across it. He was got into the Water, almost up to the Neck, when a Countreyman, who saw him fighting with the other two, ran in after him, with a Pistol in his Hand. The Earl would have made a Shot at him, but his Pistol missed Fire; and the other gave him a Wound in the Head, upon which he fell, crying out, *Oh! unfortunate Argyle!* He was then seized, and carried to *Edinburgh*, where he was very barbarously used; being brought into the Town bareheaded, his Hands bound behind him, and the Hangman walking before him with his Ax. In a few Days after he was beheaded, and suffered with a Calmness and Serenity that was very extraordinary after such a long Train of Misfortunes.

He is taken and beheaded.

Rumbold taken and hanged.

And Aileffe.

The Duke of Monmouth sets Sail.

*Richard Rumbold* the Maltster, mentioned above, as Master of the *Rye-House*, at which it was said that Conspiracy was to be perpetrated, was taken after a stout Resistance, and hanged. He denied at his Death the Truth of that Plot. He confessed, that at *West's* Chambers many Propositions were made for killing the King and Duke, upon which he said, it might have been executed near his House, and some Discourse followed about the Manner of doing this; but that it was all but Talk, and nothing was laid, or so much as resolved on. One *Aileffe*, concerned in the same Conspiracy was also taken; who, with *Rumbold*, chose rather to run Fortunes with *Argyle*, than with the Duke of *Monmouth*, though they were *Englishmen*. This Man soon after he was taken, gave himself several Stabs with a Penknife; and thinking he had killed himself, cried out, *That now he defied his Enemies*. But his Wounds proved not mortal, so that he was brought up to *London*, it being believed he could make Discoveries. But he shewed a fullen obdurate Temper; and when he was brought before the King, treated him in an unbecoming Manner. So that he suffered also with the rest.

This *Scotch* Alarm was not fully quieted, before another and more dangerous one was heard from the West. The Duke of *Monmouth* having been induced to promise *Argyle* his Concurrence, set Sail from *Holland* three Weeks after the Earl, but in such an Equipage, and with such Preparations, as scarce ever any Invader set out with before. He had nothing to raise Money by, but the pawning his own Jewels, and those of the Lady *Wentworth*, who being desperately in Love with him, followed him beyond Sea. With this Money he purchased Arms for five Thousand Men, and hired a Man of

War of thirty Guns, and three small Vessels, which was all his Fleet; on Board of which he went with about eighty two Persons, which composed his Army. And so wonderful and unaccountable are human Events, that with this slender Attendance and Provision, he was enabled in six Weeks, to bid so fair for one of the brightest Crowns in *Europe*, that nothing but a Sett of Misfortunes, as unaccountable as his Success, frustrated his Hopes and Attempt.

King *James's* Minister in *Holland* had some Notice of his Designs, and procured the Seizure of one of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Ships; but the rest got away, and sailed out of the *Texel*. They met such bad Weather, and other cross Accidents, that they were nineteen Days at Sea; so that it was the greatest Wonder imaginable they did not fall in with some of the King's Fleet, who lay to intercept them. But they escaped that Danger, and landed safely at *Lyme*, a Port in *Dorsetshire*, and went ashore that Afternoon. As soon as all were landed, the Duke commanded Silence, and falling on his Knees, implored the Protection of Heaven in a short Prayer. Then he drew his Sword, and marched at the Head of his Men into the Market Place, where he set up his Standard, and mustered his little Troop. Their Appearance was not at all encouraging, their Number being so small; but the Errand they came on, and their Leader, were so acceptable, that several immediately joined them. Then a Declaration was read, rehearsing and aggravating all the Blemishes and ill Conduct of the late Reign, and laying the same to the Charge of the Duke of *York*. Besides this, he was accused of the burning of *London*, the Popish Plot, the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, and even the poisoning of his own Brother. Notice was also taken of the levying the Customs and Excise without Consent of Parliament. But the Whole was ill written, and many Things insisted on that were neither just nor reasonable.

He lands in Dorsetshire.

He publishes a Declaration.

The Countrey People came in to join him in such Numbers, that he soon wanted both Arms and Officers for them. He had the whole Countrey open to him for some Time, which he spent in visiting the neighbouring Places, and in training and animating his Men. His own Behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was Master of their Hearts as much as possible. But he met with two very ominous Misadventures. The Lord *Grey*, for whom he designed the Command of the Horse, was sent out with a Party; but in his Way meeting with some of the Militia, he fled immediately, and abandoned his Men. But the Soldiers, either not knowing, or not minding the Absence of their Commander, stood their Ground; and the Militia ran from them. This very much perplexed the Duke of *Monmouth*, not knowing what to do when the Person whom he intended to place next himself in the Command, had made himself so infamous by his Cowardise. He had intended to have joined Mr.

He draws together a considerable Force.

Meets with two Misfortunes.



A.D.1685. Mr. *Fletcher* with him in the Command of the Horse, who was a Man of many Virtues, and wanted neither Courage nor Fidelity. But another Mischance had made it necessary to part with him before. It seems he was sent out upon another Party, and wanting an Horse, took that of a Person who was absent, thinking all Things were in common that would advance the Cause. The Owner of the Horse at *Fletcher's* Return, reproached him in very injurious Terms, for taking his Horse without his Leave. *Fletcher* bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his Temper; for with his good Qualities, he had one ill One, of being extravagantly passionate. But the other persisting in his foul Language, and offering a Switch or a Cane, he drew out a Pistol and shot him dead upon the Place. This inflamed the Countrey People, who came in a Body to demand Justice; so that the Duke was obliged and glad to save him by sending him away.

The Loyalty of the Parliament to the King upon this Occasion.

When the Report of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Landing came to *London*, it was received by both Houses with all the Resentment of the most Loyal Subjects. An Address of Lives and Fortunes was immediately presented, and a Bill of Attainder of the Duke and all his Accomplices passed with as much Celerity as might be; and the King was prayed to issue out his Proclamation, offering five Thousand Pounds Reward to any that should take the Duke of *Monmouth* alive or dead. This Bill of Attainder, with others of less Importance, receiving the Royal Assent soon after, the Parliament broke up.

The Parliament breaks up.  
The Duke of *Monmouth's* Actions.

The Duke of *Monmouth* in about nine Days had got an Army of near five Thousand Men, and might have had as many more, could he have furnished them with Arms, so entirely were the People devoted to him. But these were of the common Sort chiefly; very few were of the better Rank. He spent nine Days after his Arrival in training his Men, and in slow Marches round the Countrey, where there were none to oppose him but the Militia, who fled before him; as some say, by Order from above, to furnish a Pretence, which was afterwards laid hold on, for keeping a Standing-Army. On the tenth Day he took a very extraordinary and unexpected Step; and proclaimed himself King of *England, Scotland, &c.* What the Reasons were of this Proceeding, which was directly contrary to his Declaration, is not very well known. There were some for it, as well as against it; and the Thing had no remarkable Consequences, good or bad. He then marched his Army towards *Bristol*, through *Bridgewater* and *Glastenbury*, and came within three Miles of it. Here a Party of his Horse was met by some of the King's, and a Skirmish rose between them; which for want of good Officers and Horses, ended to the Disadvantage of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Men.

His Army discouraged.

This Misfortune stopped the Duke's Progress to *Bristol*, and cast a Damp over all his Army. Nevertheless some of the Towns-

men of *Bristol* came out to him, and offered to conduct his Army thither by private Ways, and assured him, that upon his Entrance, he would find no Resistance. But he was dejected, and refused to run the Hazard; and so went away to *Bath*, which he summoned to surrender. But the Place being well provided, rejected his Summons; and he not caring to spend Time in Sieges, went on to *Philips-Norton*, where he cut off part of a Troop of Horse of the King's. From thence he came to *Frome*, where he was received with great Joy, and might have increased his Numbers in some good Proportion, but that the Inhabitants had been all disarmed a few Days before. But at this Place he received the dismal News of the utter Defeat of the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*; and what was yet worse, that a Body of Regular Forces was advancing towards him, together with a Train of Artillery. This struck his Party with such a Consternation, that it was once resolved, that all who came over with the Duke, should take Horse that Night, and make the best of their Way to the nearest Harbour; and seizing a Ship, set Sail for *Holland*. But this cowardly Motion was laid aside afterwards, and they agreed to stand the Fortune of one decisive Field.

Their Army which lay at *Bridgewater*, was encompassed on all Sides, except towards the Sea, by the Militia of *Devonshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire*, who were posted all round them. The King's Regular Forces were incamped at *Sedgmore*, not very far from *Bridgewater*; the Horse and Dragoons lying every Night in the neighbouring Town, and the Foot under their Tents. The Earl of *Feverham* their General, is said to have neglected the sending out for Intelligence; while the Duke of *Monmouth* was well furnished with it, by the good Affections of the Countrey to him. This gave the Duke an Opportunity of making one bold Effort for his Safety and Glory, which without great Misfortune or Treachery, would probably have succeeded.

He is surrounded, but resolves on a bold Attempt.

The Countrey People gave him Notice, that at the Earl of *Feverham's* Camp, the Orders and Discipline of War were very remissly observed; the Horsemen being either sleeping or drinking every Night in the Town where they were quartered, and the Foot revelling in the Camp, with as much Security as if no Enemy were near. Upon this Advice he formed a Design to fall upon them in this Disorder. About eleven o'Clock at Night he set out with all imaginable Silence, with a Guide who knew the Countrey, and was to lead them about the safest and most private Way. He marched on as to a certain Victory; for there was no Apprehension of his coming among the King's Forces, and the Duke himself said, they should have nothing to do, but to lock up the Stable Doors, and take the Troopers in their Beds. But this hopeful Scheme was disappointed by a Train of unaccountable Misfortunes.

He attacks the King's Forces in the Night.



A.D. 1685. The Guide lost his Way, which retarded their Arrival near an Hour; and it happened besides, that he brought them to the only Place in the Camp, where any Care or Thought was used to prevent a Surprise. The first Body of the King's Troops they fell in with, was a *Scotch* Regiment, under the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who were all old Soldiers, accustomed to Vigilance and Caution. These Men remembered that an Enemy was near, and kept a good Watch, and slept under their Arms. To complete the Mischance, while the Duke was yet at a great Distance from these attentive Veterans, a Pistol was fired among his Forces. Those experienced Troops immediately took the Alarm, and put themselves in Order; and from them the Call to Arms flew in a Moment throughout the King's Camp. The *Scotch* Battallion being first ready, kept the Duke of *Monmouth's* Forces employed, while the others put themselves in Order. Then the Fight began. *Monmouth's* Foot disputed the Field with incredible Vigour and Vivacity, and galled the King's Forces with their Shot so terribly, that those old Soldiers could hardly abide their Fury. The Battle had certainly been lost on the King's Side, had the Horse behaved themselves suitably. But they were ill mounted, and ill commanded; the Lord *Grey*, who had behaved himself so basely before, being by an unaccountable Weakness of the Duke of *Monmouth*, continued in his Post. So that though there were near a Thousand of them, they fled before a Quarter of the Number of the King's Horse; who having driven them out of the Field, came back, and fell upon the Rear of those brave Foot. It was then no longer a Fight but a Slaughter; the Cavalry breaking in upon the Battallions behind, and trampling them down; so that being attacked on all Sides, and their Ranks broke into, that excellent Body of Infantry was disordered and dispersed; and all were driven to shift for themselves. More of them were killed in the Pursuit, than in the Fight; for having lost that Order which was their Security, they became an easie Prey to the Horsemen that followed them.

The Fight at  
Sedgmore.

The Duke of  
*Monmouth's*  
Forces routed.

Three hundred of them were slain in the Fight, a Thousand in the Pursuit, and as many taken. The Duke of *Monmouth* behaved himself well during the Fight; but seeing the Battle lost, he left the Field, with about fifty Horse. But these being soon dispersed, he rode on, accompanied with only a *German* Count, who came over with him. He took his Way towards *Dorsetshire*, and went on till his Horse could carry him no farther; upon which he quitted him, and trusted to his Feet. In this Manner they two wandered about for two Days, when they separated, and about four Hours after the *German* Count was taken. The whole Countrey was up in Quest of the Duke for the Sake of the Reward, and by the Count's Information they were encouraged to look for him thereabouts; and he was found not long after in a Ditch covered with Fern,

He is taken.

with some green Pease in his Pocket; his Spirits being quite spent with the Fatigue he had undergone. A.D. 1685.

He wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Feverham*, He begs his Life meanly. the Queen, and the Queen Dowager, to intercede with the King for him; and another to the King himself, in which he begged his Life too meanly. He was brought up to *London*, and carried to the King at *Whitehall*. He here begged his Life again, with the same Submission as before, and with many Tears, but in vain. The Queen is said to have treated him with an Arrogance and Insolence, that was very unbecoming. This Interview was on a *Monday*, and he was ordered for Execution the *Wednesday* following. But is ordered for Execution.

Doctor *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Ken*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, with Doctor *Tenison*, and Doctor *Hooper*, were appointed to attend him, to prepare him for the last Hour. They laid before him the Sin of his Rebellion, to as little Purpose as is usually done to Persons under those Circumstances. He desired them not to make him uneasy with that Discourse, but to turn to other Matters. His Duchess, whom he had long forsaken, came to him; but he treated her with an unbecoming Coldness and Neglect. During his Acquaintance with the Lady *Wentworth*, she had filled him with such Enthusiastical Notions, that he verily believed that what they did was approved of God. And when the Bishops pressed that Sin upon him, he told them he had prayed, that if his Affection to that Lady were unlawful, it might cease; but his Affection continuing, he concluded it was not sinful. And all the Pains they took to convince him of the Unlawfulness of that Course of Life was in vain. His Behaviour.

When he went to the Scaffold, he was attended by a strong Guard, who are reported to have had Orders to shoot him, if any should endeavour his Rescue; an Attempt of that kind being talked of and apprehended; for which Reason all the Avenues to *Tower-Hill* were secured by Soldiers. He behaved himself at the Place of Execution with a Cheerfulness and Magnanimity that would have been very becoming, had he not continued to persist in justifying his open Adultery with the Lady *Wentworth*. He said but little, except that he was sorry for the Blood shed in his Attempt; but that he had ever meant well to the Nation. He prayed there with the Divines that attended him. When he rose from his Knees, he spoke to the Headsmen to do his Business well; saying, that if he gave him two or three Strokes, he should not be able to lie without turning. He then gave him six Guineas, and four more to a Stander-by, which he ordered him to give the Executioner, if he did his Business well, otherwise not. The Executioner was in great Disorder, trembling all over; and gave him first a light Stroke, at which he turned and looked at him. Then the Duke laid him down again, and the Headsmen gave him two Strokes more, but then threw down the Axe, and cried out, that he could not go on. He is executed.



A.D. 1685. on. But the Sheriff with Threats obliged him to take it up again; and so at two Strokes more he cut off his Head.

His Character.

Thus died this unfortunate young Nobleman, having had his full Share of the Vicissitudes of Life. No Man was ever a greater Proof of the Treachery that lies hid under the Smiles of Fortune; for the Adversities of his latter Years could not have been brought upon him, without that overflowing Prosperity that went before. But the Favour of the King and People undid him, and drew him, as it were by Force, out of that safe Obscurity which guarded and sheltered the rest of his Father's Natural Children. By those fair and promising Winds he was invited to trust himself to the dangerous and tempestuous Ocean of ambitious Desires and Attempts; where wanting Judgment to be his own Pilot, he committed himself to the Skill of others; by whose Errors or ill Intentions he was tossed about among Rocks, and Shoals, and Sands, till he struck against that by which he suffered a total Shipwreck. He was brave in his Person, and understood Military Affairs well. The rest of his Character may be summed up in one Word, Softness and Gentleness of Temper; from which Source all the Accidents of his Life seemed to flow. By that he was drawn in to the Vices and Debauchery of a corrupted Court; by that he became popular; by that he was brought to entertain the Suggestions of ill-designing Men, who represented to him that his Countrey's Safety demanded his Interposition; and lastly, by that he was engaged against his own Inclination and Judgment, in this last Attempt, which ended in his Overthrow and Ruin.

The Lord Grey taken, but pardoned.

The Lord Grey, who was taken just before the Duke of Monmouth, was expected to go next. But the publick Expectations were here disappointed, which raised Speculations as if he had been employed to betray the Duke. But others say that he bought off his Life with a great Sum of Money, and making Discoveries.

A severe Execution of the Duke's Party.

Every Prison in the West was full of the Duke of Monmouth's Followers, taken in or after the Fight at Sedgmore. To try these Persons, a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was sent down with the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, who was also attended by a Body of Troops under Colonel Kirk. These Men went through the Countrey like a Pestilence. At Winchester, Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton and Wells, above five hundred Persons were condemned, of whom two hundred and thirty were executed, and their Quarters set up in the principal Places and Roads. Nor would the Number of the Executed have been so small, had not the Cruelty of the Judge often yielded to his Avarice; but none were saved, who did not purchase their Lives, except some few, who in Mercy were sold for Slaves to America. The barbarous Manner in which this was done, was equal to the Thing it self. Some of the Prisoners were hanged by Kirk

without Form of Law, himself and his Company looking on with Unconcern from an Entertainment they were at. At every new Health a Prisoner was hanged. And they were so brutish, that observing the shaking of the Legs of the poor Wretches, they cried out, that they were dancing; and ordered Musick to be brought to them.

These and the like Barbarities, too many to be particularly related, one would chuse to impute to the cruel Temper of those who committed them, rather than to the King's Direction or Approbation. But it was at best a great Error in the King to treat Jefferies with those Marks of Favour he shewed him at this Time. He made him Lord Chancellor during his Absence; and when he came to pay his Duty at his Return, the King drew a Diamond Ring from his Finger, and presented it to him, as a Token of his Satisfaction in his Conduct. These Things made an Impression upon the Minds of the People to the King's Disadvantage, of which he will hereafter find the ill Effects.

The Severity of the Government was also felt in the City. Alderman Cornish, who had been a violent Prosecutor of the Popish Plot, was taken up on a Charge of High-Treason. He was a Man of no Depth, and by Consequence violent in his Way. He had pursued the Lord Stafford with great Indecency; and had been too busy in packing those Ignoramus Juries, which were a few Years ago the Scandal of the Nation and Times. But in all this Conduct, though exceptionable enough, he was rather weak than wicked; so that he could not be said to have merited the Hardships he now underwent. He was clapped up in Newgate close Prisoner, without the Use of Pen, Ink or Paper, for five Days; and on the fifth Day, which was Saturday, he had Notice that he was to take his Trial on the Monday following, on an Indictment of High-Treason. His Children petitioned for a longer Time for Preparation, alledging not only the Reasonableness of the Thing, but that a material Witness was an hundred and forty Miles off. But it was answered by the Attorney-General, that he had not deserved so well of the Government to have his Trial delayed; as if what he requested was a Favour, and could be denied without Injustice. So he was compelled to plead on the Day appointed. The Indictment was for conspiring against King Charles the Second in 1682. and that though he knew the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Russell, and Sir Thomas Armstrong to be Traitors, he had promised to be assisting in their Treasons. The Evidence against him was Rumsey, who had sworn against the Lord Russell. He deposed that a treasonable Declaration was read in the Presence of Mr. Cornish, at the House of Sheppard, a Wine Merchant, where the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, and others, were assembled, of which Mr. Cornish expressed his Approbation, and promised to join in it. Being asked, why he had never declared this before, he answered it was out of Kindness



A.D.1685. nefs to Mr. Cornish. He said farther, that though he had known Mr. Cornish for fourteen Years, he never heard him say one Word of those Matters before or after that single Time. To keep up the Form of two Witnesses, one Goodenough was called. He swore to some general Expressions of Mr. Cornish at another Place and Time; which had they been true, were too loose to lay any Strefs on. The Prisoner in his Defence, urged the Improbability that he should be with Rumsey once at a traiterous Consult, and never say one Word to him on such a Subject before or since. He brought Witnesses to prove that Goodenough was at Enmity with him. He insisted also, that he had never been at any Consult or Meeting at Sheppard's House; but his laying so much Strefs on this Affirmation brought him into a Snare. For after the Evidence was summ'd up, and the Jury ready to depart, who 'tis thought would have brought in a favourable Verdict, he desired that Sheppard might give Evidence to what he knew. The Attorney-General had subpoena'd Sheppard as well as the Prisoner, so that his Request was easily granted, though not without great Observation made to him of this seeming Indulgence in so unusual a Demand. Sheppard contradicted all that Rumsey had sworn relating to Mr. Cornish; but said, that once when the Duke of Monmouth was at a Meeting at his House, Mr. Cornish came to speak a few Words either to him or some other in the Company. This turned the Matter against the Prisoner; who affirmed he had never been at any Meetings there. But whether Sheppard's Evidence was true, or whether such a Thing had really happened by Chance, which the Prisoner had forgot, is uncertain. He was brought in guilty, condemned, and executed at the End of *Queen-street, Cheapside*, in Sight of *Guild-hall*. His Case was thought so hard, that after the Revolution his Attainder was reversed.

He is convicted and executed.

Other Persons executed.

With him were tried *William King*, *John Fernly* and *Elizabeth Gaunt*, Persons of ordinary Condition, for harbouring some of *Monmouth's* Party, who escaped to *London* from the West. What was monstrous in these Trials was, that the Evidences who took away the Prisoners Lives, were the very Persons whom they had thus charitably succoured and relieved. They were found guilty and executed, the Woman being burnt, as the Law directs in Cases of High-Treason. After these the Lord *Brandon* and Mr. *Hambden* were indicted in *Westminster-hall* for High-Treason; of which the latter pleaded Guilty, and the other was convicted. But they both received the King's Pardon. One Mr. *Bateman*, a Surgeon, was also convicted at the *Old-Bailey* of the same Crime. He had lost his Senses so entirely, that his Son was allowed to make his Defence. Yet though a Man in his Condition seemed very little dangerous to a Government, he was not only condemned but executed.

The King's Greatness,

The King was now raised to an height,

from which nothing but himself could throw him down. He had a Revenue of two Millions a Year settled on him by a Parliament, which was in being, and as obsequious as he could reasonably desire. *France* on one side, and the Emperor, *Spain* and *Holland* on the other, paid him all the Court that could be. His Crown, which was shaken by *Monmouth's* Invasion, was fixed more firmly than ever by its Suppression. So that he wanted nothing but Moderation to secure all this Prosperity. But he was undone by his excessive good Fortune, which lifted him up so, that his Eyes were dazzled with his own Splendor; he became blind to his true Interest, and being misled into dangerous and ruinous Projects, overturned with his own Hands the Pillars that supported his Throne.

Which proves his Ruin.

The Parliament met on the ninth of *November*, within less than a Year after the beginning of the King's Reign. The King made a Speech to them, in which having congratulated them upon the Tranquillity that had succeeded the Rebellion, he observed to them "how weak and insignificant the Militia had proved upon that Occasion, which he said, made it necessary to keep a Body of Regular Troops in constant Pay, to be in Readiness against any future Exigency. For the maintaining of these Forces he desired a suitable Supply. He then went on, "Let no Man take Exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the Tests; the Gentlemen, I must tell you, are all known to me; and I will deal plainly with you, that I will not expose them to Disgrace, nor myself to the Want of them"; and concluded with his Desire that there might be no Coldness between himself and his Parliament upon that Account.

The Parliament meets.

The King dispenses with the Tests.

A Standing Army, commanded by Popish Officers, avowed and maintained so openly and in such lordly Terms, filled the Mind of every true Englishman present with strange Fears and Apprehensions. The Commons going down to their House, and the Speech being read there again, according to Custom, the Members sat for some Time looking at each other, silent and amazed. After a little Space, the Earl of *Middleton*, a Courtier, stood up, and moved that "the Thanks of the House might be given to the King for his most gracious Speech; and that the Ends there proposed might be taken into Consideration." But the Astonishment and Perplexity the true Patriots were in, did not yet suffer them to break Silence. At last the Lord *Castleton* spoke, and declared his Dislike; upon which the Debate was adjourned, and the Speech was appointed to be considered in a Committee of the whole House three Days after.

The Parliament alarm-ed.

The Proceedings of the Commons.

The King's Speech appointed to be considered.

In the House of Lords a warm Debate arose, whether they should give the King Thanks for his Speech. It was opposed as vigorously by some, as it was contended for by others. The Marquis of *Hallifax* in the Debate happened to say by Way of Irony, "that

Of the Lords.



A.D.1685. "that the House had now more Reason than ever to give Thanks to his Majesty, because he had dealt so plainly with them, and had let them know what he would be at". What he meant for a Jest was laid hold on by the Courtiers for Earnest; and the Address of Thanks was carried, and presented. The King's Answer was artful. He said "he was very well pleased that the House was satisfied with what he had delivered; and that he would never offer them any Thing that was not for the Good of the Kingdom." Nevertheless the Bishop of London had the Courage to move, in the Name of himself and his Brethren, that the King's Speech might be fully debated; and the twenty third was appointed for that Purpose.

Who also appoint a Day for considering the same. The Commons consider the King's Speech.

When the House of Commons came to consider the King's Speech, the Debate was long, and ended not agreeably to the Court. A Standing Army in general was very much cried out against, and the obvious Inconveniences arising from thence were largely insisted on, and Proposals were offered for making the Militia useful. To all this the Courtiers had nothing to answer, but that ridiculous and stale Pretence of a Spirit of Disaffection among the People, which made them not to be trusted. Nevertheless the House was so respectful to the King, that they voted him a Supply of seven hundred thousand Pounds, which was understood to maintain the Army for two Years, till such Time as the Militia could be made useful.

But that which gave a far greater and a more reasonable Alarm, the dispensing with the Tests, admitted of little or no Dispute. This Infraction of the Laws was so plain and so flagrant, that nothing could be said in Justification of it; so that the House came almost unanimously into an Address against it. The Purport of it was "with all Humility and Duty to represent to the King, that those Officers were by Law utterly disabled from exercising those Employments; and that their Incapacities could be no way taken off but by Act of Parliament". They told him "that out of Respect to his Majesty, they had brought in a Bill for indemnifying those Persons from the Penalties they had incurred; but since the continuing them in their Employments was a dispensing with Law, a Matter of the utmost Consequence to the Religious and Civil Concerns of the Nation, they begged his Majesty would give such Directions therein, as should remove all Apprehensions from the Minds of his Subjects". The King who did not expect so vigorous a Remonstrance, and thought of carrying all Things with an high Hand, answered them sullenly, "That he did not look for such an Address from them, after he had warned them of Fears and Jealousies; but that he would yet continue true to his Word, and the Promises that he had made them".

This Answer was read with all due Reverence, and was succeeded by a profound Si-

lence. At last a Member moved, that a Time might be appointed for considering it. This was seconded by Mr. Coke, who added, that he hoped they were so good Englishmen as not to be frightened out of their Duty by a few high Words. Notwithstanding the Disatisfaction the House was in on Account of the King's Speech, and Answer to their Address, such was the Respect they had for him, that Mr. Coke was sent to the Tower for his Freedom. And as a farther Proof of their Readiness to oblige the King, they entered upon Ways and Means for raising the seven hundred thousand Pounds abovementioned. Besides this, they offered to bring in a Bill for capacitating such a Number of Roman Catholick Officers as the King should give a List of. But many of them still insisting to have the King's Answer considered, he grew uneasy with them; and because the 23<sup>d</sup> was set apart in the House of Lords for considering his Speech, he came on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and prorogued the Parliament, which was never suffered to sit again.

A.D.1685. The Firmness and Moderation of the Commons.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Lord Delamere was tried soon after by a select Number of thirty Lords for High-Treason, in corresponding with the Duke of Monmouth. But the main Witness against him, one Saxon, was caught in such manifest Perjury, that his Lordship was unanimously acquitted.

A.D.1686.

Lord Delamere's Trial.

He is acquitted.

The King, who had now made so bold a Push in England, was not idle in his other two Kingdoms. The Parliament of Scotland had shewed it self very obsequious before; which gave him Encouragement to proceed. He declared himself here more openly than he had done in England; and wrote the Parliament an earnest Letter recommending to their Care his innocent Roman Catholick Subjects, who lay under such Discouragements as were hardly to be named, notwithstanding their constant Loyalty in the worst of Times, &c. This was enforced by a Speech from the Earl of Murray, the Lord Commissioner, to the same Purpose. But the Parliament was not so obsequious as was expected. All that they could be brought to was, to bring in an Act for allowing Papists the Exercise of their Religion in private Houses. But even this met with so much Opposition, that the King found they were not to be trusted; so that they were soon prorogued first, and then dissolved.

The King's Conduct in Scotland.

But in Ireland, where the Roman Catholicks were numerous, no Measures were kept. Two Months after the King's Accession to the Throne, the Duke of Ormond was removed, under Pretence of his great Age; but in Truth, because that noble Patriot would have proved an immoveable Obstacle to the Designs on foot. The Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, were appointed Lords-Justices, who were Protestants; but to controul them it was not long before the Privy-Council was dissolved, and a new one constituted; into which Papists were brought so fast, that the few Protestants became Cyphers. After this the King wrote to the Lords Justices, to let them know that there was Reason to fear that

And in Ireland.

Monmouth's

Address the King against dispensing with the Tests.

The King is offended with them.



A.D.1686. *Monmouth's* Rebellion had infected *Ireland*; and therefore that it was thought proper to have the Arms of the Militia deposited in the Stores of the Countrey; and under this Pretence the Protestants in *Ireland* were all disarmed at once.

But there was another Obstacle to be removed; which was the Army there; which consisted of about 7000 Men, all zealous Protestants. This Army was to be cashiered, and the Person chosen for this Work was Colonel *Richard Talbot*; who was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and sent over Lieutenant-General; the Earl of *Clarendon* being made Lord-Lieutenant. As soon as *Tyrconnel* was there, he betook himself to the Design he was appointed to with so much Heat and Zeal, that in a very short Time he had quite changed the Army, having cashiered and disbanded all the Protestant Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of five or six thousand Men, and supplied their Places with *Irish* Papists. This being done, he came over into *England*; from whence he was sent back, as it was before agreed, with the Commission of Lord Lieutenant; the News of which was so terrible to the Protestants in *Ireland*, that many Merchants called in their Effects, and left the Kingdom. And it appeared soon after that they had but too much Reason to be alarmed. But to return now to the Affairs of *England*.

The King closets the Members of Parliament, but in vain.

The King's Power of dispensing with Laws set on foot.

The King had fair Warning given him by the Parliament of the Opposition he would meet with in the Projects he was meditating; but he would not take it. He sent for several of the Members who had eminently appeared for the Test, and spoke to them earnestly in his Closet to bring them to Compliance; which begat the Term of *Closeting*, much used afterwards. But they proved steddly to their Countrey's Interests, and many of them gave him flat and hardy Denials. At last these Endeavours proving ineffectual, a new Expedient was thought of for compassing the same Thing. A Notion was set on foot, or rather revived, that the King had a Right of dispensing with the Penalties of Laws, by Virtue of the Power entrusted with him for the Execution of them. This Pretence had been opposed and disannulled by the Parliament in the late Reign in the Years 1662. and 1673. as has been above related; and though the present King claimed such a Power virtually in his late Speech to his Parliament, yet it was done in a covert Manner, as a Demand he would be glad to have confirmed by their Connivance or Concurrence, rather than claimed as his undoubted Right. But now this Dispensing Power which overturned and frustrated all Law, was to be made a Part, nay, the very Foundation of it; and to support this, the Courts in *Westminster-hall* were to be prepared.

The Judges closeted.

The Judges were closeted one after another. Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, who had been more than enough obsequious at Mr. *Cornish's* Trial, was first attacked. He defended himself with great Bravery and Steddings; and

at last told the King downright, he could not do it. The King told him, that he should find twelve Judges of his Opinion. The other briskly replied, if he should find twelve Judges of that Mind, he would hardly find twelve Lawyers. But his faithful Counsel procured him his *Quietus*; as the same Firmness did to the Lord Chief Justice *Montague*, Mr. Justice *Charlton*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Newill*; whose Places were supplied by more flexible Tempers.

This being done, a Case was soon brought before them. Sir *Edward Hales*, a Roman Catholick Gentleman of a good Family in *Kent*, took an Employment; and his Coachman was set to inform against him, and to demand the 500*l.* given by the Act to such Informer. The King's Dispensation was pleaded by the Defendant; which brought the King's Authority of dispensing to be argued and debated; but in a cold and indecent Manner, very unsuitable to the Importance of the Question. The Coachman's Cause was given up; and thus the Dispensing Power was confirmed, as far as a Sentence in *Westminster-hall* could do it.

This Point being gained, the King was not wanting to use the Power these Judges gave him. All those who had a Mind to recommend themselves, though Protestants, took Employments, and accepted of the King's Dispensation. And Papists were put into Offices in great Abundance. The Popish Worship was openly exercised; and Jesuits Schools and Seminaries were erected in *London*, and the considerable Towns, for the Propagation of it. Four Roman Bishops were publicly consecrated in the King's Chapel, and sent out under the Title of Vicars Apostolical, to exercise their Episcopal Functions in their respective Dioceses; and their Pastoral Letters, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were printed by the King's Allowance. Their Regular Clergy appeared in their Habits at *White-hall* and *St. James's*, and made no Scruple to tell the Protestants, "they hoped in a little Time to walk in Procession through *Cheapside*". Thus the Laws were openly broke through and undermined, by the servile Compliance of an infamous Bench.

The Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance maintained by the Church of *England* at this Time, and the remarkably good Correspondence it has always preserved with the Throne, gave the King hopes of finding its Members more obsequious than they proved. Many of them were examined, to know how far they might be depended on to assist the King in his preparatory Step of the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test; and no Promises or Threats were wanting to gain their Compliance. But the Court-Sollicitations and Menaces proved vain, and produced nothing but firm and resolute Answers. So these Applications failing, the Churchmen on a sudden were disgraced; and the Dissenters were taken into high Favour. All was Kindness and Condescension to them; and great Compassion was expressed for their past Sufferings.

Upon which he courts the Dissenters.

The King tries the Members of the Church of *England* in vain.

The King's Dispensing Power confirmed in *Westminster-hall*.

Upon which Papists are put into Offices; and all the Laws against Popery broke through.



A.D. 1686. ings. Their Teachers were encouraged to set up Conventicles, and Intimations were every where given, that the King would not have them, or their Meetings, disturbed. The wiser sort did not know what to make of all this, and suspected that something lay at the Bottom of these sudden Endearments. But as such Men seldom make a Majority in a great and numerous Body, the Generality were infatuated by them; and some began to grow insolent, and publish virulent Libels against the Church of *England*. Many of these were supposed to be employed, in order to engage the Church and the Dissenters in a furious Contention, while the Papists played them against each other. The Artifice was dangerous, and might have taken at another Time. But the Clergy with admirable Prudence and Moderation frustrated this Device, by a general Agreement amongst them not to take any Notice of Pamphlets, or Papers of that kind. So that the hot Men, finding themselves laughed at by their Adversaries, and reprov'd by their wiser Friends, grew tired of spending their Time and Pains to so little Purpose.

The excellent Conduct of the Clergy.

The imminent Peril of the Church of *England*.

The primitive Zeal and Courage of the Clergy.

Their glorious Conflict with the Errors of Popery.

The Church of *England* was now assaulted by a Storm that threatened its utter Ruine. Books and Discourses were published by Authority, and dispersed among the People, to mislead unwary Persons to embrace the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church. And that these might have their full Effect, an Order was directed by Way of Letter to the Protestant Bishops, to prohibit the inferior Clergy from preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity; and withal, they were threatened with exacting the full Value of their First-Fruits and Tithes, besides other Mischiefs and Inconveniences which the Royal Power might bring upon them, in Case of Disobedience. But now the Clergy shewed a Zeal worthy of the Apostolical Times. They refused to obey these unjust Commands, though with the Hazard of all they possessed; and committing themselves to God, defied what Man could do to them. They declared open War against the Errors of Popery, and set themselves to expose and confute them, both in Writing and Preaching, with that Ardor and Constancy, as gained them the Applause and Admiration of their Contemporaries, and will be a lasting Glory to them in all future Ages. Scarce a Week passed over, wherein some new Treatise or Sermon did not come out, to the great Strengthening and Edification of those who read them. And all the Corruptions of Popery were examined and confuted with a Solidity of Judgment, a Clearness of Argument, a Depth of Learning, and a Vivacity of Style, at least equal to that of the best Performances in any Time or Countrey since the Reformation. On the other Hand, the Popish Performances were very mean Things; being generally composed by Missionaries brought over from beyond Sea, who having spent their Time in Countries, where all they said was swallowed without Contradiction or Controul, it was

a quite new Thing to them to find their Doctrines brought to the Test of Reason and Scripture, and made to pass through that fiery Trial, which they could so ill bear.

The *Romish* Priests were enraged to find their Religion so much exposed, and growing every Day more and more into Contempt. They said it was ill Manners to treat the King's Religion with so much Disrespect. But these Complaints being little heeded, it was resolved to proceed against some of the Preachers, in Hopes to intimidate the rest. Doctor *Sharp* was Rector of *St. Giles's*, a very pious Man, and one of the most popular Preachers of the Age, who had a peculiar Talent of reading his Sermons with much Life and Zeal. He received one Day, as he was coming out of the Pulpit, a Paper sent him, as he believed, by a Priest, containing a Sort of Challenge upon some Points of Controversie touched by him in some of his Sermons. Upon this, not knowing to whom he was to send an Answer, he preached a Sermon in Answer to it; and having confuted it, he concluded with shewing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their Religion on such Grounds. This was carried to Court, and represented as a Reflection on the King for changing on those Grounds.

Doctor *Sharp* attacked by the Papists.

This Opportunity was laid hold on to mortify the Clergy. The Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State, sent an Order to Doctor *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, requiring him to suspend Doctor *Sharp* immediately, till he had given the King Satisfaction, and till his Majesty's farther Pleasure should be known. The Bishop was startled at this Letter, which if complied with, would effectually put an End to that noble Stand the Clergy were making in Defence of their Religion. He found himself intangled in a cruel Snare; his Refusal would bring Danger to himself, his Compliance to the Church. But that courageous Prelate did not long deliberate on the Choice he was to make. He wrote back to the Earl of *Sunderland*, that he was desirous to obey any Commands from the King which he could perform with a safe Conscience, but in this Case he could not proceed as was required of him. But he added, that what was in his Power he had done, having requested Doctor *Sharp* to abstain from officiating, till he had given the King Satisfaction; which he found him so ready to do, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter. Doctor *Sharp* carried his Notes with him, which he was ready to swear were the same from which he had preached; where the Words charged against him were not to be found; together with a dutiful Petition, praying the King to lay aside his Displeasure against him. But Admittance was denied him, and this Accident was made a Handle for shewing the Clergy the Danger they might incur by Disobedience. But Doctor *Sharp* was not thought considerable enough; the Bishop of *London* himself was to be the Example, whose

The Bishop of *London* ordered to suspend him.

Who refused to do it.



A.D. 1686. whose Birth, Station and Credit would make the Sacrifice the more illustrious and exemplary.

The Ecclesiastical Commission.

When the King first entered on these Incroachments upon our Constitution, a Commission had been sealed, instituting a Court for taking Cognizance of Ecclesiastical Affairs. This was directly contrary to the Statute passed in the Reign of King Charles the First, which took away the High Commission-Court, and ordained that no Court should be set up for those Matters, but the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts. But one arbitrary Act always draws on another. By this Commission the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chief Justice, were made the King's Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, and impowered to punish by Ecclesiastical Censures. This was now made publick on Account of this pretended Contempt shewn by the Bishop of London, who was doomed to feel the Weight of it.

The Bishop of London summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners being late, the Bishop was summoned to appear before them. He came there, attended by many Persons of eminent Quality and Rank, who out of Respect to his Person and Virtues, as well as his Cause, honoured him with their Presence and Countenance. *Jefferies*, the Lord Chancellor, treated him very roughly, and asked him why he did not obey the King's Commands in suspending Doctor Sharp? The Bishop answered in respectful Terms, but with undaunted Firmness, that the Reason was, that he could not lawfully do it; adding, that he was unprepared to answer, as not knowing what he was cited for; and desired a Copy of their Commission, and of the Accusation against him. The Chancellor told him he must explain the Reason of his making these Demands, that if his Intention was to dispute the Legality of their Commission, a Copy should not be granted him. The Bishop replied, he did not intend to do so, but that he thought he might find something there that might be of Service to him. For though the Commission was in it self utterly illegal, it was not thought proper to dispute that Point at this Time; and the rather, because it would certainly have been to no Purpose, since the illegal Court would be sure to maintain its own Authority. The Bishop then desired a Copy of the Information, which was also denied, *Jefferies* telling him that their Court proceeded briefly, and *viva voce*. He then asked the Bishop again, why he did not obey the King? The Bishop replied, the Question was short indeed, but required many Words to answer it; that he was a Peer and a Bishop, and ought to be cautious to do nothing contrary to Law; that he wanted Time to make his Defence, and moved for a Delay till the October following. This was refused, and only four Days allowed him; at the End of which he came before them again, telling them he was not yet so well prepared as he ought to

He appears a second Time.

be; that he could procure a Copy of the Commission no sooner than the Night before, and desired more Time; which after a short Consultation was allowed him. The Bishop's Firmness and prudent Behaviour on this Occasion, got him universal Praise and Admiration; as the Justice of his Cause gained him the Concern and good Wishes of all who were present. When he moved for a Delay, Sir Thomas Clarges, who stood by, said aloud: *Well put, the Bishop asks nothing but what is reasonable.* And Sir J. Lowther, a Gentleman of Lancashire, coming away in the Crowd said; *Some Persons have reported me to be a Papist, but the contrary shall appear; I will not be ashamed or afraid to vindicate my Lord Bishop's Cause against the Commissioners themselves.*

During these Delays, the Bishop endeavoured to mollifie the Displeasure conceived at Court, by secret Applications; hoping that they might be wrought on to accept of some general and insignificant Submission, and let the Matter fall. But they did not understand their own Interest well enough. So he appeared again before the Commissioners on the Day appointed. He then told them after a proper Apology, that he was informed by his Council, that their Proceedings were contrary to Law, and that they were ready to make it out. But because this was not permitted, he gave in his Answer, with a Protestation in Behalf of his own Right, as a Subject, and as a Bishop. His Answer contained a Relation of his Conduct in the Affair to the same Effect as is above recited; upon which he observed that he had acted by the Advice of Council, and according to the Maxims of Law. His Council, who were four Civilians, Doctor Oldish, Doctor Hedges, Doctor Brice, and Doctor Newton, endeavoured to shew, that the Suspension of Doctor Sharp in the Manner required, was contrary to all Laws, and a Thing unknown and unheard of in the Christian World. No Answer was given to this by the King's Advocate, though present; and the Bishop making an Apology for any Thing himself or his Council might have mistaken, the Court broke up. The Bishop was voted to be suspended during the King's Pleasure; and Sentence was passed on him accordingly at his next Appearance. And at the same Time a Sentence of Suspension passed on Doctor Sharp.

He comes before the Commissioners a third Time.

He is suspended.

But this violent Step brought incomparably more Prejudice to the King than to the Bishop. These arbitrary Proceedings withdrew the Affections of his People from him, who began to fear, and by Consequence to hate him; while the Bishop sat crowned with that Esteem and Applause that attends undaunted Virtue. The Princess of Orange, whose Childhood had been spent under the Care of this worthy Prelate, and who had also been confirmed and married by him, wrote to him while his Cause was in Agitation, expressing the great Share she took in the Trouble he was fallen into. She also wrote to the King in his Behalf, in which the Prince

of



A.D. 1686. of *Orange* joined with her, but in vain. His Clergy, notwithstanding his Suspension, were more governed by the secret Intimations of his Pleasure, than they had ever been by his Authority before. So that the small Inconvenience the Bishop underwent, was more than compensated to him by the Respect and Honours it procured him, while the King, having alienated the Hearts of his People from him, suffered a Loss never to be repaired.

The King makes an Encampment on Hounslow-Heath.

But he had gone too far already to hope to reign by Love, nor was he solicitous about doing so. The Designs he had in View obliged him to take another Course of Fear and Terror; in order to which he assembled all his Forces, dispersed in several Parts, into one Camp upon *Hounslow-Heath*, to the Number of about fifteen Thousand Men. This Encampment in Time of Peace gave great Jealousie; and it was taken, as well as meant, for an Ostentation of the King's Ability to overcome all Opposition by open Force. For though the Army consisted almost entirely of Protestants, it was feared and hoped, that the unlimited Obedience of Military Discipline, joined with the too common Licence of Soldiers, might easily engage them to advance the Designs of their Superiors without Examination. But to the immortal Honour of those brave Men, it afterwards appeared that they had Hearts as truly *English* as any of their Fellow Subjects.

Johnson writes an Address to the Army.

This Encampment gave Occasion to Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, a Clergyman, who had been fined in the late Reign for writing a Book entitled, *Julian the Apostate*, designed to reflect on the then Duke of *York*, to write an Address to the Soldiers in that Army. The Purport of it was to warn them not to join with the Popish Officers and Soldiers there. This was thought so dangerous, that the Author was tried for an High Misdemeanor; and being found Guilty, was sentenced to be degraded from his Ministerial Office, and to be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*.

The King attempts to make Converts.

The Earl of *Sunderland* complies.

A new Scene now began at Court. The King set himself to make Converts among his Courtiers and Ministers. He first undertook the Earl of *Sunderland*, who being a Man of very loose Principles, was found obsequious enough. Nevertheless, he did not now think proper to profess himself openly; but, as 'tis said, promised to do it when the Queen should have a Son, as he accordingly did when that happened, or was said to happen.

The Earl of *Rochester* attacked.

The Earl of *Rochester* was soon after attacked. He defended himself for some Time from the King's Importunity, but being weary with being pressed, he at last told the King, that to let him see that his Perseverance did not arise from Obstinacy or Prejudice, he consented to hear some Protestant Divines dispute with his Popish Priests, and promised to side with the Conquerors. The King agreed to this, but excepted against Doctor *Tillotson*, and Doctor *Stillingfleet*.

The Earl said he would take those of his A.D. 1686. Chaplains who should happen to be in waiting, (for the Forms of the Chapel were kept up) which proved to be Doctor *Patrick*, and Doctor *Jane*. The Papists were one *Gifford*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Tilden*, who went by the Name of Doctor *Godden*, an eminent Writer among them. The Popish Priests began the Attack. But when they had done, the Earl himself stood up, and said, if they had nothing farther to offer, he would not trouble the learned Gentlemen of the Clergy to say any Thing, for he was sure he could answer all that he had heard. Then he went through what they had said, and answered it with much Heat and Spirit; saying from Time to Time, *Were those Grounds to persuade Men to change their Religion?* The King was so ill satisfied with his Proselyte, that he ordered the Conference to be broken up. But the Earl's Behaviour cost him his Staff of Lord Treasurer, which was soon after taken from him.

Who confutes the Popish Priests.

The King thought the Conversion of his Kingdoms so near and certain, that he now thought fit to make a Tender of them to the Holy See. To this End, the Earl of *Castlemain* was sent upon a formal and pompous Embassy to *Rome*, where *Innocent XI.* was Pope. This Step of his was contrary to Law, which forbids all Communication with the Court of *Rome*; but the King's Zeal urged him to give part to that Court of the Success he promised himself. But this Embassy was not received as he expected. The Pope was neither so bigotted nor so sanguine as the King; and had more Thoughts of depressing the Power of *France*, which he mortally hated, than of converting *England*, which he accounted a chimerical Project. He was vexed at his Heart to see the King spend his Thoughts and Labour on an Undertaking that appeared impracticable, while he neglected another which he might easily accomplish, and his Holiness was extremely set on. So that as soon as the Ambassador in his Audiences entered upon the Occasion of his coming, the Pope, to whom that kind of Talk was all Impertinence, was sure to be taken with a Fit of Coughing, so bad that it was impossible for him to enter upon Business at that Time. These Audiences and Fits of Coughing accompanied each other so periodically, that it was soon taken notice of at *Rome*, and grew to be the publick Diversion. Besides this, the Ambassador was so ill instructed, as to shew himself a zealous Favourer of *France*, which Nation was as odious at that Time at *Rome*, as could possibly be; so that he became as disagreeable at the Court there, as a Minister could well be imagined. At last being wearied with his cold and slighting Reception, he sent Word to the Pope that he would be gone; who was so little concerned at it, that he only said to the Messenger, "Well then, if he must needs go, tell him I advise him to rise early in the Morning, and to rest a little at Noon, for it is bad Travelling in these Countries in the Heat of the Day".

The King sends an Ambassador to *Rome*.

Who is ill received there.



A.D.1686. So that after a great Expence, to no Purpose, he left *Rome*; having received very little Encouragement there, unless from the Jesuits, who indeed shewed him a Profusion of costly and magnificent Respects. But that Order being altogether out of Favour with the Pope, their Example was not imitated.

A.D.1687. The next Step was to set on Foot a general Toleration. This had been long discoursed of at Court, as a Thing entirely reasonable and just; and great Reflections were cast on the Church of *England* for the Severities used to Dissenters. It was first attempted in *Scotland*, where a Proclamation was issued out for granting a Royal Toleration to Presbyterians and Papists, suspending all Penal and Disabling Laws, and annulling and discharging all Oaths by Way of Test, or Distinction between Subject and Subject. This Invasion being quietly received there, another Proclamation of the same kind was published in *England*, beginning for Form's Sake with a Promise of Protection to the Church of *England*; and then proceeding to the same Effect with the other just mentioned. All which was said to be done by Virtue of the King's Royal Prerogative of Dispensing Power. Besides the obvious Design of bringing in the Papists under Cover of this universal Indulgence, it was hoped that the Dissenters would be drawn in by it to defend the King's Dispensing Power, in return for the Ease it gave them; and grow so insolent upon the sudden Change, as to fall into Quarrels and Feuds with the Church of *England*.

The Behaviour of the Dissenters.

When this Proclamation was published, the greatest Part of the Dissenters became for some Time, not so much joyful, as quite mad. They caught greedily at the Bait, though the Hook lay so bare, that they must shut their Eyes to keep from seeing it. Addresses came from all Sects and Persuasions of them, and from every Part of *England*, full of such Raptures of extravagant Loyalty, that the King himself was more than satiated with them. But this Madness was too violent to last. The sober Men of the Church, and among themselves, gave them Warning of the Danger that lay hid under these Caresses; and when the first Transports were a little cooled, those Admonitions began to take Effect. And the Prospect of the common Danger united the Church of *England* and the Dissenters by Degrees, in a Band of mutual Forbearance and Charity; though to say the Truth, the Behaviour of the latter throughout this Reign was very little to their Credit.

The Romaniſts begin to attack the Universities.

The Church of *England* was already attacked with Violence enough; but another Attempt was made to corrupt it at its Source, the two Universities. This was not only a dangerous but an imprudent Step of the Court; the Privileges of Colleges and Universities being in all Nations regarded with a particular Veneration; and an Attack upon them, engaging not only the present Body in their Defence, but all those who have

formerly had their Education there. So A.D.1687. that considering the Opposition they were like to meet with, they might be said to begin just where they should have ended. But the Jesuits fancied that if they could get Footing in the Universities, they should get such Reputation by their Methods of teaching Youth, that they should carry them away from the University Tutors; some of whom are to be found that are remiss enough. It had been proposed by some of the more moderate among them, to endow a new College in each University, and plant them there. This had certainly been the right Method; but whether it were to save Charge, or because it was thought that the King's Dignity was concerned to bring about his Ends in the most authoritative Manner, it was resolved to take more violent Courses to introduce them.

They began with *Cambridge* upon a softer Point, but which would have made Way for all the rest. The King sent his Mandamus to Doctor *Peachel*, the Vice-Chancellor, to admit *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without offering him the accustomed Oaths; which was intended to introduce the Popish Regulars into the Degrees of the University. When this Letter was read in the Senate, the whole Body were unanimous not to admit him. The King's Letters indeed were scarce ever before refused in conferring Degrees; and when Ambassadors or Foreign Princes came to visit the Universities, they usually gave such Degrees as were desired to those who belonged to them; and even the *Morocco* Ambassador's Secretary, who was a Mahometan, had been made a Master of Arts. But there was a Distinction made between honorary Degrees given to Strangers, and the Degrees given to such as might settle there. And the Vice-Chancellor and Senate were obliged by their Statutes to administer the Oath of Allegiance to all such; which *Francis* had refused. They sent up a submissive Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, desiring him to mediate with the King, and obtain Leave for their petitioning him, in order to represent the Hardship of their Case. But this Letter only produced a second to the University, commanding the same Thing, with this additional imperious Clause, *to do it at their Peril*. This being read in the Senate, they dispatched two of their Body to Town, with other Representations. But the Answer made them was, that the King was offended with their Proceedings, and they should hear more from him.

The Vice-Chancellor was soon after summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Senate by their Deputies, among whom were Doctor *Echard*, Master of *Katharine-Hall*; Mr. *Newton*, (since the great Sir *Isaac*) Fellow of *Trinity*; and Mr. *Stanhope*, of King's, late Dean of *Canterbury*. *Jefferies* treated them with his accustomed Rudeness. The Vice-Chancellor was a Man of more Honesty than Acuteness,



A.D. 1687. nels; and made but an indifferent Defence. In the End he was deprived of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and suspended from his Headship of *Magdalen College*.

The Vice-Chancellor suspended.  
The Affair of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*.  
The Court commands the Fellows to make one *Farmer* their President.

But the Royal Severity was yet more sensibly felt at *Oxford*. The President of *Magdalen College* died about this Time. The Popish Priests immediately fixed their Eyes and Hearts upon that noble Foundation; and a *Mandamus* was sent to the Fellows, whose Right it always had been to elect their own President, directing them to chuse one *Anthony Farmer*, who had given his Promise to turn Papist. The Fellows received this *Mandamus* with great Concern and Surprise. They could not be unacquainted with the loose Principles of the Person recommended, to which his Life and Character were suitable; and the setting such a Man at their Head was like to prove not only a private, but a publick Mischief. At last they resolved to incur the King's Anger rather than comply with so pernicious a Command. They sent a Petition to Court, representing that *Farmer* was a Person in many Respects incapable of being made their President; and humbly requesting the King either to leave them to the Discharge of their own Consciences, or to recommend some fitter Person. But the Answer sent them was brief, *that the King must be obeyed*. This Answer came to them on the last Day that was allowed them by their Statutes to defer the Election; so that it was only left to their Choice, whether they would chuse *Farmer*, or a more statutable Man, no Time being left them for any farther Representations. Hereupon they chose Dr. *Hough*, a worthy Man, and a resolute, not apt to be terrified out of his Right; and he was next Day confirmed by the Visitor, the Bishop of *Winchester*.

The News of this came to Court, and was very ill received there. A sharp Letter was sent them by the Earl of *Sunderland*; and the Vice-President and Fellows were cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Accordingly, the Vice-President and five of the Fellows came before them. It was demanded of them why they did not obey the King's Mandate? After some Time allowed them for deliberating, they made answer, that they were bound by their Oaths to elect none but such as were, or had been Fellows either of *Magdalen* or *New College*; but that Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow of either; so that they could not have chosen him without Breach of their Oaths. That they had represented this to the King; and deferred their Election till the last Day limited by their Statutes; when they made Choice of a statutable Person. And at their second Appearance they represented also, that Mr. *Farmer* was a Person of an ill Life and Character, and produced many Testimonies of the same, which were too plain to be denied. Nevertheless, the Commissioners deprived Dr. *Hough* of his Presidentship, and suspended two of the Fellows, ordering the rest to cause their Sentence to be execut-

ed, and affixed to the Gates of the College; A.D. 1687<sup>4</sup> which they neglecting to do, were cited to appear again for Contempt. But the Court soon found the Person recommended from thence to be of so scandalous a Life, that they began to be ashamed of him, and desisted from all farther Prosecution of that Affair; and sent a new Mandate in behalf of Dr. *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, a servile Courtier, and no less incapacitated by the Statutes. So that the Fellows, having besides a legal President already, did not think fit to comply with the King's Commands.

In the mean Time, the King who was vehemently set upon abolishing the Test and Penal Laws against the Papists, had tried all the Court Arts with the Members of Parliament, to bring them to promise their Consent to it: and to this End had put off their Sitting, by Prorogations from Time to Time. But he found so universal a Firmness amongst them, that he now dissolved them, in hopes of modelling a new Parliament more to his Mind. To this Purpose he set himself to court the Dissenters, putting them into such Offices in the several Counties and Corporations, as should enable them the better to concur and assist in the Choice of Members. He reviewed the Lists of the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, and gave Orders to the former to summon the Gentry, and engage them to promise to chuse Members according to the King's Desire. But this Experiment gave the King a fair Warning, if he would have taken it, not to drive any farther an impracticable Design; the Inclinations of the People appearing very averse to such Elections. Nevertheless he went on, and resolved to make the Essay what Force his own Interposition would have. He made a Progress this Summer round a great Part of *England*; and was received in every Place with the utmost Respect due to his Royal Dignity.

In his Progress he came to *Oxford*; where either by his own Eagerness, or ill Advice, he was persuaded to try what his Presence would do with the Fellows at *Magdalen College*; forgetting that the Influence of Regal Majesty is always greatest at a Distance. They were sent for to the King at his Lodgings at *Christ Church*; where when they presented themselves before him, he asked them haughtily, *Whether they did not receive his Letter?* Dr. *Pudsey*, the Senior Fellow, confessed to him that they had: to which the King in an angry Tone replied, *Then you have not dealt with me like Gentlemen; you have done very uncivilly and undutifully by me*. They all fell presently upon their Knees before him, and Dr. *Pudsey*, the Senior Fellow, offered a Petition, in which they humbly expressed their Grief, that they could not obey his Commands without breaking their Oaths, and their Founders Statutes. But the King refused their Petition roughly, and spoke to them in these Words: *Ye have been a stubborn turbulent College; I have known you these six and twenty Years,*

The Court recommend the Bishop of *Oxford*; but the Fellows remain firm.

The Parliament dissolved.

The King endeavours to model the Elections of a new Parliament.

His Treatment of the Fellows of *Magdalen College*.

But they chuse Dr. *Hough*.

The Fellows summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.



A.D. 1687. Years, and you have affronted me in this. Is this your Church of England Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of England Men in such a Business. Go home, and shew your selves true Members of the Church of England. Get you gone! — Know I am your King! — I will be obeyed, and I command you to be gone! — Go, and admit the Bishop of Oxford Head, Principal, what d'ye call it (one that stood by said, President) I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse know they shall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Displeasure. Hereupon they were going out of the King's Presence, but were called back and asked, whether they had not admitted Mr. Holben Fellow since they received his Inhibition? They answered, that there was no new Election or Admission, but only the Consummation of a former Election. The Consummation of a former Election, said the King, is downright Disobedience, and a fresh Aggravation. — Get you home, I say, again, and elect the Bishop of Oxford, or expect to feel the Weight of my Hand. Upon this they fell upon their Knees a second Time, and offered their Petition; but the King said, Get you gone! I'll receive none from you till you have obeyed me, and admitted the Bishop of Oxford. But these undaunted Men were not to be wrought on by Frowns or Threats to act against their Conscience. They repaired to the Chapel as they were ordered; but the Question being proposed, whether they should obey the King, they answered, that they were as ready to shew their Duty to him as any of his Subjects; but this Election being contrary to their Oaths and Statutes, it was not in their Power to obey him now.

But the Fellows continue undaunted.

Ecclesiastical Commissioners sent down to them.

They drew up an Address to this purpose, but in the most submissive Terms, and presented it to the Earl of Sunderland; but to no other Purpose than to engage the Court to make use of secret Artifices and Sollicitations for some Time instead of open Violence. But these proving ineffectual, a new Set of Ecclesiastical Commissioners were made; Dr. Cartwright Bishop of Chester, Sir Robert Wright Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Jenner one of the Barons of the Exchequer. These were sent down to Oxford, to visit Magdalen-College in particular. The President and Fellows were cited to appear before them; and the Bishop of Chester began with a Speech, in which he enlarged upon their undutiful Behaviour, his Majesty's gracious Temper, and his Care for the Church of England; their Dependence upon the Crown, and the Dangers they had brought upon themselves, the Universities, and the Church, by giving occasion to this Visitation; and hypocritically exhorted them by the Bowels of Christ to think upon those Things. After this Scene was over, they called the Fellows a second Time, and the Bishop of Chester asked Dr. Hough whether he submitted to their Visitation? To which he answered in his own Name, and that of almost all the Fellows, that he submitted to it as far as was consistent with the Laws of the Land, and the

Statutes of the College, and no farther. A.D. 1687. The Bishop then demanded their Registers; an Account of their Revenues, and Copies of the last two Years Leases. The next Morning Dr. Hough being called before them, they required him to deliver up the Keys, and Possession of the Lodgings to the Person whom the King had made President; but the Doctor resolutely denied both. After they had demanded this several Times, and been as often refused, the King's Proctor stood up, and accused him of Contumacy. The Bishop of Chester then admonished him three Times to depart peaceably out of the Lodgings, and act no longer as President, to as little Purpose. He was then dismissed; and the Commissioners applied themselves to the Fellows, and asked them whether they would admit the Bishop of Oxon President, since Dr. Hough's Election was declared void? They made Answer, that they could not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore would not do it. During this Examination Dr. Hough came again into Court; alone, and without any Attendance. He stood by silent till the Commissioners were at a Pause, and then desired Leave to speak a few Words. This was granted to him with great Civility; for it was expected he would have offered some Compromise. He then said to them, Since you have been pleased to deprive me of my Place of President of the College, I do protest against all your Proceedings, in Prejudice of me and my Right, as illegal, unjust and null; and therefore I appeal to my Sovereign Lord the King in his Courts of Justice. Upon this resolute Protestation the Scholars and Standers by gave a triumphant Humm; which so incensed the Lord Chief Justice, that in a very arbitrary Manner he obliged Dr. Hough to sign a Bond of 1000*l.* to make his Appearance at the King's Bench-Bar the following Term; though both himself and the Fellows offered to purge themselves by Oath that they were in no wise accessory to that Acclamation. The Commissioners were in a great Rage to see the publick Favour run so much on the Side of the excluded President; and told the Fellows, that if the Civil Power could not keep their College in Order, the Military should. Three Days after the Bishop of Oxford was installed President in the Chapel, by Proxy. The Proxy was then conducted to take Possession of the President's Lodgings; but as Dr. Hough had refused them the Keys, they ordered them to be broke open. The Fellows were then asked, whether they would obey the Bishop of Oxford as their President? Dr. Fairfax answered, he neither could nor would obey him, having already a lawful and statutable President. Dr. Smith, and Mr. Charnock complied; but the others desired Time to deliberate, and at last gave in their Answer, that they submitted so far as was consistent with their Statutes; which was in effect not submitting at all. This was at first accepted by the Commissioners; who finding they could obtain no more, were content

The Resolution of Dr. Hough, and the Fellows.

The Commissioners exclude Dr. Hough by Force.



A.D. 1687. tent with this Appearance. But afterwards they required a more ample and full Submission, that they should acknowledge their Contempt, own the Legality of the Court, implore the King's Pardon and promise their entire Submission to the Bishop of Oxford as President. But this the Fellows absolutely refused, one or two Compliersexcepted.

The Commissioners being called to London, while this Matter was contesting, it lay still a little. But they were soon sent back with positive Orders to exclude and deprive all those who refused the entire Submission required of them. The Fellows were cited again before the Commissioners, and the Bishop of Chester did his best by Threats and Cajollings to bring them to comply. But they continued firm; so that the Commissioners obeyed their illegal Orders, and deprived and excluded twenty five of them; against which they all protested, declaring they would use all just and legal Ways of being relieved. This was so open an Invasion of Right and Property, that a greater could scarce be in France, or Turkey; a Fellowship being the same Thing as a Freehold, and secured by the very same Laws. The whole Nation was alarmed at this; no Man having a stronger Security for his Estate or Possessions, than those which were here openly and violently broken through. Yet though it lay burning in every Man's Breast, no visible Effects yet appeared from thence, nor were any publick Complaints made of it.

The Pope's Nuncio makes his publick Appearance.

While this Affair was depending, the King shewed by another Example, how little Regard he had to the Laws. The Pope, who could not agree with him in essential Matters, would not be behind-hand in Point of Ceremony, and sent over Signor *Ferdinando d'Adda* as his Nuncio. He came over at first in a private Manner, but in about a Year's Time took the Character publicly; though it was absolutely forbid by Laws then in Force. But the King's Dispensation got over that Difficulty, and he made his publick Entry into *Windſor* with the utmost Pomp and Ceremony; being dressed in his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Cross-bearer, and a Train of Monks and Friars, in the Habits of their several Orders. But the

The Duke of Somerset refuses to introduce him.

King met here with a little Mortification. For the Duke of *Somerset*, who was Lord of the Bed-Chamber then in waiting, being commanded by the King to introduce the Nuncio, made him Answer, that he could not do it, being informed that it was contrary to Law. The King asked him if he did not know that he was above the Law? But the Duke replied briskly, *If your Majesty is, I am not.* The King told him in a Passion, he would trouble him with no more Commands, and dismissed him from his Employments. But the Duke of *Grafton* was more complaisant, and introduced the Nuncio without any Difficulty. But the real Matters transacted by the Nuncio were of no Importance, for he came from a Court that knew better than that he was sent to.

And he was so ill satisfied with the Steps the King took, that he desired often to be recalled, lest he should be thought to have a Hand in such imprudent and precipitate Measures.

About this Time the French Protestants came in great Numbers into England, to shelter themselves from the Persecution that raged in their own Countrey. They were received with a great Tenderness by the People, and with great Kindness by the King, who granted them Briefs for their Relief, and gave them considerable Sums out of his Privy-Purse; which was looked upon as an Artifice by some, but highly commended by more impartial Persons.

The French Protestants relieved.

The King had made so many and so dangerous Encroachments upon the settled Constitution, that it was easie to see that nothing would serve him, but the introducing Popery upon the Ruins of our Religion, Laws and Liberties. Nor did Power seem wanting to him to compass this. He had a brave and a numerous Army on Foot, a formidable Fleet; he was a careful Manager of his ample Revenue, so that he was in no Want of Treasure; and the greatest Prince in Europe, his next Neighbour, was his powerful Friend. A Parliament, which alone could apply Remedies to these deadly Symptoms that appeared in the State, was not to be expected; unless so bought and corrupted, as only to temper and administer the last poisonous Draught, which could be so mortal and killing in no other Hand. One faint Hope appeared from the King's Age; who being advanced in Years, some were willing to persuade themselves might in no long time be taken away by Death; when, by the usual Fate of Princes, his Thoughts would perish with him; and a Protestant Successor might make them forget, or remember with Pleasure, the Dangers and Fears they passed through before.

The dangerous State of Affairs.

But this Hope, which seemed the last, was turned into Terror and Consternation, when News began to be whispered about that the Queen was with Child. This was afterwards confirmed by a Proclamation for a publick Thanksgiving on the fifteenth of January for the Queen's Pregnancy; and a solemn Prayer for her safe Delivery.

The Queen said to be with Child.

The Protestants were terribly alarmed at this; and yet not so much from their Apprehensions of the Consequences, as from an universal Rumour and Suspicion that immediately ran about, that the Thing it self was not true; and that the *Romish* Party had prevailed upon the King's Bigottry to join with them in imposing a supposititious Heir upon the Nation, in order to establish and perpetuate the Designs he had entered into for introducing his own Religion. This Report and Jealousy gained Ground with an inconceivable and unaccountable Progress; and a Thousand odd Conceits sprung up in People's Minds. All the Accounts of former Cheats and Impostures were now remembered, and some of them reprinted; as that of Queen Mary's pretended Conception, in order

Which is not believed.



A.D. 1688. der, as 'tis said, to defeat Queen Elizabeth's Succession. So that in a short Time this Story of the Pregnancy of the present Queen came to be treated and regarded by all Protestants as an undoubted Fraud and Contrivance. It was very surprizing that a Thing so unlikely as that a Parent and a great King would knowingly embrace a fictitious Child for his own, should meet with so easie a Belief. But there were some Causes of Suspicion that appeared now, and there were many more afterwards. The Queen had left off bearing for six or seven Years, and it looked odd that she should begin again at so critical a Time. The King's Zeal had already engaged him to break the most solemn Promises, and enter upon such desperate Attempts as must end either in the Nation's Ruine, or his own; so that Men were easily brought to believe he might be persuaded to go farther. And the Reason assigned by the Papists for the Queen's unexpected Fertility, namely that it was the Effect of a Vow and Present made to the Image at *Loretto*, was worse than none to Protestants, who looked before with so evil an Eye on the pretended Miracles of the *Romish* Church.

The glorious  
Stand made  
by the Cler-  
gy.

Nevertheless, some Addressees came up upon this Occasion; which to make themselves the more welcome, not only brought their Congratulations, but Assurances of sending such Members to Parliament, as would be for repealing the Penal Laws and Test; the Court being now employed in modelling such a Parliament as might be brought to carry that Point. The Jesuits and Priests gathered new Vigour, and were more busie than ever in making Converts, and publishing Books of Controversie. But they were afresh encountered by the Clergy, with unwearied Labour, and intrepid Resolution; though the Storm that threatened them, grew every Day blacker and blacker. But the Dangers that surrounded them only served to animate their Courage, and make their Constancy the more illustrious. Their unshaken Resolution infused new Life into their Flocks; who would probably have yielded to the imminent Peril, had not their Spiritual Leaders thus nobly placed themselves in the Front of Danger; and by their own Example, encouraged the Laity to stand the Shock. This Primitive Zeal drew upon that reverend Order the Love, Applause, and Veneration of all good Persons of every Condition and Degree; who comforted themselves with Hopes, that the same Divine Goodness which had kindled these shining Lights in his Church at this needful Time, would not suffer them to be at last overwhelmed and extinguished by cruel and tyrannical Violence.

The King en-  
deavours to  
engage the  
Prince and  
Princess of  
*Orange* to  
concur in re-  
pealing the  
Penal Laws  
and Test,  
but in vain.

An Incident happened at this Time which helped to support the Spirits of the People. The King, who neglected no Expedients for compassing his great Design, was advised to sound the Inclinations of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, with Relation to the Penal Laws and Test; not doubting, if he

could engage them, but that their Opinion A.D. 1688. would draw in great Numbers of Followers. Applications were made to the Prince from the King, in which it was observed how great Severities had been brought upon the Dissenters by the Penal Laws, and how fitting it was therefore to repeal them; since the Papists being an inconsiderable Body, could do no hurt by what they would gain by it. But that since the King was resolved not to consent to the repealing them without the Test, it was fit to consider whether it were not better to accept the King's Offers as he made them, rather than by rejecting them, to expose the Dissenters to the Danger of a new Persecution, which might otherwise come upon them some Time or other. Thus an extraordinary Tenderness for Dissenters, was to be the Means of introducing Papists into Offices and Power.

The Prince caused an Answer to be sent, importing, that himself and the Princess were much against Persecution on Account of Religion; and were willing that the Papists should be relieved from the Penal Laws, as well as the Dissenters have a full Toleration; but that they could not consent to the taking away the Test, it being now become necessary to secure the established Religion. This Answer was so unacceptable to the King, that the Letter was concealed for some Time; and it was given out with great Art and Industry, that the Prince and Princess had consented to the Repeal of the Test, as well as of the Penal Laws. But this Report being brought into *Holland*, it was thought necessary to put an effectual Stop to it by publishing the Letter; and vast Numbers of Copies were sent over into *England*, and carefully dispersed, which very much encouraged all Protestants. The Church Party were confirmed by it in their Zeal for standing by and maintaining the Test; and the Dissenters were delighted to find the favourable Intentions of their Highnesses towards them. Even the Papists of moderate Dispositions were so well satisfied with it, that they complained of those ambitious Priests and Courtiers, who rather than leave their aspiring Projects, would expose the *Roman Catholics* to the former Severities, when an Exemption was now offer'd them.

The Court finding this Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests so powerfully opposed, set on foot a general Proposal that an Equivalent should be given for them, which should be as great a Security, or even a greater than those Statutes. This Word filled the Mouths of the Court-Advocates for some Time; till the Marquis of *Hallifax*, in a short Treatise entitled, *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*, shewed so clearly the Danger and Folly of expecting any such Security, that the People grew weary of being amused with an idle Sound, and the Proposers ashamed of it.

The King repented heavily the Firmness of The King re-  
the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, the Con- sents it.  
sequences of which had vastly increased his  
Trouble in pursuing the Measures he had  
entered



A.D. 1688. entered into. He sent over on the sudden to the States, to require of them the Return of six *English* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service. But the States excused themselves in a civil Manner, alledging that those Troops were in a great Measure composed of their own natural Subjects; and that by the Treaty they were not obliged to send them back, unless *England* were engaged in a War. However they said they would allow Passes to all the Officers who were willing to return home; which about forty of them accepted. These were Men who had behaved themselves very ill, and given much Trouble to the Prince and the States; so that their Absence was very acceptable.

A second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

The dangerous Design of it.

This mistaken Prince had been hitherto with great Labour and Earnestness, weakening the Foundations on which his own Safety rested; but now he gave Fire to a Mine, which shook his Throne so fiercely, and left it so tottering, that in a short Time after it fell, and brought him down from it with so precipitate and violent a Ruin, as dashed his Crown and Scepter to pieces. He published at this Time a second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which the former was repeated and confirmed. This was partly intended to shew the King's Resolution to go on with his Designs; and partly to extend some farther Grace to the Papists than the former allowed. But the principal Design of it lay much deeper. The Clergy of the Church of *England* had given so much Trouble to the Papists by the glorious Stand they made in defence of their Religion, that it was necessary to find an Expedient to restrain these dangerous Men. And by this Declaration it was proposed to catch them in such a Trap, as should effectually revenge upon them their past Offences, and silence them for the future.

In company of this Declaration was published an Order of Council, by which the Bishops were commanded to distribute Copies of the Declaration to the Clergy, and to direct them to read the same after Divine Service on two successive Sundays. The Effect of this it was expected would be as follows. It was known that the Clergy in general were fully persuaded, not only that the Declaration was illegal, but that the sole Aim and Tendency of it was to ruin them. So that it was supposed, that a considerable Number, those especially of the most Learning and Credit, would refuse to read it; but that a great Majority, some to make their Court, and some out of Fear, would comply. That these Parties would soon grow very odious to one another, by the ill Correspondence that will naturally be kept between generous Virtue and servile Baseness. That when the Feuds were risen very high, the Court might interpose, and crush the Non-compliers with the utmost Severity and Rigour; in which it was reckoned that the opposite Party would chearfully concur; who in return for their friendly Assistance, should have the kind Acknowledgment made them of being devoured the last.

But this Engine of Mischief was so contrived, that whatever other Course the Clergy might take, the Blow it threatened them with appeared still as certain and as fatal. For if the Clergy should have the Firmness universally to refuse Compliance with this Order, there was a Pretence for proceeding against that whole Body for Disobedience; which would put all the Preferments and Livings of the Church at the King's Mercy by an Ecclesiastical Commission; the Consequence of which would have been, that her glorious Champions and stedfast Friends had been every where turned out into Distress and Poverty, while her Revenues had been made the Hire of those who were to assist in her Destruction. If they should prove so base and cowardly as universally to comply with a Command evidently calculated to make them ridiculous and accessary to their own Undoing, it would be easy to load them with more of the same Nature; till their present Glory would be changed to the lowest Infamy, they would become contemptible to all Mankind, and their Ruin would be neither pitied nor withstood by any. And so certain were the *Romanists* of compassing their Ends by this Artifice; that Father *Petre*, the King's great Counsellor and Director, broke out into a most insolent Expression upon it, and said in Triumph, *he would now make the Clergy eat their own Dung.*

Providence seemed now to have abandoned the Church of *England* to her Enemies; those who had been her Guardians and Defenders being intangled in such a cruel Snare, that which Way soever they turned themselves, they seemed inevitably undone. Many Meetings were held by the Clergy to deliberate on their Proceedings in these perplexing Circumstances. Some proposed complying, but with a Declaration that they did it in mere Obedience, but did not assent to or approve the Thing. But to this it was objected, that if they once yielded the Point, that they were bound to read what they did not approve, the King might in Time send them Declarations to read in favour of Popery; and if they did not stop now, they might never be able hereafter. That it was plain their Ruin was resolved on; and nothing but sacrificing their Religion to their Safety could prevent it. That in a Word, the Time was come that called them out to sufferings for Conscience-sake; to which they must now begin to inure themselves. These Reasons soon prevail'd, and they agreed with a wonderful Unanimity, and yet with great Secrecy, to expose themselves to all the Dangers of a Refusal, rather than obey so unjust and unlawful a Command.

The perillous Condition of the Clergy.

Their noble Resolution.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *San-croft*, acted on this Occasion as became the supreme Pastor of the Church of *England*. (The See of *York* was at this Time vacant; being kept so in order, as is supposed, to be filled with Father *Petre*, as soon as the *Romish* Projects were come to sufficient Ripeness.) He wrote round his Province, requesting such of the Bishops as were able, to

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* consults his Province.



A.D. 1688. to come up and confer with him; and desiring the Opinion of those whom Age or Infirmities disabled from taking such a Journey. He found that eighteen Bishops, and the main Body of the Clergy, concurred against reading the Declaration. Upon this

A Meeting of the Bishops and Clergy at Lambeth.

he held an extraordinary Assembly at his Palace at *Lambeth*, of Bishops and other eminent Divines, to consider of some Expedient to divert this Storm. And having first implored the Divine Assistance in solemn Prayer, they proceeded to Deliberation. They all agreed, that the Matter of the Declaration was utterly illegal; and therefore, that the Clergy by publishing it would do an illegal Act; that the ill Consequences of reading it must upon that Account be great and many; by making the Clergy appear as Time-servers or Cowards; and by influencing the Electors of Members of Parliament, to chuse such as were for the Dispensing Power, on a Supposition that the Clergy favoured it. That the Thing intended was plainly not to make the Declaration known, but to make the Clergy Parties to it; who would have other Things imposed on them for the same Reason, till they should be at last driven to the same Difficulty as now; but disabled to make a Stand, by having lost their Reputation. Some objected that their Refusal might be interpreted as a Failure of Loyalty by the Papists, or resented by the Dissenters, as Want of Tenderness towards them; or lastly, that the Church might be left destitute of her Pastors, by the Suspension or Deprivation of the Refusers. But to these Things it was answered, that Loyalty being Obedience according to Law, those were the loyal Men that did nothing contrary thereto; and that the best Friends to the Crown, are those who support the Law. That the Dissenters could not but see, that it was the Dispensing Power, and not their Indulgence, that was opposed. That the Church would suffer less by the Deprivation of her Ministers, than by this illegal Compliance; but that at all Events, it was necessary to do their Duty, and leave the Issue to God.

The Bishops resolve to take the Danger of Refusal to themselves.

The Result of this memorable Conference was, that the Bishops considering how fatal the Consequences might be, if the whole Body of the Clergy should be suspended for not reading the Declaration, and what Influence Fears or Hopes might have over some of the weaker Sort, resolved not to send it to them, but stand the Danger of the Refusal themselves. An Act worthy of those Times, when the Church of *Christ* subdued the World by Martyrdom and Sufferings. Dr. *Sancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Lloyd* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Dr. *Ken* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Turner* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Lake* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *White* Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* Bishop of *Bristol*, who were the only Prelates there, drew up a Petition to the King in Behalf of themselves and their absent Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses.

They draw up a Petition to the King.

It set forth, that the great Averseness they found in themselves to distribute and publish the Declaration, did not arise from Want of Respect to the King, or of Tenderness to the Dissenters; but that the Declaration being founded on such a Claim of Dispensing Power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament, they could not in Prudence, Honour, or Conscience, make themselves so far Parties to it, as the Publication of the same once and again in God's House, and in the Time of Divine Service, would in reasonable Construction amount to.

The Archbishop was then in an ill State of Health. So the six other Bishops went over to the King with the Petition, signed by all the seven. They had proceeded in this Matter with that Secrecy and Caution, that none but themselves knew what was contained in their Petition. The King was deceived by his Spies; and was made to believe, that the Bishops intended to get their own selves clear of the Difficulty, and to throw it upon the Clergy, by representing to him that Orders of that Nature use to be addressed to the Chancellors; and that the Occasion of their coming was to pray him to continue that Method. This was what the *Romanists* wanted: who thought the Disunion they hoped to make in the Church was now begun. So that the Bishops had an easy and quick Admittance into the King's Presence. The King, who expected quite another Thing, was startled and confounded when he heard their Petition read. He told them in a rough manner, he did not expect this from the Church of *England*, especially from some of them. He was their King, and would be obeyed; and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The Bishops just said, *The Will of God be done*; and making their Reverences, immediately retired.

They present it to him.

Who is vehemently offended.

This Disappointment was so unforeseen and unprovided for, as obliged the King's Popish and Arbitrary Counsellors to suspend their Resentments for some Time, while they should consult what to do in so nice and unexpected an Emergency. Some of the Popish Nobility, who had more Wisdom and less Zeal than their Ecclesiasticks, advised the King to let the Matter fall, and not to drive his Point so much against the Grain of his People. But their wholesome Counsels were overpowered by those of a blind and violent Majority, whose Advices falling in but too much with the King's own Temper, it was resolved to proceed against the Bishops with all Severity.

The *Romish* Cabal at a Stand.

In the mean time the Days appointed for reading the Declaration came on; but to the immortal Honour of the Clergy, not above two hundred out of that numerous Body throughout *England* could be prevailed on by Fears or Hopes, to concur in the mean Condescension demanded of them. Those who did obey were inconsiderable Persons; and some of these read it only the

The Clergy in general refuse to read the Declaration.



A.D. 1688. the first Sunday, but changed their Minds before the second. Others declared in their Sermons, that though they obeyed the Order, they did not approve the Declaration. And one more pleasantly than gravely, told his People, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and so stayed till they were all gone out of the Church, and then read it to the Walls. In other Places, as soon as the Minister began to read, all the People rose and went out. So that it appeared, that if the King proceeded in this Affair, he had not only the seven petitioning Bishops to deal with, but the whole Body of the Nation both Clergy and Laity.

The Bishops brought before the Council.

Three Weeks passed over before any Thing was done at Court; during which Time the paternal Tenderness of the Bishops to their Clergy, was the Subject of every Man's Discourse and Admiration; and every Mind was filled with Solicitude, for the final Issue this heroick Act would meet with. At last, the Bishops were summoned before the Privy Council; where it was demanded of them, whether they owned the Petition? Which after some Pause they did; adding, that they had done nothing which they were not ready to justify. They were then required to enter into Bonds to appear in the Court of *King's Bench*, to answer to an Information of Misdemeanour. But they all refused this, alledging their Privilege of Peers, which they were resolved to maintain, they said, as well as the Prerogatives of the Church, being bound by their Callings to oppose all Innovations in Government as well as Religion. *Jefferies*, who had hitherto spoken to them, was all in a Fury at this bold Answer, and threatened to send them to the *Tower*, and prosecute them with the utmost Rigour of the Law, unless they would immediately recant, and withdraw their Petition. But they unanimously answered, *that they were ready to go wherever his Majesty would please to send them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their Protector and their Judge; that they feared nothing from Men; and that having acted according to Law, and their own Consciences, no Fear of Punishment should ever daunt them.*

They are ordered to be committed to the Tower.

Which puts the City in a Flame.

The universal Respect shewn to the Bishops.

Upon this a Warrant was drawn up and signed by the Privy-Counsellors present, to commit them to the *Tower*; which was immediately put in Execution. But the News of this flew in a Moment through the City of *London*, and put it in the highest Fermentation that was ever known. The Court expected some Disturbance beforehand, and had ordered that the Bishops should be carried to the *Tower* by Water. But the People ran in Crowds to the River-side to wait their coming, and filled the Banks of the *Thames* by which they were to pass. All the Emotions and Transports that Love, Respect, Compassion, Fear, Grief, and Rage could beget, were expressed by the innumerable Spectators that beheld these venerable Prisoners from either Shore; who passed on

in a sedate Tranquillity, reposing themselves on their own Virtue and Innocence, and the Favour and Protection of the Almighty. Nor was this Affection shewn to these worthy Prelates by the Populace or the City only. When they were landed at the *Tower*, and received by the Guard there, the Officers and Soldiers met them with the utmost Respect, and fell before them on their Knees to beg their Blessings; and did not stick to say, that their Duty to the King was not sufficient to stifle their just Concern for those Reverend Divines, who were so unworthily used, only because they would not betray their Consciences, and the Trust reposed in them. It being about the Time of Evening Prayer, when the Bishops were brought thither, they went immediately to the Chapel, where a Passage in the second Lesson chanced to be well adapted to their Condition; *Giving no Offence in any Thing that the Ministry be not blamed; but in all things approving our selves as the Ministers of God; in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Necessities, in Distresses, in Stripes, in Imprisonments, &c.* The Court was alarmed, but not sufficiently warned, by these Instances of Respect shewn to the Bishops, and ordered the Guards of the *Tower* to be doubled.

The Apprehensions all Protestants, especially of the Church of *England*, were under upon this Commitment, were mightily increased when they heard two Days after that the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son. The former Suspicions concerning the Queen's Pregnancy, were not at all lessened by the Circumstances attending her Delivery. It happened at a Time when the Protestant Ladies attending the Court, were generally at Church; and neither the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, the *Dutch Ambassador* for the Princess of *Orange*, nor the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, according to ancient Custom, were present. Many other Things increased these Jealousies, which we shall hereafter take Notice of. Next Day was issued out a Proclamation for a general Thanksgiving for the same, but it was observed very coldly. The Imprisonment of the Bishops hung heavy upon the Minds of all of the Church of *England*; and this new Heir seemed to preface that the like Violences would be entailed on distant Times. The King was moved to take the Opportunity of the general Joy to discharge the Bishops with Honour to himself, as well as Satisfaction to the People. But he was not to be persuaded, and said, he should make his Authority contemptible if he suffered such an Affront to go unpunished. It is said he laid it down as a Maxim, (which proved a very mischievous one) that a King having made a Step must never go back, or encourage Disobedience by yielding to it.

The Queen brought to Bed of a Son.

Suspicious Circumstances.

A Week after their Commitment the Bishops were brought by Writ of *Habeas Cor.* to the Court of *King's-Bench*, to move for their being set free on Bail. The Council for the Bishops, who were some of the

great-



A.D. 1688. greatest Men of the Law, endeavoured to prove that their Commitment was illegal; but that was over-ruled by the Court. In the End the Bishops were obliged to plead to an Information given in against them, and to give Bail for their Appearance on that Day Fortnight to answer thereto. The publick Joy upon their Enlargement was answerable to the deep Concern that appeared at their Confinement. Persons of Quality and Rank were continually visiting them, one Company going out, as another came in. And when they came from *Westminster-Hall*, the Crowd that pressed to see them was so great, that they were forced to get to their Barge by private Stairs. But this would not free them from the Congratulations of the People, who saluted them from the Shore with loud Acclamations; some even running into the Water to beg their Benedictions. Publick Rejoycings were begun in the Evening, and continued all Night; which was spent in making Bonfires, drinking to the Healths of the seven heroic Prelates, and the like Demonstrations of popular Joy.

The Trial of  
the Seven  
Bishops.

On the Day appointed for the Trial, the Bishops appeared at the Court of *King's-Bench*. No fewer than thirty Noblemen, and those of the greatest Figure, attended this important Trial; besides an innumerable Concourse of other Persons, which filled *Westminster-Hall*, and all the adjacent Parts. As the Danger of these worthy Men approached, the publick Concern for them increased; nor did it appear any where more than in the King's Army, where the Soldiers were in such a Temper as was next to a Mutiny. The Council for the King were Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General; Sir *William Williams*, Solicitor-General; Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Recorder of *London*, and some others of less Note; but the chief Management lay on the two first, but more especially the latter. He had been Speaker of the two last unquiet Parliaments in the late Reign; but was now, by a common Transition, come about from one extreme to the other. The Council for the Bishops were Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Levinz*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, and Mr. *Sommers*, who generously exerted themselves upon this Occasion without Fee or Reward.

The Information laid against the Bishops was for a Misdemeanor in writing, framing, and publishing a seditious Libel against the King, under the Name of a Petition, tending to alienate the Affections of the Subject, &c. After a long Time had been spent in proving the Hand-writing of the several Bishops by Witnesses, the Publication was in the next Place to be made out; nothing of which did appear by any Evidence. It was indeed proved that they had at the Council Board owned the Petition, but the Court would not allow that to be a Publication; so that the King's Council were forced to send for the Earl of *Sunderland*, who introduced the Bishops to the King, by

whose Evidence the Publication was proved, A.D. 1688. as far as delivering the Petition into the King's Hands would amount to one. This being construed as a Publication, the Council for the Bishops proceeded to the material Part of their Defence. They insisted upon these two Heads; first, that a Subject receiving a Command from the Prince which he conceives illegal, may petition to be relieved from that Command: Secondly, that the Dispensing Power, on which the Declaration was founded, was actually illegal. The King's Council had very little to answer to so clear Arguments, and were driven to Absurdities in attempting it.

The Trial lasted for ten Hours. At the End, two of the Judges, *Holloway* and *Powell*, were of Opinion that the Petition was not a Libel, and the Lord Chief Justice *Wright* and Mr. Justice *Allybone*, that it was. The Jury, who were Persons of Figure and Character, went out and sat up all Night without Fire or Candle, though they soon agreed upon their Verdict; but this was done for the greater Solemnity. Next Morning the Courts being sat, and the Bishops brought before them, through numberless Crowds of People which had filled the Hall and all the neighbouring Places, the Jury came out, and brought in quitted their Verdict, *Not Guilty*. They are ac-

The Words were caught immediately from the Foreman, and carried from Mouth to Mouth throughout the Hall; which rung in a Moment with such loud and repeated Acclamations, as no Fear or Reverence of the sitting Courts could restrain. Thence they flew round the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; all that heard the News joining in them, and carrying them on to more distant Parts. The Acquittal of the Bishops soon reached the Camp at *Hounslow-Heath*, at which the Soldiers set up such a joyful and universal Shout, as if a Victory had been obtained. The King had entertained Hopes that the Bishops would be found Guilty, as he was apt to believe what he desired; so that he went to the Camp that Morning early, to appease any Disorder that might arise upon that Account, but came there only to receive this Mortification, which much discomposed him. All the ensuing Day was spent in Rejoycings, which spread themselves with the joyful Tidings through every Part of *England*, notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions that were issued from Court. The general Joy thereupon.

But so fatally was the King pushed on to his Ruine, that he would not yet take Warning. It was talked at Court that the Bishops should still be brought before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. But this was dropped, because it was expected they would plead to their Jurisdiction. So because the inferior Clergy were supposed to want the Courage and Power necessary to withstand such an arbitrary Tribunal, it was resolved to bring them under its Censure. Accordingly the Ecclesiastical Commissioners directed an Order to the Chancellors and Archdeacons to send in Lists of all the Clergy, The *Romanists* will not yet desert from pursuing the Clergy.



A.D. 1688. Clergy, both of such as had, and had not obeyed the Order of Council. But the Resentment the Nation had shewn at the Bishops Imprisonment and Trial animated them so, that they generally refused Obedience.

The Bishop of Rochester refuses to act in the Ecclesiastical Commission.

When the Day came to which they were cited, the Bishop of *Rochester*, though he had himself obeyed the Order, and had hitherto sat with the other Commissioners, but always voted on the milder Side, resolved to leave them, seeing Matters run on so fast to the Ruine of the Church. He wrote them a Letter, in which having excused himself for obeying the Order of Council, which he protested he did, because he thought himself in Conscience obliged to do it, he told them that he did not doubt but those who had not obeyed it, had gone upon the same Principle, with whom he would much rather chuse to suffer, than concur in bringing Sufferings upon them. This Letter stopped their Proceedings for that Day, and put them to a Stand. So they adjourned themselves to *December*; but never sat more. Thus ended all the Transactions produced by this famous Declaration, by which it pleased the Divine Providence to frustrate the Devices which powerful and crafty Wickedness had framed against the Innocent; and to catch those Politicians in the Snares they had laid for Men much better than themselves.

Which puts the others to a Stand.

But the *Romish* Cabal was so blinded and infatuated, that ill Success only served to make them more violent, not more cautious, or more moderate. They resolved now to declare open War against the Laws of *England*, and finding so little Hope to attain their Ends by Subtilty and Stratagem, to compass the same by downright Force. To this Purpose it was necessary to gain the Army; and this also was to be done by Violence, for they were strangely set on carrying all Things with a high Hand. A Writing was prepared, by which the Officers and Soldiers were to engage themselves to promote, as far as in them lay, the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests. To bring this to bear, it was to be proposed to all the Regiments, one by one; it not being doubted that if two or three could be brought to it, the rest would follow their Example. The Regiment it was thought fit to begin with, was drawn up in the King's Presence as for a Review; and when they were under their Arms, the Major was commanded to signify to them that the King required them to sign that Writing instantly, or to lay down their Arms upon the Place. But those brave Men loved their Countrey too well to assist in its Ruine; so that when they heard the Command, except a very few who were Papists, the whole Regiment disarmed themselves immediately.

The King tries to engage the Army to concur in repealing the Penal Laws and Tests.

But they nobly refuse it.

The King was Thunder-struck with the Sight, and for a few Minutes stood speechless; but having at last recollected himself, he commanded them to take up their Arms again, adding with a fullen discontented Look, that for the future he would not do them the Honour to ask their Advice. A

nobler Instance of publick Virtue is not to be found than that of these generous Soldiers; who could so unanimously, and upon so short a Warning, chuse to expose themselves and their Families to Want and Poverty, rather than consent to their Countrey's Undoing. It will be easily supposed, that the Resolution of those worthy Men discouraged the King from making any farther Attempts of the same Kind.

In the mean Time, though it pleased the Divine Providence thus to defeat the Attempts that had been made upon the Constitution, the Nation continued under severe and cruel Apprehensions. The King had so entirely forgot his Promises, as to give himself up to a bigotted Cabal, of whom it was hard to say, whether their present Madnes, or any future Moderation, were the more dangerous. The one made them capable of dreadful Extremities, the other might lead to Counsels more quiet, and therefore more surely pernicious. It is true the Army had in the late Instance forsaken him; but *Ireland* was a Seminary of Popish Soldiers, who were transplanted every Day into the *English* Regiments; and none could say what Alterations might come to be made there in Time. The Birth of the new Prince gave the *Romanists* Courage and Helps to enter upon Measures that could not otherwise be ventured on. And the intolerable Violence and Injustice with which the Protestants were treated in *Ireland*, shewed what the Consequence would be, if Popery should prevail as much here. So that the Face of Things was very dismal and gloomy, and the Clouds that hung over all the Land seemed ready to break in an impetuous Storm.

The dreadful Prospect at this Time.

In this sad State of Things, one Refuge only appeared, to which the distressed Religion and Liberties of *England* could run for Shelter, a Parliament freely chosen; but it was plain that the summoning and meeting of such an Assembly must be extorted from the King by open Force, if it was to be obtained at all. There was no Power in *England* able to make the least Head, nor could any Insurrection be reasonably agreed or ventured on. It was absolutely necessary that such an Attempt should have some stronger and more regular Support, than the uncertain Measures that could be concerted here for the compassing such an Enterprize. So that our Countrey had been utterly undone, had not the Divine Goodness, as it were in Foresight of this great Event, provided this Support in Foreign Parts.

The Prince of *Orange* had the nearest Relation to *England* of any Person abroad, and could not be supposed negligent of what passed there. Applications had been made to him upon the first Infringements of the settled Laws, and the Correspondence between him and the true Patriots among the Men of Quality and Rank, became more and more close and frequent, as those Incroachments multiplied and grew. The Lord *Mordaunt* had gone over to the Prince

Applications made to the Prince of Orange.



*fourty* A.D. 1688. two Years ago; who about a Twelve-month after was succeeded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Convert from the *Romish* Religion; who mortgaging his Estate for four thousand Pounds, came over to offer his Sword and Purse to the Prince, when his Country's Service should demand them. But the Prince regarded these Solicitations no farther, than to have a distant Eye to the Affairs of *England*, and to keep all Things in Readiness for a sudden Exigency, as far as was consistent with Secrecy.

But in *May* this Summer there went over Admiral *Ruffel*, who having a Sister in *Holland*, had a Pretence to cover his Journey, which was necessary to avoid Suspicion. He was intrusted by several great Men in *England* to represent to the Prince the Danger they were in, and to desire to know what Hopes they might have of his Assistance. The Prince made him Answer, that he must first be satisfied both in Honour and Conscience as to any such Attempt, which if it failed, would bring Ruine both on *England* and *Holland*. He told him that no private Ambition or Passions of his own, should engage him in so important a Design; but said, that if he were invited by some of the best Interest, and most valued in the Nation, in their own Name, and in the Name of others who should trust them, to come to rescue their Religion and Liberties, he would engage in the Enterprize; and that if there were Occasion, he believed he could be over by the End of *September*. With this Answer, Admiral *Ruffel* went back to *England*, and was followed by Mr. *Sidney*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. These applied themselves to several noble Persons, of whom the Earl of *Danby*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Churchill*, and others of eminent Rank, heartily concurred in the Invitation. These Advices determined the Prince to enter on this great Undertaking; in which Resolution the Relations that soon after came of the Ferment raised by the Bishops Imprisonment and Trial, and the suspected Birth of the new Prince, much confirmed him. The Army had declared openly against Popery, and treated the few Papists among them with Scorn and Aversion. The Seamen were in the same Dispositions; and it happening about this Time, that one of the Sea-Officers, who was a Papist, had caused Mals to be said aboard one of the King's Ships, the Fleet was in such a Mutiny upon the News, that it was with much ado that the Officers saved the Priests from being thrown over-board. So that the Temper of the whole Nation seemed exactly fitted to graft such an Enterprize upon.

The States-General also engaged.

But besides the Prince, it was necessary to engage the States-General to concur in this Undertaking. To this End those who negotiated this Affair, waited on the leading Members of that Assembly; and represented to them, how nearly *Holland* was concerned in the Preservation of *England*, whose Ruine must soon be followed by their own.

A.D. 1688. They remembered them how much their Republick in its Infancy had been obliged to the Assistance of our Countrey, to enable them to shake off the grievous Yoke of *Spain*; and how glorious it would be to them to be the Deliverers of so mighty a Nation, and the Sanctuary of the oppressed. So that all the Motives of Gratitude, Safety, and Religion, concurred to persuade them to join their Assistance in this necessary Undertaking. Thus, to humble the Pride of Man, our once independent and lordly Nation became a Suppliant for Help to that State, which but an Age before had neither Being, nor vital Support, which it did not draw from *England*.

The States-General had Reason enough to hearken to these Suggestions. Among the other wrong Steps taken by the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, he had, it seems, pressed it upon the Pope to make up the Differences between the two Courts of *France* and *Rome*, which were at that Time very high; and gave it as his Reason, that after that Accommodation, if the Pope would join with them, the two Kings would fall upon *Holland* without any Declaration of War. This Proposal was so little welcome to the Pope, who was at irreconcilable Enmity with *France*, that Cardinal *Cibo*, who was Cardinal *Padrone*, gave Notice of it, by the Pope's Order, to the Imperial Cardinals at *Rome*, who wrote the same to the Emperor; from whom it came round to the Prince of *Orange*. This was remembered by the States, and being compared with other Things, engaged them, though not without strong Opposition by some of great Figure among them, to lend their best Troops to the Prince of *Orange*, and heartily to concur with him.

The Prince favoured by this Concurrence, and tempted with the fair Prospect of Success, carried on his Design with great Diligence, and with equal Secrecy. He proposed to carry over to *England* a Force of about thirteen thousand Men; picked Soldiers, and the Choice of the *Dutch* Army. And because the States would be left exposed upon any Emergency, by the drawing off so many of their Troops, he secretly communicated his Design to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Zell*; who out of their Regard to the Protestant Interest, readily assisted the States with an equal Number of their own Forces.

The Secret of this Design, though it came of Course to be diffused every Day among more and more Persons, was yet inviolably kept. An Accident happened a little before, which gave a Colour for some extraordinary Preparations; but which, at the same Time that it covered the Enterprize, made the Progress and Issue of it very doubtful and lubricous. It will not be amiss to insist upon this somewhat largely, that the nice Composition of this great Machine, which now began to be put in Motion, may the more clearly appear.

It is in great Danger of failing.

In



A.D. 1688. In the preceding June, the Elector of Cologne died; who was not only Bishop of that See, but of Munster, Hildesheim, and Liege; so that his Dominions lay quite round the Netherlands. He had taken one of the Princes of Furstemberg into his Confidence, and was entirely governed by him. This Prince of Furstemberg, though a German by Birth, was absolutely French by Inclination; and it was by his Influence that the Elector was brought in 1672. to admit French Garrisons into all his Towns, by which the Republick of Holland had well nigh felt its Bane. The Treaty at Cologne was broke up upon his being seized there by the Emperor, who kept him Prisoner for a long Time. After his being set at Liberty, he was made a Cardinal by the Recommendation of France. This Cardinal had engaged the Emperor to consent to the Election of a Coadjutor at Cologne, under Pretence of carrying the Electoral Dignity into the Family of the Elector Palatine; it being always the Custom for the Coadjutor to succeed the Bishop to whom he is joined, without any new Election. But when the Cardinal had obtained this Consent, without which, by the Laws of the Empire, the Election could not be made, he managed his Interest in the Chapter so well, that he procured himself to be elected by a great Majority.

Cardinal Furstemberg like to be made Elector.

This was done the last Winter, and had not this Election wanted one Circumstance to confirm it, the Cardinal had succeeded as Bishop and Elector, without any Difficulty; by which Means the French Power, to which he was slavishly devoted, would have become so near and dangerous a Neighbour to Holland, as would scarce have given them Leisure to look abroad to help their distant Friends. But it happened that by the Canon Law, it was necessary to have this Coadjutorship confirmed by the Pope. A Message was sent to Rome for this Confirmation, which did not use to be denied; but there being at this Time a violent Breach between the Courts of France and Rome, the Pope kept off every Thing in which the former was any Ways concerned. So that the Elector died before this Confirmation arrived, by which Means a new Election became necessary.

Nevertheless the Cardinal was so sure of a considerable Majority in the Chapter, that this new Election would have brought him no Manner of Prejudice, had it not been for another Accident. The French, upon engaging the Cardinal in their Interests, had obliged him to accept of the Bishoprick of Strasburg, to lessen the Pension they were to pay him. And by the Laws of the Empire, no Man, who is already a Bishop, can be chosen into another See, unless by a Postulation, to which it is necessary to have the Concurrence of two Thirds of the Chapter. But the Cardinal's Party wanted one or two Votes of that Number. So that to make his Majority of Service to him, he was obliged to resign his Bishoprick of Strasburg. But it was necessary that this

Resignation should be made to the Pope, A.D. 1688. who knowing that his Denial would mortifie France, absolutely refused to accept it. The King of France sent a Gentleman with a Letter to the Pope, all in his own Hand, desiring him to accept the Resignation, and promising him thereupon all reasonable Satisfaction. But the Pope would neither admit the Bearer, nor receive the Letter.

Mean while, the Intrigues at Cologne went on in the Behalf of Prince Clement of Bavaria, the Elector's Brother; and ten Voices were made sure to him out of six and twenty. But he being but seventeen Years of Age, and besides not of the Chapter, it was necessary to get a Bull from Rome to dispense with those Things. The Pope was as easie towards the House of Austria, who stood for Prince Clement, as he was inflexible towards France; so that he granted the Bull without any Difficulty. And the Election coming on, the Cardinal, who had but sixteen Voices, against ten, was thrown out; his Postulation being defective. And Prince Clement's Election was adjudged good by the Emperor, and was afterwards confirmed at Rome. And thus the great Engine of the Revolution was enabled to move on safely, which had fallen to Pieces, had not the Pope, by assisting in this Election, driven in the very Nail that kept the Frame of it together; which no Hand but his could have done. For no Means are too unlikely for the Divine Providence to make Use of, to compass its sacred Ends.

But is unexpectedly thrown out.

Another Danger appeared from another Quarter, which was almost as wonderfully diverted. The French King had concluded the Peace of Nimeguen, with the usual Intention of ambitious Princes, to observe the same no longer than he thought convenient. He had now formed a Design upon Germany; but as this was just going to break out, a Whisper of the intended Invasion of England got Air; and the French Ambassador Monsieur d'Avaux, sent Word from the Hague to the Court of France, that some such Enterprize was going forward. There was a very close and strict Correspondence subsisting between the Courts of England and France, if not an Alliance. So that the King of France sent over to King James the Intelligence he had received, warning him to be upon his Guard, and offering him as great a Force as he should call for to assist him. It was proposed by France, that these Auxiliaries should be landed at Portsmouth, which Place should be put into their Hands. The Popish Lords and the Priests were for accepting this; but the Earl of Sunderland

Another Danger diverted.

The King of France sends Word to King James of the Prince's Design, and offers Assistance.

opposed it furiously. He said, that an Army of forty Thousand Men would be a real Strength; but that this Army would depend upon the Orders they received from France: They might master England indeed, but they would master the King at the same Time, who would be no better than a Viceroy to the French King. But as to any lesser Force, he urged that it would only serve

Lord Sunderland persuades the King not to accept it.



A.D. 1688. to make the King lose the Affections of the People, and drive his own Army to Desertion, if not to Mutiny. Upon these Advices, King James sent his Thanks for the French King's Kindness, but excused himself from accepting it.

This Refusal was a great Surprise to the French Court, who did not understand so well as the King, the Alarms and Jealousies his accepting the Offer would have created. Sir Bevil Skelton, the King's Minister, was tired out there with Questions about the Reason of this Conduct, which appeared to them so unaccountable. He was earnestly pressed to find some Expedient by which their Court might serve his Master in Spite of him. Skelton overcome by Importunity, at last told them, that if the most Christian King would order his Minister to present a Memorial to the States, declaring he would attack them if they attempted any Thing against King James, it might break the Measures entered upon. This was done, and put the States to a great deal of Perplexity. But it furnished them with an Answer to a Memorial presented to them by the English Minister at the same Time, demanding the Reason of their great Preparations at the Beginning of Winter. They answered him, that they armed in Imitation of his Britannick Majesty, being convinced of the Alliance he had entered into with France, as had lately been owned to them. And besides this, they gave Orders to their Minister at London to complain of the same at the Court of England. And, by the Persuasion of the Earl of Sunderland, the King was brought to disown these Steps taken by the French Court; and a Memorial was presented to the States, signifying the same. And because Skelton was supposed to have been concerned in this, he was sent for over, and committed to the Tower.

The French make another fruitless Application.

Upon which they engage their Forces upon an Invasion of Germany.

The French Court made one more Effort before they went upon the Enterprize of Germany; and offered the King to abandon that Design, and carry the War into Holland. But this was in like Manner rejected; and the French Ambassador, Monsieur Barrillon, wrote over to his Master, that if the Matter should come to a Push, it would certainly produce a long Civil War, which would oblige King James to seek to France for Aid upon their own Terms. He therefore advised his Court to go on that Winter with the Design upon Germany; assuring them it would be Time enough to think the next Year of making their Profit of the Affairs of England. The King of France took this Advice, and sent the Dauphin with the Strength of his Troops to make a furious Inroad into Germany; in which, though the French were successful, their Forces were so engaged, that before they could draw them off, the Revolution in England was completed. Nothing could be more critically happy than this Diversion of the French Forces, who might have given so much Hindrance to the intended Design on England, and have made some dangerous Advantage

of the Disorders of our Country. Now A.D. 1688. they were as seasonably put out of the Way, as the Prince of Orange himself could have ordered them.

The Preparations for this Expedition were so far advanced, and every Thing was so well secured behind, that it was thought unnecessary to suffer any longer the Constraint and Inconvenience that attends a strict Secrecy. Accordingly in the Middle of September, the Pensionary Fagel acquainted Albyville with the Prince of Orange's Design; adding, that if the Dutch Ambassador at London had said any Thing to the contrary, he had done it without Orders from the States. The News of this coming to Court, struck the deluded King like a Thunderbolt. At the reading the Letter that Albyville sent him, he turned pale, and for a while stood Speechless. The golden Phantom of unbounded Rule and Sovereignty, that had so long danced before him, and glittered in his Eyes, disappeared in a Moment; and he found himself standing on a frightful Precipice, while the Support that bore him was going to break to Pieces under his Feet. After some Time had diminished the Consternation of the first Surprise, a great Man endeavoured to support his Spirits, by representing to him that the Danger was less than he imagined; and that the Prince of Orange might be diverted from his Design, or defeated in the Attempt. But he made Answer, *I know my Son-in-Law's Character so well, that if he undertakes any Design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly be defeated.*

He would now have recalled the fugitive Affections of his People, just when it was too late. He began to feel what Princes should for ever reflect on, that no Counsellors are so faithful, or Friends so affectionate and true, as those who with most Zeal oppose their Sovereign's Will, when it becomes illegal and exorbitant. These salutary Monitors King James now found his Want of; and growing clear-sighted by Danger, summoned the Bishops, whose Ruin he was contriving just before, to desire their Advice in the Difficulties that surrounded him. It was some Concern to those good Men to meet with nothing but Disgrace from the King, while he was in the Sun-shine of his Prosperity; and to receive the Marks of his Favour and Confidence, only at a Time when he could do them but very little good. But they remembered that their Case was the same with what is generally the Lot of truly loyal Subjects in such Reigns; and forgetting what was past, they came to him furnished with such wholesome Counsels as the State of Things demanded. The Bishops that appeared before the King, were Winchester, Peterborough, Chichester, Rochester, Ely, and Bath and Wells; the Bishops of London and Bristol being out of Town, and the Archbishop of Canterbury indisposed. The King treated them with great Respect and Condescension; and told them, that he desired the Assistance of their Counsels in this

The Prince's Design made publick.

The King startled at the News.

He asks the Advice of the Bishops.



A.D. 1688. this present Exigency; assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and of the Rights of the People, without derogating from his own Prerogative. The Bishops answered this Kindness with all the Expressions of Duty and Loyalty on their Parts; and were going on, when the King told them, that he was not then at Leisure, and therefore desired them to go to consult together upon this weighty Matter: Upon which they took their Leaves, and entered into Deliberation at *Lambeth* on the Advice they should offer to the King.

The King makes several Concessions.

In the mean Time the King issued out a Proclamation, in which to prejudice Mens Minds against the Prince of *Orange*, he signified that his Design was to make an absolute Conquest of the three Kingdoms, and subject the same to a Foreign Power; nevertheless that as to himself, he declined all Foreign Succours, and relied wholly on his own Subjects, for whom he had often ventured his Life. In Conclusion, he informed them, that he intended to have met his Parliament in *November*; but upon this strange Attempt, designed to divert his gracious Purposes, he found it necessary to recall the Writs that had been issued out. He also took off the Suspension of the Bishop of *London*; and removed an Anabaptist who was Lord Mayor of *London*, and placed a Churchman in his Room. And farther to ingratiate himself, he sent back by *Jefferies* the Charter of the City of *London*, which was taken from them in the late Reign, as was mentioned above. He also published a general Pardon for all Criminals. But these Concessions came too late, every one being ready to attribute them to Necessity more than Kindness; for which some Proceedings afterwards gave but too much Reason. So that the stormy and contrary Winds which blew about this Time, and kept the *Dutch* in their Harbours, caused many a heavy Heart. All past Injuries and Contentions between these two Nations were forgot; and the *English* Nation thought with so much Pleasure and Welcome of an Army of Foreigners upon their Coasts, that the Lord *Dorset* said, *If the Dutch came at this Season, it might be called the Merry Invasion.*

The Bishops attend him with their Advice.

The Bishops waited on the King about eight or nine Days after their first Attendance; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London* being added to those who came at first. The Archbishop was the Speaker to that Reverend Council; the Substance of whose Advice was, *That the King should dissolve the Ecclesiastical Commission, reverse the Proceedings against Magdalen-College, restore the Law to its ancient Course, call a free Parliament, and be pleased to converse with his Bishops to hear their Arguments in behalf of the Religion which he had once professed.* This Counsel was more wholesome than pleasing, and required no ordinary Courage to deliver it with that Christian Fortitude and Primitive Temper to a Prince,

who had lived so long without hearing a truly *English* Advice. But the State of Affairs was such, that the King went about soon after to redress these Grievances. The Ecclesiastical Commission was in two Days after dissolved. The Bishop of *Winchester*, Visitor of *Magdalen-College*, was ordered to settle that Society according to Statute. A Proclamation was issued for restoring Corporations to their ancient Rights, Charters and Franchises. Popish Magistrates were displaced, and Protestants put into their Rooms. And thus the Fabrick which the *Romish* Cabal had been building near four Years, was thrown down and destroyed in twelve Days.

With which the King complies.

But the King fell in with his former evil Counsellors so quickly, that upon a Report that the *Dutch* Fleet was blown back by a Storm, and could not come out till the next Spring, Things began to return to their former State. The Bishop of *Winchester* who had cited the deprived Fellows of *Magdalen-College* to return, was recalled to *London*, upon a frivolous Pretence, and the Restoration of them was deferred. But again, when News was brought that the *Dutch* were in a failing Posture, he was sent back, and the Settlement of the College was completed. These Proceedings lost the King many Friends, who found him guided by Counsels equally foolish and pernicious.

But with Reluctance and Double-dealing.

The Court did what they could in Provisions of other Kinds against the intended Invasion. It was proposed to secure all suspected Persons, and send them to *Portsmouth*; but this was vehemently opposed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who said, that only a few could be taken, which would alarm the rest, drive them in to the Prince, and give them a Pretence for it. And by his Influence the Motion fell. The Lord *Dartmouth* put to Sea with a strong Fleet, and Forces were drawn out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, so that the King's Army was near thirty Thousand strong. Some of the Nobility waited on the King to offer their Service to him, to whom he gave Commissions for raising new Forces. A Proclamation was issued for guarding the Coasts, and removing all Conveniences from the Places where the Enemy should attempt to land. Extraordinary Prayers also were offered in the King's Chapel, where the *Hoste* was exposed. But the Mob growing insolent, the other Popish Chapels were shut up; and the Priests and Jesuits finding a Storm gathering in the Air, began to retire, and fly for Shelter into Foreign Parts.

He makes Preparations against the Prince's coming.

At this Time the King ordered the Baptism of the Prince of *Wales*, who was named *James-Francis-Edward*, the Pope being his Godfather. The Report of his being supposititious, which was little regarded while the King was in his Glory, was now thought worthy of Notice. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and other eminent Persons were sent for to the King. He told them that the Reason of his calling them together

The Prince of Wales baptized.



A.D. 1688. together was to give publick Satisfaction to them concerning the Birth of his Son, whom some were persuaded to believe was a supposed Child; that he had desired the Queen-Dowager to come, and ordered others to attend, to the Number of forty Persons, who were ready to depose what they knew relating to the Birth, which he hoped would satisfy them. The Queen-Dowager only said, she was in the Room at the Time of the Birth. The other Depositions were designed to prove, *first*, the Queen's being with Child; *secondly*, her being truly delivered of the same at the Time that was supposed. To prove the former, several of the Women that attended her swore, that they had known the Milk run out of the Queen's Breasts, in the Time of her Pregnancy; as is usual to Women in that Condition. One or two of the Ladies also deposed, that they had seen the Bigness of the Queen's Belly, which could not be counterfeit. To prove the second, the Midwife deposed, that she delivered the Queen of that Child who was now Prince of Wales. The Physicians deposed, that they saw and considered the After-birth warm and entire, immediately upon the Queen's Delivery. And the Lords who were in the Room attested, that they heard the Queen's Groans and Shrieks, like those of a Woman in Labour. The Queen's Laundress also deposed, that for a Month after she knew by the washing of the Queen's Linnen, that she was in the same Condition with other Women upon those Occasions. Some other collateral Things were sworn to, which tended to confirm the rest.

Depositions  
relating to his  
Birth.

Nevertheless these Depositions when made publick, did not answer the End designed by them. The Thing was not made so clear by them as to take away all doubt; and it was said, that the Suspicion that so universally prevailed was of that Importance as to demand some more convincing Proof. There was only one positive Evidence to the Birth and Identity of the Child, which was the Midwife; who being a Papist, was the less regarded. The Presence of so many Persons made an Imposture indeed difficult, but not impossible, considering the Distance at

which most of them stood. And it was A.D. 1688. urged, that their Attendance did not make amends for the Absence of the three Persons principally concerned; namely, the Princess Anne, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Dutch Ambassador. Several Stories have since been published, which have given Occasion to imagine that a Change was made of the Child after the real or pretended Birth thereof; the first dying\*. So that upon the whole it must be allowed, that very odd and unusual Incidents have concurred to raise Jealousies and Doubts about this Person. But as Matters of Fact and Report are easily mistaken or misrepresented, unless where several competent Witnesses agree to the same Circumstances; it seems the surest Method to lay the Stress upon this general Argument (though the other Testimonies ought to have their due Weight) that since the Court knew very well how universally the Truth of the Queen's Pregnancy was questioned, and of how fatal Consequence that doubt might prove to the Child she bore, she ought to have put the Matter out of dispute; which was to be done whenever she pleased. And since that Suspicion was not removed by those who were most concerned to do so, the British Nation is reasonably excused for retaining it still; even though it should be in itself ever so false at Bottom.

Soon after this, the Earl of Sunderland, who had been looked on as the Prime Minister throughout this Reign, or at least as in the very first Rank of the King's Counsellors, was on a sudden removed from all his Places, with the utmost Marks of Disgrace and Displeasure. This Incident caused a great deal of Speculation at that Time and since. Some said that the King had discovered him to be in a Correspondence with the Prince of Orange; which others have carried so far as to alledge that he pushed on his Master to all the violent Counsels that were followed throughout this Reign, in hopes to ruin him. But that Notion seems too refined and chimerical to lay any Stress on. He says of himself in a printed Apology published not long after, that he opposed all those de-

The Earl of  
Sunderland  
disgraced.

His Apology  
for himself.

\* To this purpose it may not be amiss to insert the following Relation, communicated to the Writer of these Pages, by a Friend, who received it immediately from the Person concerned.

"Colonel Sands, who was in the Service of his present Majesty King George II. and died in the Summer of the Year 1728. was at that Time Gentleman-Waiter to the Princess of Denmark. Her Royal Highness being at Tunbridge some Time after this Birth, sent this Gentleman from thence to enquire after her Brother's Health. He came to Court, and according to the Custom in such Cases, of going up without Ceremony or Interruption immediately to the King, he came into the Chamber where the Prince lay. He saw there a pale long visaged Child with red Spots in his Face, and other Marks of Weakness. This struck him so, that he took very particular Notice of it; but in a very short Time the Ladies in the Room came about him, and told him the Prince was asleep, and must not be disturbed; and made him leave the Room. At his going out he met the King; who asked him with a disturbed Countenance, whether he had seen the Prince? The Gentleman, who feared he had done something amiss, denied it, and said he had not Time to see him; upon which the King's Countenance cleared up, and he told him in a gracious Manner, that if he would go down he should see him. While he was waiting below, the Servants came about him, and detained him about an Hour, being very urgent with him to drink Wine, under Pretence of Refreshment after his Journey. But he excused himself industriously, and drank but one Glass. He was afterwards called to look at the Prince; but saw a Child of very different Looks and Complexion from that which he found before. He took so much Notice of this, that when he came away, he sat down with the first Opportunity, to commit to Writing what he had observed. This Paper he carried to the Princess, who upon the reading it, lift up her Hands and Eyes, saying, *My God, what are they doing!* After the Queen's Accession to the Crown, she recommended this Information to a Bishop who was inquisitive into this Affair. Thus far this Relation. The Bishop he was recommended to, was very probably Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, who made a great Collection of Facts relating to this Birth; but which has not yet seen the Light.

fructive



A.D. 1688. *fructive Measures with great Vehemence* which he was thought to promote; as the Dispensing Power, the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Proceedings against *Magdalen College*, and the imposing the Declaration upon the Clergy. As to his declaring himself a Papist, he alledges that he did it to secure himself from the Attacks of the *Romish Cabal*, who endeavoured to ruin him for the Opposition he made to the Violences they were putting the King upon. That it was by his Instigation, and against the Will of the Popish Faction, that the King lately rectified the false Steps he had taken before; and that he always advised him to salutary and popular Courses. That for the same Reason he opposed vehemently all Succours from *France*, as that which would prove dangerous both to the King and Nation; and not, as it was suggested, in order to betray him to the Prince. He owns himself to have been too deeply enamoured with the State and Splendor that attend on publick Employments; and would have it believed, that an Over-fondness of the vain Pomp of the World was the real Cause of his continuing so long at Court; while he disliked and condemned the Projects in which he still had a Part. Upon the whole, he appears by his own Confession to have been a Man void of any Sense of Religion or Conscience; and how far he may be credited in his own Vindication, the Reader will judge more from the probability of the Things alledged by him, than from the Credit of the Relater. We are told that the Prince of *Orange* absolutely denied the having any Communication with him; though it is certain he had with the Countess his Lady. He was a Man of great Parts, and had a superior Genius in Business to most Men, with an amazing Power of Insinuation. For though, as was said above, he was a warm Promoter of the Bill of Exclusion, he found means before King *Charles* the Second's Death, to enter into such Confidence with the Duke of *York*, that upon his coming to the Crown, this Earl was taken into the very uppermost Rank of those who were in Favour. And though he was so universally odious at this Time to all Protestants, that he was excepted out of King *William's* Declaration of Pardon as well as King *James's*, yet he found means at last to get such a high Degree of Confidence with him, as has given room for many odd Conjectures, though probably not true ones.

While these Things passed in *England*, the Preparations in *Holland* went on more vigorously than ever. And in the Beginning of *October* the *Dutch* Land Forces began to move from *Nimeguen*, where they were encamped, to be put on board five hundred Transports that waited for them in the *Zuyder-zee*. But the Wind continued Westerly till the 16<sup>th</sup>, when it came about to the East. The Prince of *Orange* then went to the Assembly of the States to take his Leave. He thanked them for the Kindness they had shewed him upon many Occasions. He took God to witness, that in all his Actions he had ever pursued his Countrey's Good, since he

was intrusted with the Government; and A.D. 1688. that he had no other Design in this Expedition than his Declaration testified. He commended to them the Care of their Countrey, if any Misadventure should befall himself; and in a particular Manner of the Princess, his Spouse. The Assembly was melted into Tears; some offered to speak, but Passion stopt their Words; so that what was said was very short and broken, but extremely tender. Only the Prince retained his usual Phlegm and Steadiness. Three Days were spent at *Helvoet-Sluis* before the Fleet could get out; at last on the nineteenth of *October* at Night they set sail. But the next Day the Wind came about to the North, and settled in the North-West, and at Night blew a Storm. The Seamen struggled with it all that Night, and all the next Day; though with great Hazard to so vast a Fleet; who were obliged to keep together, yet not to come too near each other. On the 21<sup>st</sup> in the Afternoon, the Signal was given to return into Port, which was done by the end of the 22<sup>d</sup> Day by the greater Part. Some stayed out longer, which were thought to be lost; but they all came in, in a few Days. Some of them were so shattered, that as soon as what they had on board was taken out, they sunk down. The Men of War continued riding at Sea, though the Wind was stormy. But on the 27<sup>th</sup>, the Storm grew so furious, that all who were ashore thought the greatest Part of them must be cast away; but the next Day they every one came in safe, except that one Ship had broke her Rudder, which was all the Damage.

The States and the Prince were no Ways discouraged, but repaired every Thing that was amiss with all possible Expedition. The Princess of *Orange* continued all this Time at the *Hague*. She ordered Prayers four Times a Day, and joined in them with great Devotion. She spoke little of publick Affairs, but was reserved and silent. The States sent some of their Body to inform her of their Proceedings from Time to Time. Her Answers were short; but such as made them often admire her Judgment.

The News of this Disaster flew immediately into *England*, and gave the Popish Party a short Triumph. They boasted that now the Disappointment of the *Spanish* Armada was recompensed to them, and that the Winds and Seas fought against the Hereticks. The Loss was vastly aggravated on both Sides; by the *English* Court, to discourage the Prince of *Orange's* Friends; and by the *Dutch*, to make King *James* secure. And it had a very fatal Effect upon him, who began upon this to recal some of his late Acts of Favour, which ruined his Credit.

But all Things were so well and so soon refitted in *Holland*, that on the first of *November* the Fleet put out again to Sea, with a fair East Wind filling their Sails. It was proposed at first to land in *Yorkshire*, where the Earl of *Danby* had formed a very strong Party, who were ready to rise in Arms, and join with the Prince. And because the Seamen had objected that it would be dangerous

The Fleet sets sail; but is driven back by a Storm.

The Triumph of the Papists in *England*.

The Fleet is refitted and puts out to Sea again.

His Character.

The Prince of *Orange* takes Leave of the States.



A.D. 1688. rous for the Fleet to ride out at Sea near that Coast, where a strong Easterly Wind would drive them towards the Shore, it was intended to send them away into the Channel, where they might lie in greater Safety, and prevent besides any Succours arriving from *France*. This Northern Course they endeavoured to hold, for a good Part of the first Day. But the Wind being not only full in the East, but very strong, the Seamen found it impracticable for the Fleet to keep that Course. So that at last the Signal was given for steering Westwards. The Wind which so favourably assisted the Prince, was so directly cross to the *English* Fleet which lay near the *Gun-Fleet*, that they could not possibly stir after them. Next Day the whole *Dutch* Fleet passed between *Dover* and *Calais*; so numerous, that they made a Line seven Leagues in Length, and were six Hours in passing by the Harbour. Before Night they came in Sight of the Isle of *Wight*. The next Day, being the Day of the Prince's Birth and Marriage, he was desirous to land his Army, in Hopes that the setting Foot on *English* Ground that Day would look auspicious, and animate the Soldiers. But *Torbay* being the designed Landing-place, they could not get so far Westward that Day. The Pilot, who was in the Ship that led the Van of the Fleet, was ordered to sail so, as to be short of *Dartmouth* by that Time the next Day appeared; it being designed to send in some of the Ships there, and go with the rest into *Torbay*. But by the Pilot's Mistake, they found themselves in the Morning past both *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*. The Wind was full in the East, though not so strong as before, so that there was no Prospect of recovering those Ports; which made it necessary to sail on to *Plymouth*, where it was doubtful whether they should be received; or if they were, they must have been engaged in a tedious Campaign in Winter, in an ill Country. This Mistake occasioned a great Consternation; and Admiral *Ruffel*, who was aboard the Ship, where the Pilot was, who had committed this Error, ordered his Men to clear the Boat to go aboard the Prince to consult with him upon this unlooked-for Misfortune. But while this was doing, on a sudden the Wind fell in the East; and after a short Calm, rose again in the South; which was the very Wind they needed to carry them happily to their intended Landing-place. And setting up their Sails before it, they were brought by a soft and pleasant Gale in four Hours Time into *Torbay*.

The Prince  
lands at *Torbay*.

Immediately the Prince and Marechal *Schomberg* went ashore, and as many of the Land-Forces as conveniently could, at a small Village called *Broxbolme*. The Night coming on soon after, the Soldiers were forced to spend it in the Fields, for want of better Accommodations; but the Weather proved so warm, notwithstanding the Season of the Year, that they got no Harm by it. Next Day they found a Place within a

Quarter of a Mile's Distance, so convenient for landing the Horse, that though they came to it by meer Accident, a better could not have been found round the Island of *Great Britain*. So that this Business was done in three Hours, which it was expected would take up as many Days; and by Noon that Day the Army was in full March towards *Exeter*, twenty Miles off. They soon after heard of a more extraordinary Token of the Providence of God assisting this Enterprize. For the Lord *Dartmouth's* Fleet, which was with incredible Labour got out to Sea, in Quest of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was up with the Isle of *Wight*, was met by a terrible Storm from the West, which stopped their Progress, and shattered them so, that they were obliged to put into *Portsmouth*, and were unfit for Service the rest of the Year. 'Tis said indeed, that the Fleet was so well affected in general to the Prince of *Orange*, and such Measures were concerted between the Flag-Officers and Commanders, that little would have been done against the *Dutch* Fleet. But the Hazard of meeting them was so great, that it was reasonably accounted a signal Mercy that it was hindered. The Prince made haste to *Exeter*, where he stayed ten Days, expecting the Country to come in to him.

The King's  
Fleet beat  
back by a  
Storm.

The Prince  
comes to  
*Exeter*.

The Prince's  
Declaration.

He there caused his Declaration to be published, in which the several illegal Acts committed since the Beginning of this Reign were enumerated; the King's assuming the Dispensing Power, and in Consequence of the same, advancing Papists into Offices of Trust and Power; his setting up an Ecclesiastical Commission, by which the Bishop of *London* was suspended, and the President and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* were arbitrarily ejected from their Freeholds; his allowing Popish Monasteries and Colleges of Jesuits to be erected; his turning out of publick Employments all such as would not concur with him in repealing the Test and Penal Laws; his seizing the Charters of the Corporations; his putting the Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of Papists; and assuming an absolute and arbitrary Power in *Scotland*, by which it was easie to judge what he designed in *England*. It was then said, that the Subjects having endeavoured, by humble Petitions and Representations, to persuade the King to rectify these Disorders, their Instances were not only in vain, but prosecuted as Criminal; as in the Case of the seven Bishops. That the great Remedy for these Evils, a lawful Parliament, could not be procured, by Reason of the Methods that had been taken in Corporations to model them, contrary to Law. That there were besides great Presumptions and Suspicions, that the Child called the Prince of *Wales*, was not born of the Queen. That the Princess of *Orange* being so much concerned in this last Article; and the Prince and the *Dutch* Nation so much obliged to the *English* for interposing in their Behalf in the great Danger of 1672. they had heartily espoused the Nation's Interest, which was now



A.D. 1688. now in such manifest Peril; to which the Prince was earnestly solicited by many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Persons of all Ranks. He therefore for these Ends was come over, and had brought with him a considerable Force to defend him from the Violence of those evil Counsellors the King was beset with. That his Expedition had no other Design but to cause free and lawful Parliaments to be assembled both in *England* and *Scotland*, and to procure a lasting and happy Establishment of the three Kingdoms. This was the Substance of the Declaration, as it was framed in *Holland*. But the King, having upon the Prince's coming, reversed many of those illegal Acts that were done by him before, an Addition was made to it, in which it was observed, that though an imperfect Redress had been offered for the past Violences, yet that it was plain that nothing but a Declaration of the Rights of the Subject in a free Parliament could be a lasting Security against the like Exorbitances; and not transient Acts of Grace, extorted by Necessity, and to be resumed at Pleasure.

Few come in to him at first.

This Declaration was read publickly in the Cathedral at *Exeter*, where though the Prince stayed a Week, yet none of the Gentlemen of the Country came in to him. The People, though they treated him with all Respect, and his Soldiers with great Kindness, were at first backward to join with him. It is said that in a Council of War held there, he suffered it to be proposed to reembark for *Holland*, though he did not agree to it. But it was not long before he found an Alteration.

The King's ill Conduct.

Mean while the King's Conduct was not at all amended by the Danger he was in. His Army was considerably superior to that of the Prince; and had he used that Celerity so critical an Occasion required, and marched directly towards his Enemies, before his own Soldiers had Time to cabal among each other, or the newly-landed Troops to refresh themselves, or increase their Numbers, he would, in all Likelihood, have defeated the Prince's Design. Instead of this, he took the contrary Course to what he should have done. He talked high, and did little. He issued out a Declaration against the Prince, in which he charged him with having a Design to usurp the Crown; to which End, he said, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the People, by demanding a free Parliament; whereas he knew a Parliament could not be free, when an Army of Foreigners was in the Heart of the Kingdom. He then promised to call such an one, when his Kingdom should be freed from this Invasion; and in the mean Time hoped his faithful Subjects would concur in suppressing his Enemies, and the Rebels that joined them. And when he was informed that the City of *London*, and the Counties of *York* and *Kent*, designed to address him to come to an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, he declared in Council, that he should look upon those as

his Enemies, who should pretend to advise him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms. He relied much on his Army; and seems to have laid a great Stress on a Notion, that the Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, which had been carried by too many of the Church of *England* to an extravagant Height, would have bound the Hands of the Members of her Communion; and that his Declaration of Indulgence had engaged the Dissenters to him. His Army was ordered to rendezvous on *Salisbury-Plain*, where he reckoned to have a Body of thirty Thousand Men, which he designed to command in Person. And the Duke of *Berwick* was ordered to *Portsmouth*, to secure that important Fortrefs.

In a very short Time, the Falling-in to the Prince of *Orange*, and the Defection from King *James*, began. On the eighth Day of the Prince's Stay at *Exeter*, the Gentlemen of the first Rank in the neighbouring Country, came to attend upon him, to offer him their Service and Credit; as Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis Ware*, Colonel *Palmer*, and others.

The Gentlemen of the West join the Prince.

Upon the Arrival of these Gentlemen, an Association was drawn up, by the Proposal of Sir *Edward Seymour*, which was signed by all the *English* Lords and Gentlemen there. The Design of it was, to bind themselves to stick to each other till the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom were so secured in a free Parliament, that the Nation should be no more in Danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And in Case any Attempt were made upon the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, they engaged to prosecute it with all the Severity of a just Revenge, upon the Perpetrators and their Adherents. This Association was carried to other Places, where Multitudes of Hands signed it; especially at the University of *Oxford*, whither the Prince was earnestly invited, with an Assurance that their Plate should be at his Service if he wanted it.

After this, the Nobility and Gentry were coming in every Day to him; the Lord *Colchester*, Son to the Earl *Rivers*, accompanied by the Honourable Mr. *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John Howe* Esquire, and about threescore Gentlemen on Horseback, came in first. They were followed by the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Ruffel*, and others. But what was yet more, the Lord *Cornbury*, who commanded a Regiment in the King's Army, not only came in, but brought his whole Regiment, besides part of two others. The Lord *Lovelace* was on his Way towards the Prince, but had the Misfortune to be stopped at *Girencester* by the Country Militia; where after a short but sharp Skirmish, he was taken Prisoner.

Others come in.

The King, who should have gone immediately to have met the Prince upon his Landing, made it twelve Days before he set out, for his Army. He had just Courage enough to embark in a dangerous Enterprize, but

The King in Perplexities.



A.D. 1688. but not enough to enable him to look the Difficulties of it stedfastly in the Face, now they came upon him. Those Counsellors, whose Folly and Bigottry had brought their Royal Master into this Danger, wanted Understanding and Abilities to help him out of the perplexed and perillous State he was in. Yet he remained so strangely infatuated, that he would still listen to those bewitching *Sirens*, though they were drawing him upon his Ruine; while he continued inflexible and deaf to the wholesome Advice and earnest Warnings of his truly faithful and loving Subjects. While he was in the Distraction that must attend such a State of Affairs as his were in, the two Archbishops, five Bishops, two Dukes, *Grafton*, and *Ormond*, with ten other Lords, which were much the greater Part of the Peers who were then in Town, thought themselves obliged to interpose for the Safety of their King and Countrey. Accordingly they drew up a wholesome Petition, which was presented to the King by the Archbishops, and two of the Bishops; in which they with all Respect laid before him, that in Duty to God, his Majesty, and their Countrey, they could not but offer it to him, as their Opinion, that the only visible Way to save his Majesty, and his Kingdom, would be the calling of a Parliament, regular and free in all its Circumstances. And they farther besought him to enter upon such a Treaty, as might save the Effusion of Christian Blood. The King did not answer this salutary Representation in some Time; and it having been variously discoursed on, the Lords thought fit to publish it. But the Jesuites Cabal, who knew that a Free Parliament would end in their Ruine, were so enraged at this, that they printed severe Reflections upon it. But it was not long before the King gave it the following Answer; *My Lords, what you ask of me I most passionately desire; and I promise upon the Faith of a King, that I will have a Parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm. But how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its Circumstances, as you petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near one hundred Voices?* This Answer lost the King many Friends, who found him so reluctant in giving his Consent to the Meeting of a Parliament. They allowed, that the Objection he made was plausible, but said it was by no Means sufficient; and added with Concern, that his solemn Promise might perhaps have been taken as a Security, had not he himself shewn before, by so many Examples, how little it could be depended on.

The King sets out for his Army.

But at last the King set out from London to *Salisbury*, where his Army lay. Before he went out of Town, he summoned all the Officers of his Army that were there, and told them, he had promised to call a Free Parliament, as soon as the Prince of Orange had quitted the Kingdom; and to do all in his Power to quiet the Minds of his People, by securing their Religion, Laws and Liber-

ties. But added he, if after all this, any of A.D. 1688. you are not satisfied, let him declare himself; I am willing to grant Passes to all that desire to go over to the Prince of Orange, and spare them the Shame of deserting their lawful Sovereign. Upon this some of them promised to spend their Blood in his Defence. The Duke of *Grafton*, who was one of them, was suspected by the King; who spoke to him in private, and told him, that he was sure he could not pretend to act upon Principles of Conscience, for as he knew little of Religion, he regarded it less. The Duke could not much contradict this, but told the King in Answer, *That though he had but little Conscience himself, he was of a Party that had a Conscience.*

The King arrived at *Salisbury* the nine-<sup>He arrives at Salisbury.</sup>teenth, much disordered and fatigued with a bleeding at the Nose. The next Morning, as he went to view a Part of his Army posted at some Distance, he was seized afresh with the same Accident; which continued so violently, that nothing could stop it, but the breathing of a Vein, which prevented his going farther. This Illness was counted ominous; for from that Day forward, Disappointments and Misfortunes poured in upon him like a Torrent. On the same unlucky Day, most of the chief Officers came to the Earl of *Feverham* the General, desiring him to assure the King, that they would upon Occasion spend the last Drop of Blood in his Service; but that they could not in Conscience fight against the Prince, who was come with no other Design, than the calling of a Free Parliament, and securing their Religion and Liberties. And from this Time he was entertained with continual News of Desertions and Defections of his Servants and Friends, and Insurrections in almost every Part of his Kingdom.

The next Day after this Declaration the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a Brigade of five Thousand Men in the King's Army, and was highly in the King's Favour, left him, and went over to the Prince of Orange. He was accompanied by the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and four or five Captains. This Desertion, and the Representation of the Officers, so confounded the King, that upon a false Rumour that *Mareschal Schomberg* was marching to fight him, he left *Salisbury* with great Precipitation, and hastened to London. In his Way thither he was forsaken by Prince *George* of Denmark, the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *John Herwet*, and others, who left him at *Andover*. The Kingdom in the mean Time was filled with Attempts and Insurrections in Favour of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. The Earl of *Bath* secured *Plymouth* for the Prince, and received the Dutch Fleet there. The Lord *Lovelace* was rescued by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and others, who got Possession of *Bristol*. The Earl of *Devonshire*, with several Lords and Gentlemen assembled at *Darby*, and declared for the Prince of Orange, and a Free Parliament. Soon after, a Bo-

Yet unwilling to give his People Satisfaction.

Several Lords address the King to call a Free Parliament.

But the King evades their Request.

The whole Kingdom deserts him at once.



A.D. 1688. a Body of Nobility and Gentry appeared at Nottingham, who published a Declaration of their joining in the same Cause. The Earl of Danby, with his Son the Lord *Dumblaine*, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and other Persons of Quality, surprized and possessed the City of *York*; disarmed and put out all the Papists, and declared for a Free Parliament. At the same Time *Hull* was surprized by Colonel *Copley*, its Deputy-Governor, who made the Lord *Langdale*, its Popish Governor, the Lord *Montgomery*, and several other Papists, Prisoners; while the Townsmen and Seamen joining with him, secured the Fort and Citadel. The great Town of *Newcastle* received the Lord *Lumley*, and declared also for a Free Parliament. The Town of *Berwick* followed the Example of *York* and *Newcastle*, and declared for the Prince. The Duke of *Ormond* went to *Oxford* with a Body of the Prince's Troops, and caused his Declaration to be read there. And shortly after the City of *Norwich* was secured by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Duke of *Somerset* also, with the Earl of *Oxford*, and other Persons of Note, went over to the Prince; and the Earl of *Stamford* and Lord *Delamere* joined the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Bristol*. And five Commissioners set out from *Scotland* to demand a Free Parliament in that Kingdom. And not long after, the Lord *Dartmouth* and the Officers in the Fleet, sent a mortifying Address to the King to beg of him that he would call a free Parliament, as the only Means left to quiet the Minds of his People.

The Princess  
Anne retires.

Besides this, when the King arrived in Town, the first News that met him, at the Entrance of his Palace, was that the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* was retired the Night before. The unfortunate Prince was struck to the Heart when he heard this, and bursting into Tears, cried out, *God help me! my own Children have forsaken me!* It seems upon the Recess of her Husband Prince *George*, the Princess was so afraid of the King's Anger upon that Account, that she told the Lady *Churchill* her Confident, that she could not bear the Thoughts of it, and would leap out of the Window rather than meet him. Upon this the Lady *Churchill* consulted with the Bishop of *London* on the proper Means of providing for the safe Retirement of the Princess. All Things being disposed, her Royal Highness, having first gone to Bed to avoid Suspicion, stole out of her Closet at Midnight by private Stairs, accompanied only with the Lady *Churchill*, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them; and went to the Earl of *Dorset's*, whose Lady furnished them with those Things that were necessary. From thence they went to the Bishop of *London's* House in *Aldersgate-street*, with so much Privacy, that they entered at the Back-door. Here they took Coach, attended by the Bishop, till they came to *Northampton*, where the Earl of *Dorset* met the Princess with a Guard, which accompanied her to *Nottingham*. And in some Time a little Army was formed about her there,

who put themselves under the Command of A.D. 1688. the Bishop of *London*. From thence she was conducted to *Oxford*, where the Prince, her Husband, met her.

But the Cause of her Recess not being known, or the Place she was gone to, it had like to have produced very terrible Consequences. A Report had gone abroad, that the Queen had treated her with great Indignity, and, as some said, had given her a Box on the Ear; which being succeeded by the News that she was missed from *White-hall*, threw the People into such a Rage, that they threatned to tear all the *Romish* Party to Pieces; being possessed with a Notion that she was either murdered, or put secretly in Prison. The universal Concern for that illustrious Lady, ever the Darling of the *English* Nation, was such, that the King's Guards, instead of repelling the popular Fury, were ready to join in it. But a Letter from her to the Queen being produced, giving an Account of the Reasons of her Retiring, which shewed that she was safe, it quieted the Tumult and Ferment the City was in.

Which  
throws the  
People into a  
Rage.

The Prince of *Orange*, upon the News of King *James's* Arrival at *Salisbury*, came out to meet him. A small Skirmish happened between two Parties, of which that of the Prince of *Orange* was much the less numerous. Nevertheless by a Stratagem of a Miller, who when the Prince's Men were overpowered, came and told the King's Forces, that a strong Detachment of the Prince's Troops was coming towards them, the superior Party retired in great Confusion. This small Action was much to the Advantage of the Prince, by the Reputation it gave his Troops. But the King's main Army coming back to *Reading*, the Prince made haste to possess himself of *Salisbury*, into which he made a splendid publick Entry.

A Skirmish  
between the  
Forces of the  
King and  
Prince.

At this Time an unknown Person ventured to publish a Paper in *London*, and other Places, called, *The Third Declaration of the Prince of Orange, &c.* It was penned with great Spirit and Boldness, requiring all Magistrates to disarm and secure all Papists; and threatening to deliver them up to the Discretion of his Soldiers, in case any of that Religion should be found with Arms in their Houses. It was a very bold Attempt for a private Person to venture on; but it had a wonderful Effect, being punctually obeyed in every Place, no Man doubting that it was the Prince's own. It caused some Disorders in the City, the Apprentices getting together, and committing many Irregularities. But this outrageous Fury was still under such a Governance and Order, that no Blood was shed.

A third De-  
claration in  
the Name of  
the Prince.

The King surrounded with those Perplexities, Fears and Distractions that accompany a ruined Authority, sent for such of the Protestant Privy-Counsellors and Peers, as were in Town, to ask their Advice and Opinion. They agreed that he should send Commissioners to the Prince of *Orange* to

The King at  
last takes Ad-  
vice of his  
Protestant  
Counsellors.



A.D. 1688. know what he demanded, call a Free Parliament, grant a general Pardon to all those who had joined the Prince, and turn all Papists out of their Employments. This Advice, though so wholesome and necessary, was so little agreeable, that he took the Night to consider of it. But the next Day he declared his Consent to it, and proceeded accordingly; only the last Article stuck by him so closely, that he said he would leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament.

He sends Commissioners to the Prince.

The Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Godolphin* were appointed Commissioners to go to the Prince of *Orange*. These Lords sent to the Prince to know where they should wait on him; who first appointed *Amesbury*, but afterwards *Hungerford*. He also desired them to send their Proposals in Writing, which they did, to this Effect; That since the Causes of Complaint were by Consent to be referred to a Free Parliament, the King had declared his Resolution to call one; in order to which he had issued out his Proclamation and Writs; and to prevent any Interruption therein, he consented to every Thing that could be reasonably desired for the Security of those who should come to it. He had therefore sent them to him for the adjusting of all Matters relating thereto, and to enter into a Treaty about the same.

He offers them seven Proposals.

The Prince took a Day to deliberate hereon with those great Men who were with him, and ordered the Earls of *Oxford*, *Sbrensbury*, and *Clarendon* to treat with the Kings' Commissioners; and they delivered the seven following Proposals in Answer. 1. "That all Persons, unqualified by Law, be turned out of Offices and Employments. 2. That all Proclamations and Acts against the Prince and his Party be recalled. 3. That the Custody of the *Tower* of *London* be immediately put into the Hands of the City. 4. If the King should think fit to be at *London*, during the sitting of the Parliament, that the Prince might also be there, with an equal Number of his Guards; or if the King chose to retire from *London*, the Prince might be at a Place at the same Distance; and that the respective Armies be thirty Miles from *London*; and that no more Forces be brought into *England*. 5. That for the Security of the City of *London*, *Tilbury-Fort* be put into the Hands of the said City. 6. That a sufficient Part of the Revenue should be assigned the Prince for the Maintenance of his Troops, during the sitting of Parliament. 7. That to prevent the landing of Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* should be put into such Hands as should be agreed between the King and Prince.

The King's Commissioners were well pleased with these Proposals, which tended so naturally to procure that happy and Parliamentary Settlement, which alone could reduce the Members of the State, now all disjointed and dispersed, into their proper

Order and Places. The King himself upon A.D. 1688. reading them seemed satisfied with them, and said, *That they were fairer than either he did or could expect.*

He was now to consider whether he would preserve his Crown by abandoning the Designs he had so long pursued. His Person and Regal Dignity were safe, but his Cause undone for ever. He might have been still a King, still great, and still happy too, if he could think himself so when bounded by Law; but was to be for ever disabled from making a second Invasion on the Religion and Liberties of his People. But this he could not be content with; and his Reluctance to submit to those equitable Conditions of Reigning, crowned the rest of his ill Conduct, and completed his Ruine. He received the Proposals of the Prince in the Evening of the tenth of *December*, after which he presently called an extraordinary Council; and besides the Lords who were in Town, sent for the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs. He acquainted them that the Queen and the Prince were gone to *France* the Night before, but promised that himself would stay here. They all appeared unanimous for his accepting the Prince's Proposals; and he also seemed to design the same. So that at parting, the King having ordered the Council to attend him the next Morning to give their farther Advice, the Assembly broke up with great Satisfaction, and Hopes of seeing a joyful Alteration of Things; the Storms that at first threatened the Land, and afterwards turned with such Fury on the King, seeming now past and overblown, and ready to change to a bright and smiling Day.

The King's Affairs at a Crisis, which takes a fatal Turn.

He calls a Council under Colour of asking Advice.

But other Counsels and Intentions were in the King's Breast. There can be no Doubt that he had some Time before concerted his Retreat out of the Kingdom, and that the Queen's Departure was to be the Fore-runner of his own. But since the Terms sent him were by his own Confession better than he expected, it seemed reasonable that they should have produced some new and more mature Deliberation, before he fixed on that Resolution, which was never to be recalled. But the same malignant Star still influenced his Counsels. He took a Night to consider of the wholesome Advice his Peers gave him, but not an Hour to think on that by which he was undone. As soon as the Council had left him, he prepared for his Escape to *France*; if it be proper to use that Word, when no real Danger was near. He wrote first a Letter to the Earl of *Ferversham*, to order him to disband the Army. In the next Place he ordered all the Writs to be burnt, by which the Parliament was to be called; and because some were sent out, he entered a *Caveat* against them. He then disguised himself, and between two and three in the Morning left his Palace in Company of Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and Mr. *Delabadie*, and took a Boat at the Privy-Stairs in *Whitehall*, carrying the Broad Seal with him; which when he

But leaves his Palace on the same Night.



A.D. 1688. he was upon the *Thames*, he threw into the Water. He then crossed the River, and went by Land to *Feverſham*, where the Veſſel lay that was prepared to carry him over.

With this Step his Reign ended, and it was the laſt of the many Breaches of Faith in it. What his Reason was is impoſſible to know certainly; it is certain he gave none, and very near as certain there was no good one to be given. Thoſe who cenſured it moſt moderately, ſaid that it ſhewed his Priests had more Regard to themſelves than to him, and that he conſidered their Intereſt more than his own; ſince he choſe to wander abroad with them, and try what he could do by a *French* Force to ſubdue his People, rather than ſtay at home under thoſe Reſtraints, which his own ill Conduct had made ſo equitable and ſo neceſſary. It was alſo wondered at, why he did not go away in one of his own Yachts or Frigates, rather than expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous and ignominious a Manner. In a Word, it was impoſſible to put a good Conſtruction on any Part of the Scene he now acted.

The Nation left without any Form of Government.

The next Day in the Morning, the great Council met at *White-hall*; but were all confounded and amazed when they heard that the King was gone. It was ſoon known in the City; and for a ſhort Time filled all Men with Doubts and Perplexities as to what would happen next in this unheard-of State of Affairs. There appeared now in the Nation neither King nor Parliament; ſo that the whole ſupreme and ruling Power of the three Kingdoms was as it were diſſolved and vaniſhed. But the publick Thoughts which are peculiar to free Nations, and had at this Time more than ordinarily exerciſed Men's Minds, being directed by the Divine Mercy, guided them to an eaſy and natural Method to bring the diſmembered State into Order and Place again. The King's Forces declared for the Prince, and turned out the Papiſts from among them; and the principal Officers met at *Whitehall*, and ſent to the Prince to acquaint him that the King was gone, but that they would aſſiſt the Lord-Mayor to keep the City quiet till his Highneſs ſhould arrive there.

Some Appearance of Order.

The Lords come to the City.

But what was of moſt Importance was, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who were the only Part of the Legiſlature ſubſiſting, joined their Care and Conſultations with the Influence and Power of the City of *London*, to preſerve the publick Quiet. The Peers went immediately to *Guild-hall*; and ſending for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, they declared to them, that the King having withdrawn himſelf, they reſolved to apply themſelves to the Prince of *Orange*, and uſe their Endeavours with him to obtain ſuch a Parliament, as might ſecure the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country. This Declaration was written out, and then ſubſcribed by all that noble Aſſembly; which conſiſted of the two Archbiſhops, five Biſhops, and two and twenty temporal Lords. They deputed four of their Body to wait up-

They apply themſelves to the Prince.

on the Prince with it. And becauſe Colonel A.D. 1688. *Skelton*, who was Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was a Perſon obnoxious, they removed him by their Authority, and put the Lord *Lucas* in his room. They alſo ſent an Order to the Lord *Dartmouth*, requiring him to avoid all Acts of Hoſtility with the *Dutch* Fleet; and to remove all Popiſh Officers. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council ſent an Addreſs to the Prince at the ſame Time with the Lords Declaration; deſiring his Protection, and his ſpeedy Repair to the City. This was followed by an Addreſs from the Lieutenantcy to the ſame purpoſe; promiſing their Care for the Peace and Safety of the City. And the Militia of *London* and *Weſtmiſter* were preſently in Arms.

Nevertheless, this did not reſtrain the Rab-

Tumults in the City.

ble, a ſort of People not eaſily ſtirred, but violent when once in Motion, from committing ſeveral great Diſorders. They fell upon the Maſs-Houſes with great Fury; which were utterly demolished; and the Materials burnt with the uſual riotous Ceremonies and Acclamations. There was no Miſchief done to Mens Perſons, but ſeveral Houſes were plundered; nor could their licentious Rage be withheld from invading the ſacred Privileges of Publick Miniſters; the Houſes of the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors being broke into, and much Damage done. But the Parliament that ſate afterwards endeavoured to recover the Nation's Honour, by making them ample amends for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained. In the miſt of this popular Fury, they accidentally light-

Jeffreys found.

ed upon the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, who had diſguiſed himſelf in a Seaman's Habit, and retired to *Wapping*, in order to eſcape to *Hamburg*. He had the good Fortune to fall into the Hands of ſome Perſons who had Authority, and ſaved him from the Populace, or he would have been pulled to pieces. Their Rage againſt him was ſuch, that they followed him to the Lord-Mayor's Houſe where he was carried, crying out, that he might be delivered to them, and threatening to whip him to Death; and it was with much ado they were kept off him. And no doubt, in the inexpressible Agony he muſt then feel (juſtly due to all ſuch Inſtruments of Tyranny) he underwent a ſevere Penance for the barbarous and illegal Acts he had committed before. When he was brought before the Lord-Mayor, he was in ſuch a Terror and Conſternation that he earneſtly begged to be committed to the *Tower*, that he might be in Safety from the outrageous Rabble. His Requeſt was eaſily complied with; and a Body of the Trained-Bands appointed to ſecure him. He never came out thence again; dying there, as ſome have ſaid, of drinking ſtrong Liquors; but according to better Informations, of the Stone.

And committed to the Tower.

The Earl of *Feverſham* upon the Receipt of the King's Letter above-mentioned, diſmiſſed immediately four thouſand Men who were with him. But he was very much blamed for doing a Thing of this Conſequence, without adviſing with either the Prince

Part of the King's Army diſbanded.



A.D. 1688. Prince of *Orange*, or the Peers at *London*; since the letting loose into a Countrey so many armed Men, under no Restraint of Military, and much less of Civil, Coercion, might have caused great Disturbances in a Time of such Confusion. But Care was taken by the Lords to rectify this wrong Step.

A panick  
Fear through-  
out *England*.

This Accident gave rise to an unaccountable panick Fear that spread through the City and Countrey the following Day. About Midnight some Countrey Fellows came into *Westminster*, and brought a strange Story, that the *Irish* were up in Arms, and were coming to *London*, firing Houses, and putting Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword. This Uproar and Outcry so gathered as it went along, that in a short Time the Trained-Bands and Regular Forces appeared in Arms; and every Body leaving their Beds in an hurry, put Lights in their Windows, and betook themselves, the more fearful to Flight, the more resolute to their Weapons. And what is yet stranger, the same Alarm ran on the very same Night, and with the same Effects, to all Parts of the Kingdom. It was never certainly known what the Cause was of this universal and unaccountable Fright.

The Pro-  
ceedings of  
the Prince of  
*Orange*.

The Prince of *Orange* was moving slowly towards *London*, when the News of the King's Flight met him at *Abingdon*. He could not at first believe it, till it was confirmed by the Expresses sent him from the City. He had intended to have gone to *Oxford* to meet the Princess *Anne*, and receive the Compliments of the University; but this unexpected Incident made him alter his Intention. He found it was requisite to hasten to *London*; but it happened unluckily that this could not be done with the Expedition that was necessary. For the King's Army lay so scattered on the Road, that if he had gone with no Guard, or with a weak one, his Person might have been in Danger. For though they were generally well inclined to him, he could not safely depend upon that; so that he was obliged to accompany his Troops in the slow Marches such great Bodies use to make. In his Way he issued out a short Declaration commanding the Officers of the disbanded Regiments, as also the Soldiers, to repair to certain Places, and form themselves into regular Bodies as before, and expect farther Orders. He also sent for the Earl of *Danby* to come to assist him with his Counsels; and ordered the Duke of *Grafton* with a Regiment of Foot-Guards, to go and take Possession of *Tilbury-Fort*.

The King  
stopped at  
*Feverham*.

But when he was arrived at *Windsor*, he was surpris'd with an unlooked-for Accident. Two Gentlemen came thither Express from *Feverham* in *Kent*, and brought Word that the King had been stopped there. It seems that he got safely on board the Vessel provided for him; which would immediately have set Sail, but that the Weather being stormy, the Seamen thought it necessary to give it some more Ballast. While this was doing, Sir *Edward Hales* happened to send his Man ashore to the Post-Office; but by an odd

Chance the Man was seen by a Person whom A.D. 1688. his Master had disobliged, who knew his Livery. This Person thinking he had a fair Opportunity of revenging himself upon Sir *Edward*, gave the Alarm to some Fishermen, Seamen, and other Free-booters of that Place, who in this Time of Confusion took upon themselves to search all Ships that came there, for Papists and other suspected Persons, whom they made no Scruple of plundering, if there was any thing to be got. This Rabble immediately entered the Vessel to make Spoil of what came to hand; and finding the King in a plain Suit and a Bob Wig, took him for one of Sir *Edward's* Priests, and offered him many vile personal Indignities; after having robbed him of four hundred Guineas, with many Jewels and Curiosities he carried about him. But it happened that some of better Character coming afterwards on board, a Constable knew the King's Face, and fell at his Feet, begging his Pardon for the sacrilegious Insolences of that rude Rascality; and ordered them to return the King what they had taken from him. But he only took back the Jewels, and gave the Gold amongst them. He would still have been gone, but they brought him ashore as it were by Force, and carried him to an Inn, where they shewed him what Respect they could.

When this Advice came to the Prince of *Orange*, he sent M. *Zuylenstein* to see the King safe, and at full Liberty to go where he pleased. But before he arrived there, the Peers and Privy-Counsellors had sent four of their Body to wait upon the King, and to desire him to return to *Whitehall*; and ordered the Earl of *Feverham* to wait upon him with his Coaches and Guards. And on the sixteenth Instant he left the Place where he was, and in the Afternoon came into *London*, as it were in Triumph; and went into *Whitehall*, attended by several Noblemen and his Guards; the People crowding to see him, and welcoming his Return with loud Acclamations. And the Night concluded with Bonfires, ringing of Bells, and the like Demonstrations of Joy.

The first Thing he did was to issue out an Order of Council for preventing such Outrages as had been committed during his Absence. It was observed that sufficient Care had been taken for this before by the Privy-Council; and this Zeal shewed for the Popish Party after his Return, was interpreted as if he came back only to serve them. He also ordered the Embargo to be taken off that had been laid on all outward-bound Vessels, which was also for the Advantage of his Friends. And during his short Stay at *Whitehall*, the Palace was crowded with *Irishmen*, Priests, Jesuits and Roman Catholics after the usual Manner, and one of the Priests sent an imperious Message to the Lord Chamberlain *Mulgrave*, to supply his Lodgings with Furniture, for that he meant to continue in them. The King began to take Courage, and to talk in his usual high Strain, and to justify what he had

The Council  
send to desire  
him to re-  
turn.

He comes  
back in  
Triumph.

His Proceed-  
ings after-  
wards.



A.D. 1688. had done; so that all Things seemed returning into the old Channel. Insomuch that some that wished well to the King said, that he had been cunningly invited back to *Whiteball*, with a Design to ruin him more effectually, and to extinguish the last Remains of Pity for him in the Hearts of his Protestant Subjects.

A Consultation among the Prince's Party about him.

When the News of the King's Return was brought to *Windsor*, the Prince thought the Privy-Council had not used him well, to take a Step of this Consequence without acquainting him with it, whom they had just before invited to take the Government upon him. And now other Counsels were to be taken, suited to this unexpected Obstruction. The Prince heard the Opinions of all the Nobility who were with him; the Number of which was much increased by those who had come to him since the King's Departure. Upon a Debate all agreed, that the Palace of *Whiteball* being crowded with *Irish* Papists, Priests and Jesuits, the Prince could not with Ease and Safety remain at *St. James's*, where he was of Necessity to go the next Day, unless the King himself, and his Popish Attendants were removed to some Distance from *London*. It was also agreed to adhere closely to the former Point, the King's Desertion of his People; and not to yield up that by entering into any Treaty with him. And because the Earl of *Feverham* was come from the King with that Offer, it was resolved not to look upon him as a qualified Ambassador; and because he came without a Passport, he was put for some Days under Arrest.

Who agree to remove the King from *Whiteball*.

The next Consideration was how to dispose of the King's Person. Some moved that he might be kept a Prisoner, at least till the Nation was settled, and *Ireland* secured; and it was judged, that his being kept in Custody would be such a Check upon his Party, as would oblige them to submit. *Ireland* was in the utmost Danger; and this Restraint might bring *Tyrconnel* to deliver up the Government, and to disarm the Papists; which would both preserve that Kingdom, and the Protestants there. But because it might raise Compassion, and beget Disorder, if the King should be kept Prisoner in *England*, the sending him to *Breda* was proposed. And the Earl of *Clarendon* urged it warmly, for the Sake of the *Irish* Protestants. But the Prince said, that for ought he knew, this might be good and wise Advice, but it was what he could not agree to; adding, that though he could appear against the King at the Head of an Army in this Cause, yet as to his Person, now he had him in his Power, he could not make him a Prisoner: And that he knew the Princess would never enjoy her self, if any such thing were done. Nor did he know what Difficulties it might raise, or what Effect it might have upon the Parliament that was to be called. That for these Reasons he could not suffer any thing to be done against his Person; but allowed that it was necessary to send him out of *London*; and said, that he would or-

der a Guard to attend him, who should only defend his Person, without putting any Restraint upon him.

At last a Resolution was taken of sending the Lords *Hallifax*, *Sbrowsbury* and *Delamere* to *London*, who were first to order the *English* Guards about the Court to be drawn off, and sent to Quarters out of Town; after which Count *Solms* was to come with the *Dutch* Guards, and to take Possession of all the Posts about the Court. This caused great Murmurings among the *English* Guards to be obliged to make Room for Strangers, and they at first refused to move; upon which the *Dutch* Guards marched up to them with lighted Match, and in Order of Battle. All Men were in Apprehension of a fearful Rencounter; but at last, with some Trouble, the *English* were persuaded to dislodge.

Three Lords sent with this Resolution.

Which causes Discontents.

The three Lords sent then to the Earl of *Middleton*, to let him know, that they had a Message for the King, which they must deliver immediately; upon which they were introduced to him, who was then in Bed. They shewed him their Orders, which were signed by the Council at *Windsor*, and told him, that the Necessity of Affairs required that the Prince should come immediately to *London*; and that it was judged most conducive to the Safety of his Person, and the Quiet of the City, that he should retire to some House out of Town, particularly to *Ham*. The King appeared much dejected, and asked, if it must be done immediately? They told him, he might take his Rest first; and added, that he should be attended with a Guard, who should secure his Person, but give him no sort of Disturbance. Upon this they withdrew; and were just gone, when they were brought back by the Earl of *Middleton*, and asked by the King, if he might not as well return to *Rocheſter*, since the Prince had desired before that he should stay there, rather than return to *London*. They promised to send immediate Word to the Prince, who lay that Night at *Sion*, within eight Miles of *London*. It was visible that this was in order to a second Escape; and so the Prince readily consented to it.

The Message from the Prince presented to the King.

The King desires to go to *Rocheſter*.

Accordingly the next Day the King set out by Water for *Rocheſter*, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarton*, and about a hundred of the *Dutch* Guards. He stayed at *Rocheſter* four or five Days in full Liberty; during which Time his Protestant Friends repaired to him; and pressed him to stay and see the Issue of Things, and the Event of a Parliament. They assured him, that a great Turn was made in Mens Minds in his Favour; so that he had reason to hope for good Terms, and an Agreement to his Advantage. He continued for some Time unresolved; till a Letter from the Queen determined him; who with great Earnestness claimed his Promise of following her. This Letter was intercepted, and fell into the Hands of the Prince; who sent it immediately to the King. Upon this, on the twenty third of *December*, be-



A.D. 1688. tween two and three in the Morning, he withdrew himself a second Time, with the same Privacy as at first; accompanied only by his Natural Son, the Duke of *Berwick*, and two more; and getting secretly aboard a small Frigate, took his last Farewel of his Countrey, which he never saw more. He left a Paper upon his Table, containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself from *Rocheſter*. He there complained of the Arrest of the Earl of *Feverſham*, of the Prince's Guards poſſeſſing the Poſts about *Whiteball*, and the diſturb- ing him, when in Bed, with a peremptory Meſſage to leave his Palace the next Morning. For theſe Reaſons he ſaid, he could not think himſelf ſafe while in the Power of the Prince of *Orange*; and had therefore withdrawn himſelf, yet ſo as to be within Call, when the Eyes of the Nation ſhould be opened. The Veſſel in which he embarked, brought him to *Ambleteuſe* in *France*; from whence he repaired to *St. Germain*.

The Prince of *Orange* comes to *London*.

Conſultations about the Steps he was to take.

He aſſembles the Peers and deſires their Advice.

In the mean Time, the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, on the ſame Day that the King left *Whiteball*. Though the Weather was very rainy on the Day he entered the Town, a great Crowd had filled the Streets to *St. James's* Houſe (which he deſigned for his Abode) in hopes of ſeeing him. But inſtead of gratifying them by ſhewing himſelf publicly, he, by an unſeaſonable Reſerve, went through the Park. So that the People, after having ſtood the Rain for ſome Hours, were obliged to return diſappointed. And this, though a Trifle in itſelf, helped to ſet Mens Spirits on edge.

After he was ſettled, the great Bodies about the Town came to congratulate him; the Biſhops, the Clergy, the City, the Lawyers, and others. Theſe Forms being over, the Settlement of the Nation came to be conſidered. Some Lawyers adviſed the Prince to declare himſelf King after the Example of *Henry VII.* which, they ſaid, would put an End to all Diſputes, which would otherwiſe prove very tedious and perplexing. And they urged, that he might then call a Parliament, which he could not do otherwiſe; which would be a legal Aſſembly, though his Title were not recognized. But there were many Objections againſt this. It was in the firſt Place, contrary to his Declaration, by which the Settlement of the Nation was referred to a Parliament; and moreover, would make all he had done paſs for an ambitious Attempt to raiſe himſelf to the Throne. So that this was rejected; and the Prince reſolved to guide himſelf by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who became at this Time the ſupreme Directors of the National Concerns. They were accordingly invited to appear at *St. James's*; whither they came to the Number of above Threeſcore. The Prince came in to them, and let them know, that he had deſired them to meet in order to adviſe of the beſt Methods for compaſſing the Ends of his Declaration, by calling a free Parliament, for the Preſervation and Settlement of the

Proteſtant Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom; and having ſaid this he withdrew.

The Lords then ordered the Prince's Declaration to be read, and having voted their Thanks to him for his Expedition, reſolved to aſſemble in their Houſe at *Weſtmiſter*; and nominated five of the moſt eminent Lawyers, Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Atkinſon*, to aſſiſt them in their Conſultations. When they met at their Houſe, they addreſſed the Prince for Form's ſake, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs till the Convention ſhould meet; which was accepted of. But how to aſſemble this Convention was thought a Matter of Difficulty. No King was in the Nation; and not ſo much as any Style or Form of Government; the former Writs were deſtroyed, and the Great Seal thrown away and loſt. But at laſt it was reſolved to follow a Precedent made before the Reſtoration; when General *Monk* ſummoned a Convention to meet in *April* 1660. and the Prince of *Orange* was addreſſed to, to ſend his Letters to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Proteſtants, and to the ſeveral Counties, Universities, &c. of *England* and *Wales*, directing them to chuſe ſuch a Number of Perſons to repreſent them as they ought to ſend to Parliament; and to give Notice to the Perſons ſo choſen to meet on the twenty ſecond of *January*.

But becauſe it was neceſſary that the Concurrence of the Commons ſhould be had to this new Settlement, and yet no ſuch fixed Body of the Commons ſubſiſted as there was of the Lords, the Prince publiſhed an Invitation, by which all Perſons who had ſerved in any of King *Charles* the Second's Parliaments, together with the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and fifty Perſons of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, to be deputed by the Body of the Common-Council, were deſired to meet the Prince at *St. James's*. According to this Summons, many of the Members, to the Number of an hundred and ſixty, together with the Aldermen and Deputies of the Common-Council, aſſembled at the appointed Day; which was five Days after the Lords had firſt met. The Prince came to them, and told them, that he had deſired them to meet him, to adviſe of the beſt manner for proſecuting the Ends of his Declaration. He then gave them a Copy of his Speech at length, and deſired them to take it into immediate Conſideration.

They all by Agreement repaired to the Commons Houſe at *Weſtmiſter*; where having choſe *Henry Powle*, Eſq; their Chairman, the firſt Queſtion they debated was, What Authority they had to aſſemble? Upon which it was ſoon determined, that the Requeſt of the Prince of *Orange* was a ſufficient Warrant. Then after ſome Deliberation the Aſſembly agreed upon an Addreſs; in the firſt Place deſiring the Prince to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs;

Who addreſſes the Prince to take upon him the Adminiſtration, and to call a Convention.

A Body of the Commons aſſembled.

Who proceeded after the manner of the Lords.



A.D. 1688. fairs; and secondly, proposing to him the summoning a Convention, as the Lords had before done.

The French Ambassador ordered to leave the Kingdom.

At the same Time, some Disturbances had like to have happened by means of the French Ambassador Monsieur Barillon, who appeared very active in promoting Divisions among the Peers; upon which the Prince ordered him to depart the Kingdom in twenty four Hours; which Term he desired to have lengthened, but in vain; he having forfeited the Privileges of his Character, by meddling in Intrigues to disturb the Peace of the State he lived in. He was very ill received at his Return, though he had very faithfully, and too effectually, served his Master in a very long Abode he made here. But the wrong Judgment he had formed of our Affairs at last, by which he had caused his Master to engage his Forces in Germany, when they had a much more important Call in England, made him be so coldly looked on, that 'tis thought it shortened his Life.

The Prince's Administration.

On the thirtieth, the Prince received the Sacrament in St. James's Chapel, according to the Rites of the Church of England, from the Hands of the Bishop of London. The next Day he began with the first Act of his Administration; authorizing all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, not being Papists, to act in their Offices till the meeting of the Convention. In the next Place he issued out circular Letters for summoning the same; and ordered all Soldiers who were quartered in the Places where the Elections were to be made, to leave them, the Garrisons only excepted.

He assembles the Peers and Gentlemen of Scotland.

The Prince's Care was also extended to Scotland and Ireland. He assembled all the Scotch Peers and Gentlemen that happened to be in London at this Time, to whom he spoke to the same Effect, as he had done to the English Lords and Commons. The Assembly, after some Debate, agreed to draw up an Address, desiring him to take upon himself the Administration of their Government, as he had done that of England; and, by his Letter or Proclamation, to call a general Meeting of the Estates to meet on the fourteenth of March next, which was readily complied with. When the News of the King's Desertion had reached that Kingdom, the whole Nation declared almost unanimously for the Prince. The Rabble got together at Edinburgh, and fell upon the Mass-Houses with the same Fury as was done at London. But what was worse, in the Western Counties, the Presbyterians rose up, and fell upon the Episcopal Ministers with a horrible Brutality, and treated them with many vile and barbarous Indignities. Nor did they shew the least Distinction or Regard to many worthy Men amongst them, who had appeared zealously against Popery. In the Northern Parts, the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties concurred with great Friendliness and Unanimity.

They desire him to take the Administration of their Government, and call a Convention.

The Scotch Nation declares for the Prince.

The Brutality of some of the Scotch Presbyterians.

The Face of Things in Ireland.

But in Ireland, the Appearance of Things grew more and more unpromising. Tyr-

connel was Master of the Countrey, and had A.D. 1688. disarmed the Protestants. And though upon the News of the surprizing Revolution in England, he seemed daunted and discouraged, and willing to come to Terms; yet in a short Time, finding that no Force was sent against him, he began to take Heart; yet keeping up his Dissimulation, as if he were ready to surrender. By this Means he kept off any Attempt upon him for some Time, which he made use of to strengthen himself the more. The Prince was in no small Perplexity what to do about him. He feared to send any Troops of the English Army, who on Account of the Affront offered to their Countreymen, by making them give Way to the Dutch Guards, and some other little Accidents, were so ill affected to the Prince, that there was Danger of their joining with Tyrconnel. And he could for that Reason very ill spare any of his Dutch Troops. These Considerations made him the more easily entertain a Proposition made to him, as it was thought, by Sir William Temple's Family; which was, to send over Lieutenant General Hamilton to Tyrconnel, with whom he was very intimate. This Gentleman was a Papist, but offered to go over to Tyrconnel, and prevail with him to deliver up the Government; promising that if he failed, he would return and give an Account of his Negotiation. He was counted a Man of Honour, which made him be trusted according to his Desire. But when he came to Ireland, he acted quite contrary to his Word. He confirmed Tyrconnel in his Intentions of standing out, and represented to him that a great Turn was making in England in Favour of the King; but agreed with him that it was necessary to go on with the Appearances of Submission. And this Management was carried on till Tyrconnel had gained what he wanted, which was much Time; which he employed in augmenting his Army, and putting all Things in a Condition to receive King James, who in some Time came over thither from France. But to return to England.

Tyrconnel's Dissimulation.

Hamilton sent to him, but breaks his Word.

The maintaining two Armies, and other Incidents, occasioned so great an Expence as the Revenue would not furnish; upon which the Prince wrote to the City of London, representing the same to them, and desiring a Loan of Money, such as they could conveniently spare. Upon this an unanimous Vote passed in Common-Council, that they would supply his Highness with two hundred Thousand Pounds; which Sum was raised, with great Chearfulness, in four Day's Time; one single Citizen, Sir Samuel Dashwood, subscribing fifty Thousand Pounds.

The City lends the Prince 200000 L.

In the mean Time the Elections for Members of the Convention went on with all possible Freedom; every Man giving his Vote for whom he pleased, without any Solicitation of the Prince, or any of his Dependents. It is observable, that Writs having been sent out for a Parliament twice before the King's Recess, every Place had fixed on its Members; so that the present Assen-

The Convention elected.



A.D. 1689. Assembly consisted very nearly of the same Persons, as would have been elected by King James's Writs. And this gives us a just Idea of the Temper of the Nation at this Juncture; and from thence we may frame a Judgment what would have been the Consequence, if the King had waited the Issue of a Parliament.

They assembled.

On the twenty second of January, the Convention assembled, with a Weight of Affairs upon them, greater and more important than had ever exercised the Cares of a Representative of England before. The Frame of the whole Legal Constitution was dissolved, and in this State of Things, they were to form a new Settlement. Every Head had been busied in Schemes and Projects for regulating this new System of Government; till the Convention sat, whose Consultations now engaged all their Attention.

Their Proceedings.

The Convention kept up as near as possible the Form of a Parliament; and separated themselves into two Houses, of Peers and Commons; the Marquis of Halifax being chosen Speaker of the Lords, and Mr. Powle of the Commons. Then a Letter from the Prince of Orange was read to them, signifying the Occasion of their Meeting, and his Desire that they would use as much Dispatch as possible in their Deliberations.

The first Thing done by both Houses was to appoint a Day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having made the Prince of Orange the glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of the Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power. After this they agreed in an Address to the Prince of Orange, to return him their Thanks for what he had done for the Nation; and to desire him to take upon him the Administration of Affairs, the Disposal of the publick Revenue, and the Care of Ireland; which Address was complied with.

They addressed the Prince.

A Letter from King James rejected.

Before the Houses had done any Thing farther, they received a Letter from King James, directed to the Lords and Commons sitting in Convention, in which he made them those Promises, and used those Arguments, which were fitting and necessary at those Times. But it was not read in either House; the Commons first, and then the Lords, rejecting it.

Debates about the Vacancy of the Throne.

At last on the twenty eighth, the Commons proceeded to consider the State of the Nation in a Committee of the whole House. The first Thing said was, that King James having deserted the Kingdom, and not appointed any Person to administer the Government during his Absence, this amounted in Reason and Judgment of Law to a Demise of that Prince; and a Vote to that Effect was moved for. This Motion was opposed by another, that the Throne was not descended, but vacant; a Demise inferring a Descent of the Crown to the next Heir, which could not be in the present Case, since none can be Heir to a living Man. But this was also contradicted by a third Party, and it was said that to vote the

Throne vacant, were to depose the King; A.D. 1689. which could not, they said, be done by

Law; therefore they proposed that a Regency should be established during the Life of King James, which should govern in his Name. But the Doctrine of the Vacancy of the Throne was most generally received; so that at last the House came to this memorable Resolution, "That King James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People; and having by the Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant". Which Resolution they sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

The Throne declared vacant.

After this Vote they passed another very remarkable one as follows; "Resolved, that it hath been found by Experience to be inconsistent with this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince"; which they also sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Soon after they voted, that the Thanks of the House be given to the Clergy of the Church of England, who had preached and written against Popery, and refused to read the Declaration. They voted the same also to the Soldiers and Mariners, and to all who had appeared in Arms to deliver their Country.

This great Work of the Revolution had gone on hitherto with a wonderful Ease and Smoothness; the common Danger, which is a mighty Promoter of Concord, keeping all who were concerned in it unanimous and united. But in adjusting the Form of the new Settlement some Difficulties arose. All Persons were generally agreed in retaining and establishing the fundamental Parts of the ancient Government; but they were not so well agreed in the Method of doing this.

Difficulties in adjusting the new Settlement.

One Party was for setting the Prince of Orange upon the Throne, whose personal Merit, and present Obligations, joined with his Affinity to the Crown, did naturally point him out for that Station. And this Opinion most generally prevailed, especially among the Commons, both in the Convention, and out of it. But there was a very strong Party who were unsatisfied with this Proposal. The high Notions that had been propagated lately of Regal Authority and popular Submission, stuck very close with many. The publick Fears were now in good Measure over-passed, which had kept them before from attending to the Consequence of their Principles. But now the Danger being over, they found they had been carried farther than the Notions they had entertained would permit. They saw indeed the happy Consequences of receding from their Principles; but by a natural Infirmary of Mankind, instead of disapproving their former Opinions for the Sake of these good Consequences, they began to disapprove



A.D.1689. disapprove these good Consequences for the Sake of their former Opinions. So that even this clear Conviction was not sufficient to dislodge Prepossessions that had been so long cherished for sacred and inviolable Maxims; and these Persons, finding that what had now been done was not very consistent with the Notions they had so long entertained, began to apprehend that Matters had really been carried too far. And this Party again subdivided it self into two; one of which could not be satisfied without repairing what had been done amiss, and recalling the exiled Prince; while the other was contented with putting a Stop to any farther Irregularities. And these were for lodging the Government with the Prince of Orange, under the Title of Regent, to be administered by him in the Name of King James; the Reason of which Proceeding was to prevent a formal deposing of the King, which they conceived inconsistent with Law, and which the giving the Title of King to the Prince of Orange, would imply. But the Scheme of recalling King James was so little seconded, that the Promoters of it, some out of Conviction, and some to carry on their Designs under that Cover, fell in with the Party for a Regent; which Party again by Degrees came over to that which was for setting the Crown on a new Head.

The Lords Debates about filling the Throne with a Regent, or a King.

Carried for a King.

Debate about the Original Contract.

The high Notions of Duty and Allegiance prevailed much among the Peers; so that in the House of Lords, when they began to enter on their Debates, the Party for a Regent was near carrying the Question. On the twenty ninth of January, the Vote of the Commons concerning the Vacancy of the Throne, came to be considered in the Upper House. But when the Question was put, a Proposal was made, not to agree with the Commons, that the Throne was vacant, but to suppose it for the present, leaving it to be afterwards farther examined; and first to consider, whether supposing the Throne vacant, it should be filled by a Regent, or a King. This was agreed to, and the Deliberation being entered on, the Earl of Nottingham appeared at the Head of those who were for a Regent; the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Danby being the chief Speakers on the other Side. Upon a Division the Votes were so nearly equal, that the Party for a King carried it but by two; there being fifty one for appointing a King, and forty nine for a Regent. But this latter Party soon lost Ground.

Two Days after the Lords proceeded to the farther Consideration of the Commons Vote. The first Thing considered, was the Original Contract there mentioned; which occasioned a Question to be put, whether, or no, there was any Original Contract between the King and People? This bred warm Debates; some maintaining that Kings hold their Crowns by Divine Right, which was as zealously denied by others, who asserted, That all Power originally belonged

to the Community, and to the King only by mutual Compact. The former insisted that no such Contract was in Being; and asked, where it was kept, and how it might be come at? The other Side replied, that it was implied in a legal and limited Government; though in a long Tract of Time, and in dark Ages, there was no such explicit Proof of it to be found. But many Hints were brought from Law-Books, ancient Histories, and the Proceedings at Coronations, to support the Truth of it. The Debate being over, there appeared fifty three Voices for the Mutual Compact, against forty six who were for the Negative. And this Point being agreed on, the next Question, Whether King James had broken the said Original Contract, admitted of no great Dispute. So that the first Part of this Vote was concurred with.

After this the Lords took into Consideration the Word *Abdicated*, and concluded that the Word *Deserted* was more proper. They next examined the Word *Vacant*, and put this Question, Whether King James having broken that Original Contract between him and his People, and deserted the Government, the Throne was thereby vacant? And this Question was debated with greater Heat than any of the former; and it was at last carried, that the Throne was not vacant. But this Vote drew on a Protestation signed by forty Lords. The House of Peers then sent to the Commons to acquaint them, that they had considered of their Vote of the twenty eighth; and that instead of the Word *Abdicated*, they would have the Word *Deserted* put in; and next that they would have the Words, *and that the Throne is thereby become vacant*, omitted.

But these Amendments being considered by the Commons, that House would by no Means agree to them; and a Committee was appointed to draw up Reasons why they could not do so, which were offered to the Lords; who replied to the same in a Conference, but without any Success on either Side. At last the Commons sent to desire a free Conference with the Lords upon the Subject Matter of the last Conference; to which the Lords readily agreed. Accordingly the Commons appointed twenty four of their Members to be their Managers on this great Occasion; and the Lords appointed a Number according to the usual Proportion.

This produced the next Day the most memorable Debate and Conference that had been known for many Ages; which was carried on with all Coolness, Decency, and Attention. The Conference it self is too long to be here inserted, and too important to be abridged. But the Consequence of it was, that the Managers for the Lords having made their Report to the House, the Lords at last thought fit to agree with the Commons.

During these Debates, and the Variety of Management that attended them, the

The Lords Amendments to the Votes of the Commons.

To which the Commons disagree.

A free Conference.

By which the Lords are brought over.

The Prince's Behaviour.

Prince's



A.D. 1689. Prince's Behaviour was very mysterious. He continued mostly at St. James's, silent and reserved, without appearing in Publick; hearing all that was said to him, but seldom making any Answers; nor would he take Pains to bring one single Person over to his Party. He said he came upon Invitation to save the Kingdom, and now he had brought together a true and free Representative of the Nation. He therefore left it to them to do what they thought best for the Good of the Nation; and when Things were once settled, he would be well satisfied to return to *Holland*.

He opens himself.

After a Reservedness, that had for many Days continued so closely, that none could certainly tell what he expected, he sent for the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and some others, to explain himself to them. He told them that he had been silent all this while, because he would neither say nor do the least Thing that might seem to intrench on any Man's Freedom in deliberating and voting. That he found some were putting the Government into the Hands of a Regent; that he had nothing to say to it, if they thought it the best Way to settle their Affairs; only he thought it necessary to tell them that he knew the Consequences so well, that he himself would not be that Regent. He said, he found others were for putting the Princess singly on the Throne, and that he should reign by her Courtesie; to which he said, that no Man could esteem a Woman more than he did the Princess, but that he could not think of holding any Thing upon such Terms as the Life of a Wife; nor could he think it reasonable to have any Share in the Government, unless it was vested in his Person, and that for Term of Life. If they thought fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them; but would return to *Holland*, and concern himself no more with their Affairs. He assured them, that whatever others might think, a Crown was not so lovely a Thing in his Eyes, but that he could live very well, and be very well satisfied without it. He concluded with saying, That though he could not resolve to accept of a Dignity, so as to hold it under the Life of another; yet he thought that the Issue of the Princess *Anne* ought to be preferred in the Succession, before any Issue he might have by any other Wife after the present Princess.

A strong Party for the Princess.

This was soon reported abroad, and helped to fix the Minds of many. But there were a great Number who had Doubts about the Right of the Princess; and there were many who favoured her before the Prince, out of Policy and Interest; apprehending that she, who by her Youth and Health was like to outlive the Prince, might revenge her self on those who had postponed her. But it had happened before the Revolution, that the Princess had opened her Mind in that Matter to Doctor *Burnet*; and declared her self ready and desirous to have the Prince preferred to her

Which soon vanishes.

self; which being now carefully published, A.D. 1689. gave a great Satisfaction. Those who did not know that a religious and virtuous Mind is superior to all this World can give, took her to be a very weak Woman, who could so easily part with a Thing so precious in common Estimation as Power and Command; while others, of more elevated Sentiments, promised themselves a glorious and happy Rule under the Care of so sublime and exalted a Soul, as this Contempt of Worldly Honours seemed to manifest.

And now the Intentions of both their Highnesses being known, all Things went on easily; and the Lords resolved that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be declared King and Queen, for their Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the sole and full Regal Power be in the Prince only, in the Name of them both. And that after their Decease, the Crown should belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princess: and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Person that should be named, and in such Manner as should be limited by Act of Parliament; and for Default of such Regulation and Limitation, on the lawful Heirs of the Prince of *Orange*. And these Resolutions were agreed to by the Commons.

The Prince and Princess declared King and Queen.

While this passed, a Committee of the House of Commons, with Mr. *Sommers* at their Head, were busie drawing up a solemn Declaration of Rights, containing the several Facts and Reasons of King *James's* Forfeiture of the Crown; asserting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, settling the Succession of the Crown, and appointing new Oaths. And this being finished, received the Concurrence of the Lords House.

During these Transactions in the Convention, the Princess was sent for by the Prince. But she was a long Time kept back by the Coldness of the Season, which froze up the Rivers, and by contrary Winds after the Thaw; so that she did not arrive at *London* till the Debates were just over. Her unexpected Stay caused the Enemies of the Prince to give it out, that she was kept there by Order, that she might not come over to claim her Right. And hence it came that the Parties were formed, some for the Prince, and some for the Princess, which her Presence would have easily dispelled.

The Princess sent for.

The Earl of *Danby*, during her Stay in *Holland*, had sent to her during those Cabals, to know her Mind in that Matter; telling her, that if she desired it, he did not doubt to make a Party for settling her alone on the Throne. But she returned him a sharp Answer; and sent a Copy of the same, with the Earl's Letter, to the Prince; which prevented any more Offices of the same kind. The Prince took this, without any apparent Resentment, or any Expostulation with the Earl of *Danby* about it; but continued to employ him in the greatest Trusts, and afterwards



A.D. 1689. terwards honoured him with the highest Titles.

She comes to England.

At length on the tenth of *February*, the Princess left *Holland*; and in two Days arrived at *Gravesend*; from whence she came to *Greenwich*, where she was met by the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*. There taking Barge, they came together to *Whitehall*, amidst the Shouts and Acclamations of joyful Multitudes. Before her Appearance, it had been given out, that she was not well pleased with the late Transactions; upon which the Prince advised her by Letter, to put on a Chearfulness at first, that none might be discouraged by her Looks, or made to apprehend she was uneasy at any Thing that had been done. This made her, at her Arrival at *Whitehall*, put on an Air of Gaiety, that was taken notice of, as not so decent when she was entering her Father's Palace, and going to mount his Throne. But when it was mentioned to her, by some who presumed so far, she made answer, that her outward Appearance was only the Disguise of a deep and real Concern; but that she was at that Time obeying Directions, and might easily over-act a Part that was not natural to her. Her Soul was indeed too great to be affected with those glittering Shews of Pomp and Power that captivate little Minds; and the very Night after her Arrival, as she was in Conversation with the Earl of *Danby*, who was giving her an Account of all that had passed, and of the Efforts that had been made in her Behalf, she said to him with a more than *Roman* Virtue: "Do you but take Care to secure the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of England, and the general Good of the Publick, and then make Me what you please, and as little as you please. I value neither Titles nor Honours, but to support these great Things. When you can make them sure without Me, send me away as soon as you will."

Her heroic Sentiments.

The Crown delivered in Form to the Prince and Princess.

Every Thing being now prepared, on the next Day, *Feb. 13.* the Establishment of the Kingdom was completed in Form. The Prince and Princess being placed on two large Seats, under a Canopy of State in the Banqueting-House, the two Houses of Convention came to attend them in a full Body. Being placed in Order, they caused the Clerk of the Crown to read with a loud Voice their great Instrument, intituled, *The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster*, which was to be an everlasting Monument and Sanction of the Rights and Liberties of *English* Subjects.

The Declaration of Rights.

After having enumerated the several Grievances and Breaches into the Constitution above rehearsed at large, and recited the Causes of the Assembling the Convention, it goes on to declare and assert the following Rights and Liberties to be due to the People of *England* for ever. "1. That the pretended Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament,

is Illegal. 2. That the pretended Power of dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is Illegal. 3. That the Commissions for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like Nature, are Illegal and Pernicious. 4. The Levying of Money for, or to, the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in any other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is Illegal. 5. That it is the Right of all Subjects to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning, are Illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a Standing-Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law. 7. That the Subjects that are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence, suitable to their Condition, and as allowed by Law. 8. That the Elections of Members of Parliament ought to be Free. 9. That the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament. 10. That excessive Bail ought not to be required; nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted. 11. That Jurors ought to be duly Impannelled and Returned; and Jurors which pass upon Men in Tryals of High-Treason, ought to be Free-holders. 12. That all Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are Illegal and Void. 13. And that for the Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently. And all and singular the Premises they do claim, demand and insist upon, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties: And no Declaration, Judgment, Doings or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought to be hereafter in any wise brought into Consequence or Example."

Then the Declaration goes on: "Having therefore an entire Confidence that his said Highness, the Prince of *Orange*, will perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Laws and Liberties; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, do Resolve, that *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, &c." After which follows the Settlement of the Succession, and the new Oaths.

After



A.D.1689. After the publick Reading of this Declaration of Rights, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the House of Lords, made a solemn Tender of the Crown to their Highnesses, in the Name of both Houses, the Representative of the whole Nation. Whereupon the Prince of *Orange* returned the following Answer: "My Lords and Gentlemen, This is certainly the greatest Proof of the Trust you have in us that can be given, which is the Thing that makes us value it the more: And we thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preserve your Religion, Laws and Liberties; so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them; and shall be willing to concur in any Thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation."

The King  
and Queen  
proclaimed.

This Ceremony being concluded, a Proclamation was published presently after, at the usual Places, declaring the Prince and Princess of *Orange* King and Queen; which was received every where with the loudest Acclamations.

*Of the Personage and Conditions of King*  
JAMES.

HIS Person was tall and well shaped; and his Mien and Appearance, though it wanted that Majesty which was in his Brother, was nevertheless such as became a King. His Parts and Abilities were neither abundant nor defective; and what he wanted in Quickness, he made up in Industry. He was a kind Father, a tender Husband, a generous Master, an excellent Oeconomist, and notwithstanding the many hard Things done by his Authority, of a gentle and merciful Temper. In his Youth he had obtained an high Character for a fearless and intrepid Courage; but towards the latter End of his Life, that Reputation forsook him. He was a great Libertine in his youthful Days; but when he was farther advanced in Years, he assumed a more grave and austere Demenor; though he did not quite give over his unlawful Diversions. And even while his Conscience prompted him to attempt the

Conversion of his Kingdoms to Popery, he often made Visits to Mrs. *Sedley*, and made her Countess of *Dorchester*; though it seems very strange, that a Man who out of a Principle of Conscience could hazard a Crown to introduce his own Religion, should not be with-held by the same Principle from living in a known Course of Adultery. His Bigottry was his great Fault; which gave his Priests such an Influence over him (and he had the Misfortune to be attended by very wicked and very weak ones) that he was capable of any thing from their Persuasions; which led him to disclose his Designs so openly, and with so ill a Grace, as at once gave the Alarm, and ruined his Credit. In a Word, his Virtues were such as would have given him the Character of a good Prince, and made him a great one, had it been his Fortune to have had the Rule over Popish Subjects; and his Failings were such, as proved very happy to the Protestant Country that fell to his Lot. For had the Measures he took to introduce Popery been less precipitate, less unpopular, or less imprudent, he might probably with Time, Patience, and Management, have compassed his Ends; and the Ruin he brought upon himself had fallen upon the Nation.

MAYORS and SHERIFFS of LONDON in this  
King's Reign.

In 1685.

SIR *James Smith*, Mayor.  
Sir *William Goffin*, Sir *Benjamin Vandeput*, Sheriffs.

In 1686.

Sir *Robert Jefferies*, Mayor.  
Sir *Benjamin Thorogood*, Sir *Thomas Kenfey*, Sheriffs.

In 1687.

Sir *John Peak*, Mayor.  
Sir *Thomas Rawlinson*, Sir *Thomas Fowls*, Sheriffs.

In 1688.

Sir *John Shorter*, Sir *John Eyles*, Mayors.  
Sir *Bazil Firebrass*, Sir *John Parsons*, Sheriffs.



T H E  
R E I G N  
O F  
King *WILLIAM* III.  
A N D  
Queen *MARY* II.

A.D.1689.

**K**ING William and Queen Mary being seated on the Throne in the Forms abovementioned, the King's first Care was to chuse his Counsellors, and fill the great Offices of State. The Privy-Counsellors elected by him were, His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquesses of Winchester and Halifax, the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Devonshire, Macclesfield, Nottingham, Bath and Dorset; the Viscounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt and Newport; the Lords Wharton, Delamere, Montague, Lumley and Churchill; Monsieur Bentinck, Mr. Henry Sidney, Mr. Edward Russel, Mr. Henry Powle, Mr. Richard Hambden, Sir Henry Capel, Hugh Boscawen, Esq; and Sir Robert Howard. The Earl of Danby was made President of the Council; the Marquis of Halifax, Lord Privy-Seal; the Earl of Devonshire, Steward of the Household; Mr. Bentinck, Groom of the Stole, and Lord Privy-Purse; Viscount Newport, Treasurer of the Household; Mr. Wharton, Comptroller of his Majesty's Household; Sir John Lowther Vice-Chamberlain; Monsieur Overkirk, Great Master of the Horse to the King; Mareschal de Schomberg, Great Master of the Ordnance; the Lord Montague, Master of the Great Wardrobe; Mr. Zuylenstein Master of the Robes; the Earl of Shrewsbury, Principal Secretary of State; the Bishop of London, Dean of the Chappel; the Lord Lovelace, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners; the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Mordaunt, Lum-

ley and Churchill, and Mr. Sidney, Gentlemen A.D.1689. of the King's Bed-Chamber; the Lord Wiltshire, Son to the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; John Howe, Esq; Vice-Chamberlain; Mr. Villiers, Great Master of the Horse; and the Countess of Darby, Sister to the Duke of Ormond, first Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to her Majesty.

Besides these, three important Places were to be disposed of, which by reason of the great Trust attending them, were not so soon filled; that of the Lord Chancellor, Lord High Admiral, and Lord Treasurer. The first of these was offered to the Earl of Nottingham, which he declined; and afterwards to the Marquis of Halifax, who also excused himself; whereupon the Seals were given to Sir John Maynard, Anthony Kecke, and William Rawlinson, Esq; in Commission; the two last being knighted. The Places of Lord High Admiral and Lord High Treasurer, were likewise given to Commissioners; the first to Admiral Herbert, the Earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chicheley, Sir John Lowther, and Mr. Sacheverell; and the other to the Lord Mordaunt, the Lord Delamere, the Lord Godolphin, Mr. Hambden, and Sir Henry Capel. The Earl of Nottingham was at last prevailed on to be one of the Principal Secretaries of State. Dr. Burnet, who had been so instrumental in setting forward the Revolution, was raised to the Bishoprick of Salisbury, vacant by the Death of Dr. Seth Ward. The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to consecrate him himself; but gave a Commission to six Bishops to perform that



A.D. 1689. Office for him. Three Days after he was sworn and admitted Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

Affairs of State.

The first Consideration of State that presented itself to the King, was the turning the Convention into a Parliament; to prevent the Delays in Publick Affairs consequent upon a new Election, and to continue the Members who were generally acceptable to him. This was opposed by some at the Council-Board, but carried by a Majority.

The King makes his first Speech.

To this End the King went in great State to the House of Lords, where he made a Speech, in which after the Complaisance usual on those Occasions, and after having touched on the Affairs abroad, and the State of Ireland, which required a speedy Care, he recommended to them in general Terms to consider on the most effectual Methods to prevent the Inconveniences that might arise from Delays in the Publick Affairs.

A Bill to turn the Convention into a Parliament.

This Speech was received with general Applause; and in pursuance of the latter Part thereof, and by Directions from the Privy-Council to some of that Body, the Peers brought in a *Bill to remove and prevent all Questions and Disputes concerning the Sitting of the present Parliament.* This Bill was read twice that Afternoon, and having pass'd that House, was sent down to the Commons for their Concurrence.

Debates thereon in the House of Commons.

The House of Commons upon receiving it resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, as is customary upon important Occasions. The Question put by Mr. Hambden the Chairman, was this, *Whether a King elected and declared by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster, Jan. 22, 1688<sup>5</sup>. coming to, and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as compleat a Parliament and Legislative Power and Authority to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said King should cause new Summons to be given and new Elections to be made by Writs?* This Question produced a long and warm Debate. One Part of the House was for adhering closely to the ancient Rules and Methods of our Constitution, and fearful of making the least Alteration in them.

Arguments against the Bill.

Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Thomas Clarges headed this Party, who insisted that the Convention not being called by the King's Writ, could not agreeably to the Laws of England be called or made a Parliament; it being a fundamental Maxim, that none can sit in either House who is not either summoned by the King, if a Peer, or, if a Commoner, elected by the Counties or Boroughs by Virtue of the King's Writ; which was confessedly not the Case of the present Assembly. The other Party agreed in general, that the ancient Forms ought to be observed, but they did not conceive them to be so absolutely unalterable, but that they might sometimes be made to bend to extraordinary Occasions. They argued, that by the Confession of all, a People losing their Prince either by his Death without any Heir, or his voluntary Desertion, were at Liberty to

Arguments for it.

choose not only what other King, but what other Form of Government they should please. A.D. 1689.

That this being the Case at the Revolution, the Nation finding it self in that Condition, gave the Power of Administration of Publick Affairs to the Prince of Orange, who by Virtue of that Power caused the Convention to meet. So much they said for the Legality of the Power by which they were assembled. As to the Assembly itself, they said, it was as complete in all respects as it could be; the whole three Estates being present, with the King at their Head. That the Difference of the Summons, whether by Writ or Letter, by which they met, was but a mere Form. Besides they gave Instances of like Irregularities actually happening in other Parliaments, which are nevertheless reckoned good Parliaments, the Nature of Things not always admitting an exact Regularity of Proceeding. That though it might be said that the Calling another Parliament would remove all Difficulties, yet considering the State of Affairs in Ireland and abroad, for which the speediest Remedies would come late enough, it would be unnecessary and imprudent to lose so much Time about a Matter of Form only, since after so much Delay and Hindrance of Publick Affairs, they would be at last but where they were.

These Reasons carried the Question, and the Bill pass'd with some Amendments, to which the Lords agreed; and the whole received the Royal Assent Feb. 23. They did not however satisfy several Members, who before protested they would not submit to the Determinations of such a Parliament, nor sit in it. And some of them were as good as their Word, retiring into the Countrey for frivolous Reasons. This occasioned much Dilatoriness in the Proceedings of the House that Session, which gave King James great Advantages in Ireland.

The Bill passed.

Which occasions great Discontents.

This was the first Appearance of that Spirit of Opposition and Discontent in the House of Commons which haunted King William a great Part of his Life. It appeared a second Time a few Days after, upon a Question that was put, whether the Revenue was expired by the Vacancy of the Throne, or whether it was devolved on their Majesties? The first Part of the Question being carried in the Affirmative. And when a Committee was appointed to settle their Majesty's Revenue, there were some amongst them who were for settling it on them for three Years only.

A Bill was about this Time passed in the House of Lords, and sent down to the Commons, for the regulating the Trials of Peers; but the Party which opposed it in the House of Lords found means to make it be dropped by the Commons.

The King, finding less Respect from the House of Commons than from the House of Lords, resolved for the future to begin among the Peers such Acts as he desired to have passed; which a Court never wants proper Persons to set on foot in either House upon occasion.

Accord-



A.D. 1689. Accordingly the King having much at Heart the freeing the Dissenters from the Burdens laid on them by the Laws then in Force, a Bill was read by the Peers, *February* 28. for exempting them from the Penalties of certain Laws. Upon that Occasion the Earl of *Nottingham* moved that a Bill of Comprehension, and another of Toleration, should be presented to the House, by which all moderate Presbyterians might be reconciled to the Church of *England*, and admitted to Ecclesiastical Benefices. This Motion was universally applauded both by the Spiritual and Temporal Lords, inasmuch that the Earl of *Nottingham* received the Thanks of the House for making it; and in Pursuance thereof, a Bill was brought in *March* 11. following, for uniting their Majesties Protestant Subjects. But as all Things may be taken wrong as well as right, some of the Dissenters called this an Artifice to try how they stood affected to the Church of *England*.

Bill for Ease  
of the Dis-  
senter.

Other Pro-  
ceedings of  
the Parlia-  
ment.

On *February* 27. The House of Commons was acquainted by the King, with the certain News of the late King *James's* having sailed from *Brest* with a considerable Number of *French* Troops, in Order to land in *Ireland*; upon which the Commons unanimously voted, that they would stand by and assist the King with their Lives and Fortunes, in supporting his Alliances abroad, in reducing of *Ireland*, and in Defence of the Protestant Religion and Laws of the Kingdom. This Vote was also confirmed by the Peers.

That House enquired at this Time into the Earl of *Essex's* Death in 1683. spoken of before under that Year, but without making any satisfactory Discovery.

The King had about this Time secured three or four Persons upon Suspicion, but remembring that he was in a Countrey jealous of their Liberties to the last Degree, and in some Measure of himself, he thought it necessary to acquaint the Parliament with it. This Action, though necessary, being obnoxious to Misinterpretation, it was first made known to the House of Lords, who were found more generally respectful to his Majesty than the Commons. This Message was carried by the Lord Viscount *Mordant*, who having acquainted the House with what was done, let them know at the same Time, that his Majesty thought it might be convenient to secure more Persons at that Juncture. A Committee was immediately appointed to draw up an Address, in which they desired the King to continue his Care of the Publick, and consented that such Persons as were, or should be so committed, might be retained till the first Day of the next Term, if his Majesty should see Cause for it. The Commons made some Difficulty to concur with this Address, which seemed to allow the King a Power of dispensing with the *Habeas Corpus* Act; and therefore thought it more legal to bring in a Bill to empower his Majesty to apprehend and detain such Persons, as he should find just

A.D. 1689. Cause to suspect were conspiring against the Government. This Bill passed in few Days through both Houses, and afterwards passed into an Act by the Royal Assent.

The same Day the King sent another Message to the Parliament, which being of a more pleasing Nature, was delivered in the House of Commons. Mr. *Wharton* acquainted the House, that the King being sensible of the grievous Burthen incumbent upon his Subjects by the Duty upon Fire-Hearths, was pleased to agree either to any Regulation of it, or to the taking it wholly away. This Politick Present worked so strongly upon the *English* good Nature, that the Commons voted Addresses of Thanks to the King, with all the Expressions of Gratitude, Duty, and Fidelity imaginable. The King received also the Thanks of the City of *London* upon the same Account on *March* 12.

The King  
gives up the  
Duty of  
Chimney-  
Money.

On *March* 5. the two Houses concurred in an Address to the King, according to the Vote of *February* 27. abovementioned. This Address contained only general and warm Professions of Thankfulness to his Majesty, for the Deliverance he had brought to those Nations, and the strongest Assurances of standing by him with their Lives and Fortunes against all his Enemies.

The King, whose Talent it was to improve Opportunities, laid hold on the present Fit of good Humour in the Commons to dispose them to a more ample Supply; the Sum already granted, tho' amounting to 400000 *l.* being insufficient for his Occasions. He therefore prepared his Answer to their Address, in Concert with Mr. *Powle*, Speaker of the House of Commons; which he delivered to them upon the eighth of *March*, when the two Houses attended him with it. It was contrived with much Dexterity to hit the Humour of our Nation in general, and of the Parliament in particular.

In the first Place he thanked them, in the kindest Words, for their Address, assuring them of his Care in promoting a mutual Confidence, and in managing the Power he had been desired by them to accept. He then acquainted them with the State of *Holland*, the Expences that Republick had been at for this Nation, and the Danger they were in at that Time. He then touched upon the Condition of *Ireland*, and the Necessity of sending thither a speedy Assistance, and of equipping a strong Fleet. He concluded with engaging his solemn Word for the faithful Disposal of whatever they should give, and assuring them of his Readiness to expose his own Person for theirs and their Country's Sakes.

This Answer was expressed in such open and sincere, and yet warm and affectionate Terms, as gave a general Satisfaction; which was particularly shewn by an Address of thanks from the City of *London* to the House of Lords, on the twelfth of *March*.

The King had not only to deal with the ill Humours of his Parliament, but with the



A.D.1689. the Disaffection of Part of the *English* Army. The Royal *Scotch* Regiment of Horse that was quartered at *Abington*, almost totally deserted, marching towards *Scotland*; as did also above five hundred Soldiers of *Dunbarton's* Regiment, headed by five Captains, who took the same Way, with four Field-Pieces. The News being brought to the King, was by him sent to the Parliament; upon which both Houses addressed the King to issue forth his Proclamation, declaring them Rebels. This was done, and General *Ginkle* being sent after them, soon brought them to Submission. But instead of undergoing any ignominious Death, they were only sent over into *Holland*. This Accident occasioned an Act soon after for preventing Mutiny and Desertion.

Many refuse to take the Oaths.

*March* 2, 4, and 5. were spent by the Houses in taking the Oaths to the King and Queen. These were refused by few or none in the House of Commons, but in the Upper House not above ninety Temporal, and eight Spiritual Lords complied. Those eight Prelates were the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bristol*, *Winchester*, *Rocheſter*, *Llandaff*, and *St. Aſaph*, who were afterwards followed by the Bishops of *Carlisle* and *St. David's*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with many others of the Clergy, being intangled with some Scruples occasioned by the Oaths they had taken to King *James*, and the Impressions remaining on them from the Doctrines of Indefeasible Right and Non-Resistance, (industriously propagated by designing Men, and too hastily embraced by those of a different Character) refused the Oaths, though with the Loss of their Preferments. Many others of the Temporal Lords also retired into the Countrey upon various Pretences, but really to avoid owning the present Government.

Farther Proceedings of the Parliament.

The King, who being bred under a Commonwealth, had very little Conception of those sacred and inviolable Privileges, which, in Countries governed by Monarchs, are supposed to attend the Crown, might easily believe that this Defection proceeded more from a personal Aversion to himself, than probably it did. This made him very uneasy; and so numerous Instances of Disaffection appearing among those of the Church of *England*, inclined him to favour the Dissenters. Therefore when he attended the Houses on *March* 16. he proposed to them, when they made a Law to settle the Oaths to be taken by Persons in Office, that they would leave Room for the Admission of all Protestants indiscriminately.

In Pursuance of this Proposal, A Bill was set on Foot in the House of Lords, by Influence from the Court, for abrogating the former Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths in their Stead. After the second reading of this Bill, a select Committee was ordered to draw up two Clauses; the second of which was to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacra-

ment, to make a Man capable of holding an Office. But this last Clause could not be carried, being rejected by a great Majority.

This Attempt failing, the Court Party made another; which was to insert a Clause to prevent the receiving of the Sacrament any otherwise than in Obedience to the Holy Institution thereof. But this was also rejected, and the Bill without those Clauses was sent down to the Commons for their Concurrence.

A Bill for removing Papists from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and ten Miles distance from the same, was now set on Foot. This occasioned a Conference between the two Houses; because this general Order obliged the Queen Dowager to send away her *Roman Catholick* Servants contrary to her Articles of Marriage; and this difficulty was not cleared to the Satisfaction of both Houses till after many Conferences and warm Debates. The King gave his Assent in Compliance to his Parliament; declaring for his own Part that he came over to deliver the Protestants, and not to persecute the Romanists.

On *March* 28. the Earl of *Shrewsbury* from the King proposed in the House of Lords to bring in a Bill of free and general Pardon with the Exceptions they should see fitting. He at the same Time desired leave to bring in a Bill for naturalizing the Prince of *Denmark*; whom the King intended to make a Duke of this Kingdom, that he might sit in that House.

These were both popular Acts; the first by its own Nature, and peculiar fitness at that Season; the second by the Part which the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, always the Favourite of the *English* Nation, received of the Honours done to her Husband. Thereupon the Lords ordered two of their Body to attend the King with their humble Thanks.

The Bill for uniting their Majesties Protestant Subjects came before the same House *April* 4. The Court Party struggled so hard for inserting a Clause about the Indifferency of the Posture at receiving the Sacrament, in order to make Way for some at least of the Dissenters to enter into Offices, that upon a Division the Votes were equal. But in that Case, according to the ancient Rules, it is always carried in the Negative. They failed also the next Day in a Clause in the same Bill, by which a Commission was to be given by the King to the Bishops, and others of the Clergy. It was proposed to add to them some of the Laity; but this also was carried in the Negative, the Votes being equal on both Sides as before. On the sixth of *April* the rest of the Bill was considered, which was afterwards sent down to the Commons for their Concurrence.

*April* 9. The King went to the House of Peers to give his Royal Assent to an Act for establishing the Coronation Oath. The Court procured in this Act the Choice to be left to the King, of the Archbishop of

*Canter-*



A.D. 1689. *Canterbury*, or Bishop of *London*, to administer the same; lest their Majesties should receive a publick Affront by the Refusal of the former, which was reasonably to be expected.

The Coronation of the King and Queen.

The Coronation of the King and Queen was performed two Days after with the Magnificence and Splendor usual on those Occasions; and the House of Commons waited upon their Majesties the next Day with a Congratulation in the usual Forms; and received an Answer from the King in his own Name and the Queen's, expressed with the customary Civility.

Proceedings of the Parliament.

Not long after, the Lovers of the Church in the House of Commons perceiving the King's favourable Disposition to the Dissenters, agreed upon an Address to prevent any ill Consequences arising from thence; which being approved by the Lords, was presented by both Houses together. In this Address, which was drawn with much Art, they in the most respectful Terms, and with the utmost Gratitude for what the King had done, let him see their profound Veneration for the Church of *England*, and the Opposition he would find in any Attempt to its Prejudice. They concluded with desiring him to call a Convocation; and to shew their Readiness to oblige the King, assured him that it was their Intention forthwith to proceed to the Consideration of giving Ease to Protestant Dissenters. The King did not return an Answer till the next Day, when it was delivered by the Earl of *Nottingham* to the House of Lords. It was expressed in a Style perfectly suited to that of the Address. It contained many Assurances of the King's particular Affection to the Church of *England*, and of his constant future Care of it; to the strengthening of which, the King hoped the Ease they proposed to give to Dissenters, would very much conduce, which he therefore earnestly recommended to them; and promised that as soon as might be, he would summon a Convocation.

On this Day there was a Conference between both Houses, chiefly about an Amendment made by the Lords in the Bill for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; by which Amendment the Clergy were excused from taking the Oaths. At last after many Meetings it was compromised by a Clause to be inserted, by which the King might allow to such of the Clergy not exceeding twelve in Number, who should refuse the Oaths, a part of their Ecclesiastical Revenues, not exceeding a third part of the same for their Subsistence, to continue during the Kings Pleasure and no longer. This Clause being inserted, the whole passed into an Act by the Royal Assent April 24.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* is so much the same with that of *England* by Neighbourhood and common Interests, that they generally move the same Way, and follow each other's Fortune. Yet there being some difference still remaining between the two Kingdoms as to the Constitution, the Laws,

the Temper of the People, and other accidental Circumstances, it comes to pass that though they arrive at last at the same Port, their Courses are sometimes different. It is therefore necessary to give some Account of what passed there at this Time of universal Unsettlement, and of the Circumstances that attended the new Establishment in that Kingdom.

The *Scotch* Convention met at *Edinburgh* March 14. and the first Thing they went upon was to chuse a President. The Marquess of *Athol* was proposed by King *James's* Friends; and the Duke of *Hamilton* by King *William's*. The last carried it by a Majority of forty Voices; a Prognostication which Way the Stream of this Assembly would move for the future. The first Thing of Importance they entered on, was to secure the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was in the Hands of the Duke of *Gourdon*, a Papist. They summoned him to surrender it; but having trifled with them for some Days, he at last sent them an absolute Refusal; upon which they declared him a Traytor and a Rebel. Upon the sixteenth two Messengers came to them, one from King *James*, and another from King *William*, with a Letter from each. It was then debated, which should be first read, and it was carried by a Majority for that of King *William*; it being alledged, that possibly King *James's* Letter might order the Dissolution of the Assembly, which might make the Legality of it doubtful, King *James* being still the King in Name and Title.

King *William's* Letter was written in a Style of Civility and Kindness, suited to the present State of Affairs; giving them an Account of the Reasons for which they were called together by his Letters, and recommending to them to proceed in the Settlement of their Nation with Speed and Unanimity. He added also some Things, expressing his Desire of an Union of the two Kingdoms.

This Letter was read with great Applause; and a Committee named to draw up an Answer to it in the most thankful and dutiful Manner.

The Letter from King *James* was now to be opened; but before that was done, an Act passed declaring the Lawfulness of the Convention, notwithstanding any Thing that might be said in that Letter to the contrary. After this that Letter was read, which was penned in commanding and imperious Terms, intermixed with Threats; with very little of the Cajolling necessary on such Occasions. This Letter, not very agreeable in it self, was made yet more unpleasant by being countersigned by the Earl of *Melfort*, a Person odious to all the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, who made the greater Part of the Convention; so that it rather made the Assembly more forward than before, to follow the Way they were already in. The Messenger that brought it was at first secured; but that Action having an ill Appearance, upon cooler Thoughts they dismissed

The *Scotch* Convention meets.

The Duke of *Gourdon* refuses to surrender *Edinburgh* Castle.

A Letter from King *James*, and one from King *William*, read in the Convention.

The latter read first.

And well received.

The other unacceptable.



A. D. 1689. dismissed him, with a Pass instead of an Answer.

The Kingdom put in Posture of Defence.

Their next Care was to put the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence, to which Purpose they ordered a Proclamation to be published, requiring all Persons from sixteen to sixty to be in a Readiness to take Arms, and put the Militia all over the Kingdom in the Hands of proper Officers; raising at the same Time eight hundred Men to guard the City of *Edinburgh*. On *March 19.* they passed an Act, approving the Address of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry in *London*; wherein having acknowledged the Benefits done to their Nations by the Prince of *Orange*, they desired him to accept the Administration of the Government of that Kingdom. The same Day upon the reading of some Letters from several Lords and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, craving Assistance of the Convention, they ordered two thousand Muskets, and twenty Barrels of Powder to be immediately sent them; that a farther Provision of Arms and Ammunition should be bought up for them in *Holland*; and that two small Frigates should cruise between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for mutual Intelligence between both Kingdoms.

The Convention sends Assistance into *Ireland*.

The Lord *Dundee* raises Troubles.

While these Things were doing, the Lord Viscount *Dundee* held a private Conference with the Duke of *Gourdon* at the Postern Gate of *Edinburgh* Castle, at which they concerted Measures to disturb the publick Tranquillity. The Convention ordered *Dundee* to appear before them, but he retired with thirty or forty Horse to *Linlithgow*. Upon this a Party of Horse was sent after him; and the Convention apprehending he might surprize *Sterling* Castle, dispatched immediately away the Earl of *Mar*, its Governor, to secure that important Fortrefs.

An Answer sent to King *William's* Letter.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of *March* the Convention sent an Answer to King *William's* Letter, full of Thankfulness, Duty, and Loyalty, promising to observe, and take proper Notice of, those Things there recommended. This Answer was sent to his Majesty that Afternoon.

The Military, as well as the Civil, Power being necessary to compose and quiet an unsettled Nation, King *William* had sent four Regiments of Foot, and one of Dragoons, under Major General *Mackay*, into *Scotland*, to enforce the Orders and Resolutions of the Convention there. Upon their Arrival, they were ordered to be quartered in *Leith*, and the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*. And on the 26<sup>th</sup> a Committee was appointed for settling the Government, which was of eight Lords, eight Knights, and eight Burgeses, the Bishops being left out; and soon after by the Declaration of Rights, that whole Order was abolished in *Scotland*.

The Order of Bishops suppressed in *Scotland*.

The total Destruction of this venerable Order is so remarkable an Incident, and the Ease with which an established Hierarchy was changed, without any Disturbance arising from thence, is so surprizing, that it well deserves that we should stand still a

little to consider what might be the Causes A. D. 1689. of so wonderful an Event. Besides others, which those who are better acquainted with the Countrey and Times might assign, the following may be reasonably supposed to have had an Influence. First, the very ill Conduct of the Bishops themselves, who either out of servile Complaisance to the Court, or misled by those high Notions of Loyalty and Duty to the Prince which were fashionable in those Days, had done many Things altogether contrary to the Privileges and Rights of a free Nation; had upon the News of King *William's* Landing, declared their Abhorrence of it, and called it a detestable Invasion; and since the Departure of King *James*, shewed themselves remarkably partial to him. Another Thing was, that when Episcopacy was first settled after the Restoration, many Acts of illegal and arbitrary Violence were used to confirm and support it against the popular Stream, which ran fiercely in Opposition to it. These Things had given Uneasiness even to those Patriots who were Friends to Episcopacy; and made such as were otherwise indifferent enough on both Sides, prejudiced against it. And besides, the Clergy themselves were much wanting in those Qualifications that adorn and give a Lustre to their sacred Function. Had their Piety, and Learning and Zeal been as universally shining as that of their Brethren of *England*, it could not certainly have been easie to have overthrown their whole Hierarchy, with so little Opposition, as was made at this Time.

The Throne declared vacant.

The Convention then went on to declare the Throne vacant. In this Declaration they were obliged to proceed upon different Grounds from that in *England*, who alledged the withdrawing of King *James* as a Reason why the Throne was vacant. But this Reason could not take Place in *Scotland*; and therefore they grounded their Declaration on the Invasions made upon the Constitution; by which they said he had forfeited the Crown, and made the Throne become vacant. This being agreed to, they proceeded to an Act for settling the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*; with a Declaration of Rights added to it. This Act enumerates the Grievances of King *James's* Reign, and on that Account declares the Throne vacant. It then proceeds to the Declaration of Rights, after which it declares *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, to be King and Queen of *Scotland*.

The Scotch Declaration of Rights.

The Grievances and Rights there enumerated, are so like to those in the *English* Declaration to the same purpose, that it is needless to insert it at length: The Article that declares against Episcopacy being the only material Difference.

The same Day their Majesties were crowned King and Queen of *England*, they were in Consequence of this Act proclaimed King and Queen of *Scotland*; and two Days after a Proclamation was published, forbidding all Persons to own, or correspond with the late King *James*. This was partly occasioned

The King and Queen proclaimed in *Scotland*.



A.D. 1689. ed by some Letters from the Earl of *Melfort*, King *James's* Minister, that were intercepted; in which he so openly declared his Master's Intentions to take a severe Revenge upon those who had opposed him, as gave very just Alarms.

The Scotch Coronation-Oath taken by the King and Queen.

The Convention then sent three Commissioners, the Earl of *Argyle*, Sir *James Montgomery*, and Sir *John Dalrymple*, to London, to tender the Coronation Oath to the King and Queen; which was done with great Solemnity at the Banqueting-House at *Whitehall*. 'Tis observable that in that Oath there is a Clause that the King shall be careful to root out Hereticks; but when the King came to it, he declared that he did not mean by those Words, that he was under any Obligation to become a Persecutor; to which the Commissioners made answer; that neither the Meaning of the Oath nor the Law of *Scotland* did import it. Whereupon the King replied, that he took the Oath in that Sense; and called the Commissioners and others present to witness it.

*Dundee* raises Forces.

The whole Island of *Great-Britain* now submitted to the Rule of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, except the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and a Party in the Highlands headed by the Lord *Dundee*. The Lord *Dundee*, after having been worsted in a slight Encounter, was at first almost deserted by his Party. But a Recruit of three hundred *Irish* being sent over to him, he found means to raise the Highland Clans, and assemble a Body of six thousand Foot and one hundred Horse. General *Mackay* marched towards him with a Body of four thousand Foot, and four Troops of Horse and Dragoons; whom the other as boldly advanced to meet. The two Armies engaged May 26. on the Blair of *Atbol*, and a valiant Encounter passed between them; in which *Mackay* had the worst, and was forced to retire towards *Stirling*. But the Progress of the other Side was stopt by the Death of the Lord *Dundee*, who was slain in the Fight; and was the Life and Soul of all his Party. He was a truly virtuous and brave Man; faithful to his Master upon Principles of Conscience and Honour; had great Credit with the Episcopal Party; and was a skilful and valiant Soldier. So that had he survived his Victory, he had probably caused a terrible Convulsion throughout *Scotland*. But Heaven was too kind to so worthy a Man, to permit him to be a Scourge to his native Country; and therefore took him away to prevent the ill Consequences of his mistaken Fidelity. His Party afterwards could make no stand against the King's Troops, but were worsted in every Encounter; so that they soon dwindled away, and the Chiefs came in and submitted themselves, one after another.

The Castle of *Edinburgh* surrenders.

The Castle of *Edinburgh* had been besieged a long Time with great Vigour, and so great a Progress was made in the Attack, that at last the Duke of *Gordon* was obliged to surrender at Discretion; and on the thirteenth of *June* delivered up that important

Fortress; which caused an entire Tranquillity throughout *England* and *Scotland*.

But in *Ireland* Things had a terrible Look. The Earl of *Tyrconnel* had secured the most important Places in that Kingdom, had disarmed and pillaged most of the Protestants in the Provinces of *Munster*, *Leinster* and *Connaught*, and imprisoned the chief of them. Only in the Province of *Ulster* the Protestants were bold and strong enough to declare for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and seize on the Towns of *Coleraine*, *Kilmore*, *Inniskilling* and *Londonderry*.

King *James* having in vain applied himself for Assistance to the Emperor, accepted that offered by the *French* King. And being informed by the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, that the Kingdom of *Ireland* was almost all in his Power, he resolved to make his first Effort there. So he set Sail from *Brest* with fifteen hundred Men, and safely landed March 12. at *Kinsale*, from whence he went to *Dublin*. He then issued out a Proclamation for a Parliament of *Ireland* to meet there on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May.

Thus the *British* Dominions were divided between the Father and the Son-in-law, and the Sovereignty of them came to be decided by the Sword. King *William* informed of this State of Things, had sent some Arms and Ammunition to *Londonderry*; and named Colonel *Lundee* Governor. In the mean Time King *James*, with the Army *Tyrconnel* had prepared for him, took *Kilmore* and *Coleraine*, two of the Towns the Protestants had seized. Colonel *Lundee* at *Londonderry* upon Information of this called a Council of War, at which Colonel *Cunningham* and Colonel *Richards*, who were just arrived from *England* with their Regiments, assisted. This Council agreed that the Place was not tenable; as being ill fortified, and wanting Provisions; and therefore an Instrument was prepared by them to surrender the Town to King *James*, upon Promise of Pardon and Restitution of their plundered Goods. But when this was prepared and brought to be subscribed by the City-Council, it caused a great Uproar. Some not only refused to subscribe, but threatened to hang the Governor and Council for offering a Surrender. While these ill Humours were working, King *James* with his Army came before the Walls of the Town; but met with so warm a Reception that he retired. The Nearness of the Danger so wrought upon the People, that as soon as they heard what was done in the Council of War, they flew into such a violent Rage against those who assisted in it, that they were obliged to make their Escape out of the Town, and get away as well as they could, one after another.

The People being now become Masters, agreed to hold out to the utmost Extremity; and there being two Gentlemen who were more especially concerned in encouraging them in this Resolution, Major *Baker*, and Mr. *George Walker* a Clergyman, they chose those two the Governors. They put the Men of the Town into Regiments, and

A.D. 1689.

The State of *Ireland*.

King *James* lands there.

The Resolution of the Inhabitants of *Londonderry*.



A.D. 1689. and found their Number about seven thousand.

The *Roman* History does not afford a more noble Example of undaunted Courage, than this Resolution of the Inhabitants of *Londonderry*. Their Town, as was said above, was ill fortified; their Provisions were scanty, and there was no Prospect of getting more when those were consumed; the Enemy being Master of all the rest of the Country, and confining them within their own Walls. The only hope they had was of Supplies from *England*; which considering the Distance and Hazards of the Seas, must be of Course both slow and uncertain. In this desperate Condition they were to provoke an Army of twenty thousand Men continually increasing, who if the Town was reduced after an obstinate Defence, were like to take a cruel Revenge for the Lives and Time lost in the Siege. Yet under all these Discouragements, Zeal for Religion and Liberty, joined with a Scorn and Fear of becoming subject to those they hated, so worked up their natural Bravery, that they chose all these Dangers and Difficulties rather than to yield. They sent a Messenger to *England* to give an Account of their Resolution, and to desire speedy Assistance.

King James besieges it.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of *April* King James invested the Place, and began to batter it the next Day. Afterwards several Attacks were made by the Besiegers, and as many Sallies by the Besieged; in which the latter always had the Advantage.

The Besiegers finding what desperate Men they had to do with, changed their Measures; and proposed to reduce them by Famine, an Enemy that no Courage can repulse. They shut the Town up on all Sides; and to prevent Supplies coming by Sea from *England*, took care to guard the Passage up the River. This done, they lay still for a considerable Time, leaving the Besieged to encounter with the Enemies that were already within their Walls.

The severe Famine in the Town.

It was not long before the small Quantity of wholesome Provisions they had there, in spite of all their good Husbandry, were consumed by so many Mouths as were amongst them; so that Famine began to shew its meagre and frightful Aspect, and grew every Day more and more severe within the Town; which added to its dismal and sure Attendant, Sickness, made it a Scene of all the Hardships Men can undergo. Their Stores of wholesome Food being gone, it was left to their Choice whether they would surrender, or prolong their Defence by subsisting on such miserable Sustenance as Humane Nature rejects and abhors. And they resolutely chose the latter, though they had even yet no Assurance of any Help or Supplies coming to them; they being so closely shut up that not only Provision, but Intelligence from abroad, was kept from them. Dogs, Cats, Rats, Mice, Hides, Tallow, were not thought too bad to be eaten for want of better Nourishment; and Horse-Flesh was looked on as a Dainty. This un-

natural Diet, loathed and refused by the Stomach, produced Fluxes and other Distempers among them, and brought them so low that they were reduced to Skeletons; and many Persons of the more tender Constitutions sunk under the Hardship, and died. Yet they bore all with an amazing Constancy; and had Spirit enough left to repulse the Besiegers with great Slaughter in an Attack they made upon them while they were struggling with all this Misery.

The Messenger they sent to *England* had so good Success that a Fleet with Supplies of all kinds was sent to them with all possible Speed. But this Assistance took up so much Time in the Preparation and in the Voyage, that it was near two Months after the beginning of the Siege, before those in the Town had any Prospect of it.

A Fleet sent from England to their Relief.

At last on the fifteenth of *June*, they saw at a great Distance three Ships firing at *Kilmore* Castle, and attempting to come up the River, but prevented by the Enemies Shot; and not long after they discovered a Fleet of thirty Sail. This revived and cheered them; for they were persuaded that it was come from *England* to their Relief. But their Courage and Patience had still many Tryals to undergo before this Relief was to prove effectual. For the Enemy had taken

Which is kept from them by the Enemy.

Care to provide against its coming, by raising Batteries of Great Guns in proper Places, lining the Banks of the River with Musqueteers on both Sides, and fixing in the narrow Part thereof, to stop the Ships from getting by, an artificial Bar, or Boom, composed of strong Timbers, fastened together by Iron Chains, and strengthened by a Cable twelve Inches thick, twisted round it. So that it was impossible for the Ships to get up the River, without Danger of being beat to Pieces by the Cannon, or of sticking in the Boom at last, if they were able to stand the Fire of the Batteries. And Major General *Kirk*, who was Commander, had not Men enough to dislodge the Enemy by open Force. So that it was still a Matter of the utmost Difficulty, not only to bring the Supplies to the Besieged, but even to keep an Intelligence with them; all the Passages being guarded by the Enemy, and all Persons strictly examined.

But that Industry and Dexterity which Military Men acquire above others, by the necessary and continual Use they have for it, found a Means at last to overcome this Difficulty. A Messenger made a Shift to get through the Enemy to the River Side over against the Town, and swimming over, gave the Besieged an Account that the Fleet they saw was come to their Assistance, and would use their utmost Endeavours to get to them. Another Messenger from the Fleet happened to fall into the Enemies Hands; who instructed him in a different Story, and then sent to the Besieged, to tell them that they were mistaken if they thought the Fleet they saw was come to their Relief; that *England* was all in Confusion, and could not help them; and that they might be satisfied of this

The Besieged get Intelligence from the Fleet.



A.D. 1689. this from a Messenger that had been taken who was sent to the Garrison with this Account. But this Stratagem failed; the Garrison being better informed than they thought they were.

Which cannot get to them.

Soon after they received fresh Intelligence from Major General Kirk, who assured them that *England* and *Scotland* were perfectly quiet, and that Troops were ready to march to their Assistance both in *England* and *Ireland*; that he had Stores and Victuals for them, but that he dared not venture to bring them up the River; that he would try to do what he could by Land, but that if he found that impracticable, he would come to their Relief, when they could hold out no longer, though at the Hazard of himself, his Men, and Ships. In the mean Time he desired them to defend themselves as long as they could, and husband well what Subsistence they had.

The Distress they were reduced to.

These Advices and Promises raised their Spirits a little, but the Famine raged amongst them with a Fury that increased every Day; and it was a melancholy Thing to see their Friends so near, and yet unable to get at them. They made many bold Attempts to reach the Ships in the River, which were still frustrated by the Enemies Shot. About this Time Major Baker was taken very ill, and his Life being thought in Danger, Colonel Michelburn was chosen into his Place; the Major dying soon after, without seeing the Deliverance of the Place he had so nobly defended. During this, *Conrad de Rose*, the French General, came into the Camp of the Besiegers. He went to view the Fortifications of the Town, and finding how little the Siege was advanced in all this Time, flew into a most outrageous Fury, and swore he would level the Place with the Ground, and bury those that defended it in its Ruines, putting all to the Sword within it, without Distinction of Age or Sex; and studying the most horrible Torments to punish those that encouraged the others to hold out. After this he changed his Talk, and sent them fair Promises of good Usage if they would surrender, pretending to admire their Bravery in holding out so long. But he found he had to do with resolute Men, who were neither to be frightened with bad Words, nor deceived with good ones. They scorned alike both his Threats and his Promises, and the Governor ordered that no Mention should be made of a Surrender upon Pain of Death; only Lieutenant-General Hamilton, who was Commander in the *Irish* Camp, having sent them plausible Offers, they hearkened to them so far as to procure three Days Truce, wherein to search for Provisions, they being reduced to the utmost Distress for want of Food. But after they had obtained this Respite, they rejected Hamilton's Proposals with Scorn and Disdain.

A barbarous Order of the French General.

Their inflexible Resolution so enraged the French General, that he sent them an Order, importing, that if they did not surrender by the first of July, he would bring all the

Protestants in the Countrey round about, A.D. 1689. and drive them under the Walls of *Derry*, where they should lie and starve. That if any Troops came from *England* to their Relief, he would ruine and lay waste the whole Countrey; but if they would surrender, he would use them well, and protect them from all Injuries. But the Besieged received this Letter with the like Contempt and Indignation as they had done Hamilton's Proposals.

King James was too wise and too good-natured to approve of these tyrannical Methods, and countermanded this Order, and spoke of it with great Resentment. But he was not the Master, though in his own Countrey; so that seven thousand Protestants of all Con-

Seven Thousand Protestants driven under the Walls of Londonderry.

ditions, were fetched to the Camp from the neighbouring Countries, and driven by the Soldiers under the Walls of *Londonderry*, there to perish with Hunger; being denied all Sustenance from the Camp, and the Garrison being unable either to relieve or take them in. But the Garrison immediately set up a Gallows in View of the Besiegers, threatening to hang all the Prisoners they had taken during the Siege, by Way of Reprials, if the Besiegers treated the Protestants in that inhuman Manner. This made the Friends of the Prisoners intercede with Hamilton, for the revoking that barbarous Order; and they with Difficulty prevailed. So that the poor Protestants were at last suffered to go back to their Habitations, after having stayed so long under the Walls of the Town without Food, that they were half starved. The Garrison found Means to crowd amongst them five hundred of their useless Mouths, and to get in Exchange some able and strong Men out of their Numbers.

Upon which the Garrison threatens to hang their Prisoners.

By which the Protestants are released.

But by this Time the very vilest Eatables were become so scarce, that there was no longer Hope of prolonging their Lives even in that miserable Way. Doctor Walker the Governor, who still remained undaunted, was apprehensive their long Sufferings might sink the Spirits of others; and to encourage them, preached a Sermon in the Cathedral, in which he exhorted the Besieged to trust in God, reminding them of many Instances of his Providence since the Beginning of the Siege; and concluding that they would certainly find a speedy Deliverance.

Doctor Walker the Governor preaches to the Garrison.

His Discourse seemed inspired with a prophetic Spirit; for in an Hour after this Sermon was over, they saw three Ships sailing towards them up the River, which came from General Kirk; who hearing of the Extremity the Garrison was reduced to, resolved to relieve them at all Adventures. The Enemy made a furious Fire upon the Ships from every Part, which they bravely received and returned. The foremost Ship went twice with full Sails against the Boom, without making any Impression on it. At last, with a third Effort, the Boom gave way; but at the same Time the Ship was driven back so far, and with so fierce a Shock, that she ran a-ground. The Enemy

The Town at last relieved.



A.D.1689. my upon this set up a joyful Shout, fired all their Guns upon her, and sent out their Boats to board her. The Miseries the Besieged had suffered throughout the Siege, were not equal to the Pain they felt in that short Moment, when they saw their last Hopes, as they thought, fail them. But it did not last long; for the Ship, firing a Broadside at the Enemy that came to attack her, the Shock so loosened her Bottom from the Ground she struck into, that she got clear, and passed the Boom. The other Ships followed her; and through all the Enemies Fire, got safely up to the Town. They found the Garrison at the very Brink of perishing; nine lean Horses, and a Pint of Meal for each Man being all that was left for the Sustenance of above five Thousand Men. The Besiegers broke up their Encampment the very Night after in great Confusion, making a miserable Havock in their Retreat. Mr. Walker the Governor, went to *England* with an Address of Thanks from the Garrison and Inhabitants to their Majesties, and received from them those Honours and Rewards which were due to his great Services.

The Actions  
of the *Inni-  
skilliners*.

The Men of *Inniskillin* behaved themselves with no less Valour than those of *Londonderry*, and while the *Irish* were employed in the Siege of the latter, made several brave Excursions with an extraordinary Success. The most remarkable Action of theirs was performed on the same Day that *Londonderry* was relieved, in which two Thousand *Inniskilliners* fought and routed six Thousand *Irish*, and took their Commander *Mackarty*, with the Loss only of twenty Men.

King James  
meets his  
*Irish* Parlia-  
ment.

Soon after King James had begun the Siege of *Londonderry*, he left the Camp to meet his *Irish* Parliament at *Dublin*. It is easie to conceive of what Temper such a Parliament must be, when the Protestants were all disarmed, and every Moment in Fear of their Lives, and the Papists possessed both of the Civil and Military Power. The King in his Speech thanked them for their signal Loyalty, at a Time when his other Subjects had abandoned him. He alledged, that his earnest Desire of settling Liberty of Conscience, was the Thing that made his Enemies set themselves against him; and concluded with Assurances of doing his Part to make their Nation rich and happy. Soon after he published a Declaration to all his Subjects, full of general Strains of Mercy and Lenity.

Their cruel  
Act of At-  
tainer.

But the Proceedings of his Parliament were very unsuitable to this Declaration. For soon after their Meeting, they passed an Act of Attainder, that exceeded in Cruelty the bloody Proscription of the last Triumvirate at *Rome*. There were attainted in this black Act, two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, twenty six Viscounts, two Viscountesses, seven Bishops, eighteen Barons, thirty three Barons, fifty one Knights, eighty three Clergymen, and two Thousand one hundred eighty two Esquires and Gentlemen. All

of whom, unheard, were declared Traytors, A.D.1689. and adjudged to suffer the Pains of Death and Forfeiture. So that in this little Kingdom was attainted more than double the Number of those who were proscribed through the vast Extent of the *Roman* Empire. When the Speaker presented this Bill for the Royal Assent, he told the King, That amongst these many were attainted upon such Evidence as satisfied the House, and the rest upon common Fame. And that the condemned Persons might be hindered from escaping by Flight, the Act was concealed, and no Protestant allowed a Copy of it till four Months were past. After this Assembly had made some other Acts, among which one was for Liberty of Conscience, they were prorogued.

After this all Terms were broke with the Protestants, and an Order was published by *Latterell*, the Governor of *Dublin*, forbidding Protestants above the Number of five, to meet together in any Place, under Pain of Death, or Punishment by a Court Martial; and when he was asked whether the Proclamation was designed to hinder their Meeting in Churches, he answered, that it was; and so the Protestant Churches were all shut up throughout the Kingdom. The Church-  
es shut in Ire-  
land.

In *England* King William declared War against *France*, the restraining of whose Power was his favourite Design. He was long solicited to this by the Ministers of *Spain* and *Holland*, but declined engaging, till he found himself farther encouraged by an Address from the House of Commons; in which they laid before him the Dangers from *France*, and promised to assist him, if he would declare War against that Crown. King William  
declares War  
against  
*France*.

Some Days before this Proclamation, a Sea-Fight happened between the *English* and *French* Fleet in *Bantry Bay*, on the Coast of *Ireland*. Admiral *Herbert* being informed that a *French* Fleet was set out from *Brest* with Supplies from *France* for King James, stood over to *King'sale* to meet them; and got Sight of them making into *Bantry-Bay*. The next Day a Fight began between the two Fleets, which passed without any remarkable Advantage on either Side. This Fight made the War necessary, which was before agreed on. A Sea-Fight  
in *Bantry Bay*.

The House of Commons had granted the King a Poll-Bill, and they now added to it a Bill to lay one Shilling in the Pound on Land, which was the first Time a Tax was laid on Land. The first  
Land-Tax.

An Examination began at this Time to be made into the judicial Proceedings in the latter Part of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, and in the Reign of the late King; in which some remarkable Strains of Law had been used, as is taken Notice of above in the History of those Times. These Proceedings the House of Lords now thought proper to animadvert upon, and to stigmatize with that Infamy they deserved. Bills were brought into that House to reverse and annul Several At-  
tainders re-  
versed.



A.D. 1689. annul the Attainders of the Lord *Ruffel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and the Lady *Lisle*; and they passed, both thro' that House and the House of Commons, with great Unanimity. The famous Dr. *Oates* thought this a proper Opportunity to bring himself into Consideration. He laid his Case before the House of Lords, setting forth the Judgments that had been given against him, which he prayed might be reversed, in regard that he had been convicted chiefly upon the Oaths of the *St. Omers* Witnesses, who were all, except one, Papists; and that the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies* had, by brow-beating the Witnesses, intimidated several Persons from being his Council.

*Oates* applies for Relief.

But his Case was not received at all favourably by the Lords. It was adjudged that it contained Matter tending to the Breach of the Privilege of the House, because it was equally directed to the Lords and Commons: So he was ordered to be committed to the *King's-Bench*. And three Days after the House agreed not to reverse the Judgments against him.

His Attainder reversed by the Lords.

But a Protestation made by some of the Lords had that Weight with the House, that they suffered Council to plead at their Bar for *Oates*, upon which they ordered and adjudged the Judgments against him to be reversed. The chief Arguments which swayed the House were, 1. That such cruel and unusual Punishments being contrary to the Declaration of Rights, a Confirmation of those Judgments by the House, appeared like an Infringement of that Declaration. 2. That the divesting *Oates* of his Canonical Habit was not in the Power of the temporal Courts. 3. That by the Opinions of all the ablest Lawyers, those Judgments were contrary to Law, and ancient Practice.

But his Disability continued.

But though these Motives induced the House to consent to reverse the Judgment, when a Bill was brought up to that Purpose from the House of Commons; they still retained so ill an Opinion of him that they inserted a Proviso, that he should be incapable of being a Witness till the Matters for which he was sentenced were determined in Parliament. This produced a Difference between the two Houses, the Commons thinking it unreasonable to continue a Disability imposed by a reversed Judgment; and the Lords willing to impose some Punishment on him for his Perjuries, which they thought him guilty of. The two Houses insisted so stiffly on their several Opinions, they were near falling into dangerous Heats; when a sudden Adjournment put a Stop to them. However the Commons obtained an Address from the Lords to the King, that he would be pleased to pardon him. The King complied with this, and when he was discharged by Order from the Lords; the King received him into Protection, and allowed him a considerable Pension; which occasioned various Reflections.

Which occasions a Difference between the Houses.

A Bill to confirm the Declaration of Rights, and to settle the Succession.

About this Time the Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords for declaring the Subjects Rights and Liberties, and settling the Suc-

cession of the Crown. Upon this Occasion A.D. 1689. the Lords added a Proviso in Favour of the Princess *Sophia*, Duchess of *Hanover*. But the Commons disagreed to this; and several Conferences passed between the two Houses without Effect. But the Dispute was compromised by the Birth of the Duke of *Glocester*, Son of the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*, which put an End to those Differences by the Prospect of a Successor of our own Country.

The Duke of *Glocester* born.

The Affairs of the Parliament after this were little remarkable. A Bill for laying Duties on Coffee, Tea, &c. being carried up to the Lords, that House added a Clause thereto. This was at first resented by the Commons; but upon the Reasons given by the Lords they acquiesced. A Bill was passed also for repaying to the States-General, the Sums expended upon the King's Expedition into *England*. These Things being done, the King assented to the Bills presented to him Aug. 28. and by two Adjournments put off their Meeting again till October 19. It was during this Session that the famous Act of Toleration was passed.

But the most important Transactions of Affairs of this Time were carried on in the Field. *Ireland*. King *James* being possessed of *Ireland*, and assisted by the *French*, *England* was obliged both for its Honour and Safety to take that Kingdom out of his Hands by Force of Arms. This proved a Business of Time, Expence and Difficulty; partly from the Nature of the Undertaking, and partly from the Mismanagements used at first in the carrying it on. So that *Ireland* remained a Thorn in our Sides for no less than two Years. And it was not without Reason wondered at that it was mastered even in that Time.

The long Peace of the two late Reigns, Duke *Schomberg* sent General for King *William*. had through Disuse so enervated the naturally warlike Temper of the *English*, that there was scarcely one of our Countrymen to be found that was fit to command a Land Army in chief. So that Duke *Schomberg* was sent over to *Ireland* as General; a Post his Merit would have entitled him to, even without that Consideration. He embarked on the twelfth of *August*, and in a Day's Time passed over and landed in the Bay of *Carrickfergus*, with a Force of about ten thousand Men. He attacked the Town of *Carrickfergus* on the twenty second, and in four Days brought the Besieged to capitulate.

But this was the only Action of Moment he was able to perform. For the Campaign His ill Success at first. beginning so late, met with the rainy Weather that in our Parts often introduces Winter. And the Enemy being Masters of the Country all about, his Army subsisted only on the scanty and uncertain Supplies they received from *England*. The bad Weather and Provisions, joined with painful Marches, and the other Fatigues of War, introduced Sickness and Distempers among the raw Soldiers; which weakened them to that Degree that the General dared not oppose undisciplined Men in their feeble Condition against the Enemy's Troops, who were so much their Superiors in all respects, but Courage.



A.D.1689. All that could be done he effected; which was to keep the Ground he had got, till a milder Season came on. But during the Campaign, and in their Winter Quarters, the Army continued so sickly, that near two Thirds of the Force brought over from *England*, was entirely lost before the Return of Spring.

The Fleet  
inactive.

The same Misfortunes that attended our Countrymen in *Ireland*, befell those who were aboard the Fleet; most of the *English* Seamen being disabled by Sickness. The Summer pass'd at Sea without any considerable Incident; the Confederate *English* and *Dutch* Fleets only floating about the Channel without finding any Opportunity of performing the least Service.

An Action in  
*Flanders*.

In *Flanders* an Action happened by an Attack made by the *French* upon the Town of *Walcourt*; from whence they were bravely repulsed by the *English* and *Dutch*, with the Loss of two thousand Men killed and wounded. In this Action Prince *Waldeck* commanded in chief, and the Earl (since Duke) of *Marlborough* was one of the Lieutenant Generals. This was the only memorable Event on that Side; and had no Consequences. On the Side of *Germany* the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the Duke of *Lorraine* had good Success; and took from the *French* the strong Places of *Keyserfwart*, *Bonne* and *Mentz*.

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

By that Time the Campaigns were ended every where the Parliament met. The King made a Speech to them drawn up by himself; which was received with great Applause by both Houses. It tended chiefly to assure them of his Affection, and his Desire to promote his Subjects Happiness; with a Motion for Supplies. But the Dispute about *Oates* abovementioned, having caused Animosities between the Houses, it was thought fit to stifle all Remembrance of it by a Prorogation; the Parliament being before continued only by Adjournment. Accordingly two Days after, the King, by Advice of the Members of both Houses, came and prorogued them for two Days. This put an End to those Disputes; it being the Custom of Parliament, that a Prorogation puts a final End to all Business of what kind soever that is in Agitation before; which an Adjournment does not.

The Convo-  
cation meets,  
and is ad-  
journd.

The Convocation had been summoned to meet in *November*. When they met, they entered upon an Affair which the King had much at Heart, the uniting the Church of *England* and the Dissenters. But there was so little Disposition, in the Lower House especially, to this good Work, that the King seeing there was no Probability of effecting his Purpose, adjourned them to the twenty fourth of *January*.

The Com-  
mons en-  
quire into the  
Miscarriages  
in *Ireland*,  
and of the  
Fleet.

The Miscarriages in *Ireland*, and the Inactivity of the Fleet the last Summer, were so grating to every *English-man* that had the Honour of his Country at Heart, as made the House of Commons impatient to examine into the Reasons of them. They were provoked to the last Degree, to find the great

Expences of the foregoing Year eluded and A.D.1689. fruitless, while our Forces at Land were reduced to the Defensive, and our Fleets that used to be called the Terror of the World, lay idle and inactive; and yet lost more stout Men by Sickness than a Sea Fight would have cost. The Duke of *Schomberg* to justify himself, wrote over to the King, that his Army had never exceeded twelve thousand effective Men (though there were twenty three thousand upon the Establishment,) most newly raised, and little better than King *James's* Troops, who were double their Number; that he had waited for Artillery, Horses and Carriages for above a Month; that the Army had all along wanted Bread, the Men and Horses Shoes; and the Surgeons and Apothecaries Medicines. This Account was confirmed by Mr. *Lumley* and Count *Solmes*; who added that the Miscarriages were wholly to be charged on *Shales*, the Purveyor-General to the Army; and that upon Duke *Schomberg's* Landing there was such a Consternation among the *Irish*, that he might have marched directly to *Dublin*, if he had not wanted Provisions and a Train of Artillery. The Commons fired with these Informations, voted an Address to desire the King to cause *Shales* to be arrested. The King answered them, that upon Information of *Shales's* Mismanagement, he had sent Orders to that Purpose. Some Time after the King ingratiated himself with the Commons, by acquainting them that he was willing they should name Persons to overlook the Preparations for the War in *Ireland*; and to inspect the Condition of the Army there. This Message was wonderfully pleasing to the House, who returned their Thanks in a full Body; but excused themselves from any such Nomination, leaving it to the King's great Wisdom. The Commons also examined into the Miscarriages of the Fleet; and found they proceeded from the Fault of those who had victualled the Fleet, and supplied it with unsound Provisions; which produced a raging Sickness among the *English* Seamen, while the *Dutch* continued healthy. And the House ordered them to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms to answer for the same.

A Bill to confirm the Declaration of Rights, and settle the Succession of the Crown passed both Houses. The Lords upon this Occasion inserted that remarkable Clause which was taken into the Act that afterwards settled the Crown on the illustrious Family of his Majesty now reigning; namely, "that if any King or Queen should turn Papist, or marry a Papist, the Crown should descend to the next Heirs, as if the Persons so marrying were naturally dead."

This Bill, with another for raising two Shillings in the Pound on Land, received the Royal Sanction Dec. 16. and soon after a Debate arose in the House of Commons about the Revenue to be settled on the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*. The House was divided into three Parties about it. Those

A Debate in  
the House of  
Commons a-  
bout the Re-  
venue of the  
Princess  
who *Anne*.



A.D.1689. who were most profoundly devoted to the Princess, of whom were very many, were for allowing her 70000*l.* per Ann. Others were for only 50000*l.* while the Courtiers were for leaving the whole entirely to the King's Discretion. After the first Day's Debate, the King sent to the Princess to persuade her to rely on his Generosity; but she civilly declined the Offer, saying, that since that Affair was before the Commons, she thought it best to have it concluded by that wise Body. The Debate being resumed the next Day, the second Party carried the Question, and 50000*l.* a Year was ordered to be paid to her Royal Highness out of the Excise. About a Month after this, nothing material having intervened, the King finding ill Humours increase in the House of Commons, came to the Upper-House, Jan.

A.D.1690. 27. and having passed those Bills that were ready, prorogued the Parliament; which was in about a Week after dissolved by Proclamation; another being summoned to meet on the twentieth of March.

The Spring drawing on, the King who resolved to go into Ireland to be present at the Campaign there, was busy in preparing for it. Recruits were raised for completing the old Regiments, and to be formed into new ones; and seven thousand Danes who were sent by the King of Denmark, were embarked for Ireland.

An unsuccessful Effort was made by the weak Remains of the Scotch Rebels, reinforced by some Supplies from Ireland, to disturb that Kingdom. But being met by the King's Forces they were defeated; and continued quiet afterwards.

The Parliament meets.

March 20. the Parliament met. The King in his Speech let them know his Intention of going to Ireland; and the Necessity of ready Money for that Expedition, and of Unanimity in their Proceedings for the Publick Peace. He recommended to them also an Union with Scotland. He let them know that he intended to leave the Administration in the Queen's Hands during his Absence; and desired them to prepare an Act for that Purpose if they thought it necessary.

The Commons fell upon supplying the King with great Vigour; and established such a Fund for his Use, that he found it easie to raise out of it the present Money he wanted. On the twentieth of May the King gave his Assent to an Act for putting the Government in the Queen's Hands, whenever the King should be absent from the Realm of Great-Britain. An Act for reversing the *Quo Warranto* against the City of London, was passed the same Day; and three Days after an Act of Oblivion; out of which only thirty five Persons were excepted. The King then thanked the Parliament for the Testimonies they had given him of their Affection, and adjourned them to July 7.

The Parliament adjourned.

Affairs of Ireland.

The Affairs of Ireland began to put on a little better Face towards the Spring. The Sickness among the Soldiers abated, so that they grew fit to take the Field; and in the Middle of February, a Detachment of

one thousand English defeated nine thousand Irish. In May the Duke of Schomberg made himself Master of Charlemont by Famine, and soon after the Castle of Balingarrig was taken.

These small Successes raised the Spirits of the Soldiers, sunk with the Distresses they had undergone, and prepared them for the Arrival of the King, who landed at Carrick-fergus June 14. Not long after he reviewed the Army, which was now come to make a formidable Appearance, consisting of 36000 Men, English, Dutch, French Protestants, Danes and Germans, all well appointed.

When King James heard of King William's Landing, he also began to move. His Army, consisting of Irish and French, was nearly equal to that of King William; and he had besides fifteen thousand Men in Garrisons. He led his Forces to meet King William; and the two Armies came in Sight of each other not far from Drogheda. King James was advised to decline Fighting, and therefore repassed the Boyne; designing by Marches and Countermarches to weary out the English Forces. King William informed of this, resolved however to attack him; which brought on the famous Battle of the Boyne.

The Day before the Fight, King William gave Orders to the Army to march to the Banks of the Boyne, and there to encamp along the Sides of the River. While this was doing, the King rode up and down in Sight of the Irish Camp, viewing its Situation from different Places; and after having done so a considerable Time, he alighted from his Horse, being weary, and rested himself for an Hour on a little Eminence. The Irish saw and knew him, and immediately planted two Field-Pieces against the Place where he was. He was no sooner mounted again, but in a Moment they gave Fire. The first Shot passed within an hundred Paces of him, and kill'd a Man and two Horses. But the second, directed by an uncommon Destiny, passed just so near to him, to put him in the utmost Danger, but to go no farther. The Bullet first grazed upon the Bank of the River; then, in its rising, came flanting upon his Right Shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat and tore the Skin and Flesh a little, without any other Damage. All about him were struck with the utmost Terror; while the King himself remained with that Tranquillity and Unconcern that is peculiar to great Minds upon such extraordinary Accidents. The Enemy seeing some Disorder among those who were about him, concluded he was kill'd; which Report flew presently to Dublin, and from thence to Paris, where the People expressed their groundless Joy in Bonfires and Illuminations. King William having got his slight Wound dress'd, mounted again on Horse-back, and shewed himself to the whole Army to dissipate their just Fears. The two Armies were so near that they continued Cannonading each other the rest of the Day; during which the two Kings held their several Councils of



A.D. 1690. War to prepare for the important Action expected on the Morrow.

The Battle of the Boyne.

At Six in the Morning of the following Day, in which the Fate of the *British* Empire, and that of Christendom with it, was to be determined, King *William's* Forces first began to move. Lieutenant General *Douglas* with some Foot, and Count *Schomberg* with the Horse marched to the Right up the River, carrying skilful Guides with them, who could direct the Foot to the fordable Places. The Enemy seeing this from the other Side of the River, sent out their Horse and Foot to the Left, to oppose their Passage over it. But the *English* having repulsed a Regiment of Dragoons, who appeared on the Banks of the River to hinder their crossing it, got over; and advanced towards the Enemies main Body. The *Irish* did not stay long to receive them, but when they saw them marching up in good Order, they retreated, being followed close by Count *Schomberg*.

King *William*, who was posted lower down the River, judging of what had happened upwards to the Right, ordered his Men now to pass the River, and to begin three Attacks in three different Places. The *Dutch* Regiment of Foot Guards crossed the River through the Enemies Fire, and when they were got over, fired upon the *Irish* with such Execution, that they abandoned their Intrenchments. Sir *John Hanmore's* and Count *Nassau's* Regiments passed the next; and about the same Time a Regiment of *French* Protestants, and a Body of the brave *Inniskilliners* got over. A Squadron of *Irish* Horse attacked the former without Success; but broke through the *French* Protestants, who wanted Pikes to keep the Horses off. But before they recovered their own Men, they were intercepted and cut to Pieces. The *Dutch* Guards, who were still advancing, were twice charged by the *Irish*, who were as often beat back. The *Danes* were not so successful; for as they were coming up, they were so vigorously attacked that they were forced to give Ground, and some of them crossed the River again. The Duke of *Schomberg* seeing this, pass'd the River, and put himself at the Head of the *French* Protestants, whose Commander had received a mortal Wound, and was carried off. But he had scarce done this, when fifteen or sixteen of the Enemies Horse who had been broke, came riding by the *French* Regiment, who suffered them to pass thinking they were on their own Side. These Horsemen, knowing the Duke of *Schomberg*, fell furiously upon him, and gave him two Wounds in his Head. The *French* Protestants provoked at this bold Attempt, inconsiderately fired upon the Troopers, and shot the Duke through the Neck, of which Wound he instantly died.

Duke Schomberg killed.

And now the King himself with the Left Wing of Horse passed the River. His Horse was bogged on the other Side and stuck fast, so that he was forced to alight. When all his Men were got over, and in Or-

der, he drew his Sword (though the Wound A.D. 1690. he had received by the Cannon-Shot, made it painful to him to wield it) and went at their Head to the Relief of his Foot, who were hard pressed by twice the Number of *Irish* Troops. The Fight in this Place grew bloody and obstinate; and Victory seemed doubtful which Side to take. At last she declared her self for King *William*; the *Irish* were forced to give Way; and Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* their Commander was made Prisoner.

King William gains the Victory.

King *James* had been hitherto viewing the Fight from a neighbouring Hill; but now the Victory inclining on every Side to King *William's* Forces, Count *Lauzun*, the *French* Commander, rode up to him, and represented to him that it was necessary to retreat for fear of being surrounded by the Enemy, who drew nearer and nearer to him. That unfortunate Prince, cast down with Disappointments and Misfortunes, and seeing his last Hopes ruined, was easily prevailed on to take the Advice; and marched off in great Haste, making the best of his Way to *Dublin*.

The Fight was now become an undisputed Victory on King *William's* Side; and the Enemy fled on all Parts with such Fear, that they never assembled in an Army afterwards that Year. So that the Battle proved decisive of the Fate of both Kings. The Loss on both Sides was not great, the Slain and Prisoners on King *James's* Part, not being above fifteen hundred Men; and King *William's* Loss not exceeding five hundred; tho' the Death of the Duke of *Schomberg* very much enhaunsed the Damage. The King had another great Escape in this Fight, a Piece of his Boot being carried off by a Cannon Ball.

King *James* came to *Dublin*, and assembled the Magistrates, to let them know that the *Irish* had behaved themselves so ill in this Battle, that he would trust himself no more at their Head, but shift for himself; concluding, that though he was now obliged to yield to Force, he would endeavour their Deliverance as long as he lived. He stayed one Night in *Dublin*, and the next Day hastened to *Waterford*, where he went on board a *French* Vessel, and got over into *France*. His Departure from *Dublin* was accompanied by the Flight of all the considerable Papists; which set the Protestants at Liberty from the Tyranny under which they had groaned so long.

King James leaves Ireland, and embarks for France.

The next Day after the Battle of the *Drogheda* taken, *Boyne*, *Drogheda*, where was a great Magazine of Stores, was surrender'd to King *William*; and four Days after he entered *Dublin* in Triumph. He soon after issued out a Proclamation, promising Pardon and Protection to all the *Irish*, who should repair to their Dwellings, and surrender their Arms. While King *James* was Master in this Kingdom, he was forced, by the extreme Scarcity of Money, to coin Pieces in Copper and Pewter, and to raise them to the Value of so much Silver. This had caused a terrible Concussion among all monied People; and

King William enters Dublin.



A.D. 1690. and by an odd Reverse of Things, many Persons were obliged to abscond for Fear of being paid their Debts. Therefore King William issued out a Proclamation to reduce the Value of such base Coins to their natural and intrinsic Worth.

Many strong Places were left in the Hands of King James's Forces, which they secured and fortified as well as they could, resolving to make King William pay dearly for his Entrance. *Athlone* was the first of these that was attacked; which held out so well, that upon a false Alarm of fifteen Thousand *Irish* coming to relieve it, the Siege was raised. But not long after, *Waterford* and *Duncannon* were surrendered. But on a sudden all Men were surprized by the King's leaving the Army unexpectedly, and making towards *England*. This caused various Speculations. Some said it shewed his Affairs in *England* were in no good Posture, others that he found himself unable to reduce *Ireland* this Campaign, the Season being so far advanced. Both these Things proved true; but whether they were the real Causes is uncertain. Others refined still more upon it, and ascribed it to a deeper Design; as if the King was willing to draw the *Irish* War into Length to make himself necessary, and to accustom his Subjects to bear the Burden of those Taxes, which he was like to bring upon them by the War he intended against *France*. Whatever the Reason was of his leaving the Army, he changed his Mind before he embarked, and returned thither again, to make what Use he could of the short Remnant of the Summer.

The Siege of *Limerick*. He marched the Army towards *Limerick*; before which Place his Forces posted themselves August 9. He sent the Garrison a Summons to surrender, which some were for receiving; but it was opposed by others with so much Warmth, that at last it was carried to defend the Place. But after the Forms of the Siege had gone on for two or three Days, the Progress of it received a cruel Maim, by the Loss of the Besiegers Train of Artillery. For some Deserters from the *English* Camp having given Notice to the Besieged that it was upon the Road, Colonel *Sarsfield*, a courageous and vigilant Officer, with a Body of five or six hundred Horse and Dragoons, went out of *Limerick*, under Cover of the Night, to intercept it. This was so venturous an Enterprize, on Account of the Danger this Party was in of being intercepted themselves by the King's Forces, before they should be able to return into *Limerick*; that when Intelligence of it was brought into the King's Camp, it was not believed at first; so that the Informer found it difficult to be admitted to the King's Presence. But though the King hearkened to him, so much Time was lost, that the Train was surprized before any Assistance could come. For when the Artillery was arrived within seven Miles of the Camp, *Sarsfield*, who had hid himself all Day among the Mountains, got Intelligence where it was; and having

Guides who brought him to the Place, he fell upon the Convoy after the Day was shut in, when they were in such Security, that they had turned their Horses a grazing; and before they could put themselves in a Posture of Defence, cut some of them to Pieces, and drove away the rest. There being no Possibility in his Circumstances of carrying off any Part of what he had seized, he directed the Carriages and Waggon, with the Bread and Ammunition, to be gathered into one Heap; the Guns to be filled with Powder, and placed in the Ground with their Mouths downwards. Then he ordered the Heap to be set on Fire, which as soon as it reached the Powder, blew the whole Train up into the Air with a frightful Noise; splitting the Guns that were buried in the Earth, and breaking and destroying every Thing near it. The dreadful Blaze and Report occasioned by the firing of so much Powder, were plainly to be seen and heard at the Besiegers Camp, through the Darknes and Stilness of the Night; and was a speedy, but unwelcome Messenger to them of the Loss they had sustained, and occasioned great Murmurings. *Sarsfield*, after having accomplished this hazardous Undertaking, found Means to avoid the King's Forces, and get safe again into *Limerick*.

The Siege however went on, and that with good Success for some Time. But after a Breach was made, the Want of Bullets obliged the King to make an Attempt upon the Counterscarp, sooner than would have been otherwise adviseable. This was attended with ill Success, the Besiegers being repulsed with great Loss; and this Disappointment, and the approaching ill Weather, occasioned the raising of the Siege; and the King soon after embarked for *England*.

While these Things passed in *Ireland*, the World was amazed, and *England* alarmed, at the *French* Greatness and Triumphs at Sea. *England* and *Holland* had been thought till then the only Powers who claimed the Dominion in that Element; and the Pretences of these great Rivals seemed to have excluded all other Competitors. But now, by a strange Revolution, these two Powers, who were thought to be singly equal to the rest of *Europe*, were forced to bow to *France* alone, though united and combined together.

The *French* King sent out this Year into the Channel a Fleet of no less than eighty two Men of War; besides a great Number of Gallies, and other small Vessels. This Fleet hovering about the *English* Coast, the Queen, who held the Administration during the King's Absence, sent Orders to the Earl of *Torrington*, who was Admiral, to go out to fight them. He sailed accordingly to meet them; and was joined by several *English* and *Dutch* Men of War. But he found the Enemy much more his Superior in Number than was expected; so that after a fierce Engagement, in which the

The *English* and *Dutch* Fleets defeated by the *French*.

*Dutch*



A.D. 1690. *Dutch* suffered extremely, the Confederate Fleet was glad to bear away. Admiral *Torrington* was brought to his Trial for Misbehaviour in this Action, he having born away, and stood off soon after the Beginning of the Fight, which left those Ships that were engaged, to be oppressed by the Enemy's Numbers. He pleaded the Inequality of Strength, and the Disadvantage of the Wind, so that he was acquitted. But he was then, and has been since, much censured for his Conduct. It is said in his Behalf, that his Reputation was afterwards fully cleared by some *French* Officers who were in the Engagement; and coming into *England* after the Peace of *Ryswick*, did loudly justify him, and said, he deserved rather to be recompensed than censured, since he had preserved the best Part of the Fleet from being totally destroyed.

The Nation  
in Fear of a  
Descent.

The whole Nation was alarmed with the Fear of a Descent, when they heard of this *French* Victory at Sea; while all true Patriots were filled with Indignation to see their Country in Apprehension from an Enemy, who had never set Foot there before but as a Prisoner of War. But the Behaviour of the Queen and the Publick upon this Occasion soon dissipated these Alarms and Resentments. She took Care to secure Peace within, by seizing on suspected Persons. She ordered the Militia to be put in a Condition to second the Regular Troops; and gave out Commissions for Officers to command the latter. She then extended her Cares to the Fleet, and took all the proper Methods to encourage the Seamen, and to engage the Officers to a vigorous Performance of their Duty. And while the Danger lasted, she appeared on all Occasions with that Tranquillity and Unconcern, which is so necessary for Governors, upon such Emergencies, but can be attained by none but great and noble Minds. Her Courage was imitated by her Subjects; and the City of *London*, whose Example upon these Occasions always draws in the rest of *England*, made her an Offer not only of their Militia, but of raising a Regiment of Horse, and a Thousand Dragoons for their Majesties Service, to be maintained at their own Charge, as long as there should be Occasion. But there proved to be no need of putting these Offers in Execution; for the *French*, after having burnt a small Village on the Coast of *Devonshire*, and taken some inconsiderable Booty, retired to their Ships upon the Approach of the Militia, and returned to *Brest*. They found their Correspondence with the Discontented here, either discovered or frustrated, and without Assistance from amongst us, they knew their Enterprize could end in nothing but Loss and Disappointment.

The Earl of  
*Marlborough's*  
Campaign in  
*Ireland*.

Though the King had left *Ireland*, the Campaign there was not over. For in the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Marlborough* arrived there with a Body of Troops. He joined his Forces with some others that were there before under the Duke of *Wir-*

*temberg*, and they besieged *Cork*, which did not hold out above seven Days. He then marched to *Kingsale*, before which he sat down *October 3*. The Governor being summoned, sent at first a resolute Answer, but when he found a considerable Breach made, he beat a Parley. This Expedition was equally remarkable for its Celerity, and for its Consequences; being performed in a Month's Time, and in a very bad Season of the Year; and because it put a Stop to all Supplies coming from *France* on that Side of *Ireland*.

On the Continent, the Duke of *Savoy* entered into the Confederacy against *France*; but this Step cost him at first the whole Dukedom of *Savoy*, the Town of *Montmélian* excepted; he being defeated by the *French* at the Battle of *Saluffes*, and driven out of that Duchy. In *Flanders* the *Dutch* under Prince *Waldeck*, were defeated by the *French* under the Duke of *Luxembourg*, after a noble Resistance continued a long Time against a great Inequality of Numbers. But the Loss on both Sides being nearly equal, and the Armies soon after reinforced, the Victory had no Consequences. In *Germany* the Emperor got his Son *Joseph*, Archduke of *Austria*, and King of *Hungary*, to be chosen King of the *Romans*. Great Expectations were formed of Successes on this Side, by the Valour and Conduct of the brave Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine*, who had done such glorious Things in *Hungary* against the *Turks*. But they were disappointed by the sudden Death of that Prince at the Beginning of the Year. The Command of the *German* Troops was given to the Elector of *Bavaria*; but the two Armies, of which the *French* was commanded by the Dauphin, did nothing but observe one another, without entering upon any Action. On the Side of *Spain*, an Insurrection in *Catalonia*, occasioned by some Taxes imposed there, contrary to the Privileges of that Principality, gave the *Spaniards* a good deal of Trouble. The *French* endeavoured to protect the discontented *Catalans*, but every Thing was quieted before they could arrive. They got some Advantages over the *Spaniards* on that Side, but of no Importance.

The Meeting of the Parliament, which should have been *September 12*, was put off to *October*; during which Interval, the King was employed in receiving Thanks and Congratulations for his glorious Campaign in *Ireland*. When the Parliament met, the King told them of the Success of his Arms in *Ireland*; of the Deficiency of the Funds assigned for that Service, and of the Necessity of a vigorous Prosecution of the War against *France*. His Speech was answered by Addresses from both Houses; to the King, for his Valour and Conduct in the Reduction of *Ireland*; and to the Queen, for her prudent Administration during the King's Absence, and in the Time of the *French* Alarms. These were seconded by Votes of the House of Commons for a Supply

Foreign Affairs.

The Parliament meets.



A.D. 1690.

The King and Parliament differ about the forfeited Estates in Ireland.

ply of above three Millions; and that Sum proving also deficient, they voted the raising one Million more upon the Credit, or by the Sale of the forfeited Estates in Ireland. But this Resolution was either designed, or taken, for a Handle of Misunderstanding between the King and the House. For a Motion being made, that the King should have a Part of those Estates reserved for his Disposal, it was disagreed to by the House. And in Return, a Bill sent up by the Commons to the Lords for applying those Estates to the Charge of the War, was laid aside in that House, by the Influence of the Court.

However, the Commons went on to assist the King with great Chearfulness, which was all the material Business they did this Session. They voted a Sum of five hundred seventy Thousand Pounds, for the building of seventeen Third-Rate Ships. When the Bills for these Purposes were ready, the King came January 5. to the House of Peers, and having given his Assent to them, adjourned the Parliament. And because the Forfeited Estates had been made a Bone of Contention, he assured them in his Speech, that he would not make any Grant of them till there was another Opportunity of settling that Matter in Parliament.

Affairs being thus settled in England, the King prepared for his intended Journey into Holland. His Business was to meet there all the Sovereign Princes concerned in the Confederacy against France, either in Person, or by their Ministers, in order to lay a Plan of the future War. He set out on the sixteenth of January in a very rigorous Season; and two Days after arrived before the Gorce. The Vessels being informed by a Fisherman that they were within a League and half of the Shore, the King left his Yacht, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Portland, the Earl of Monmouth, Monsieur Overkirk, and Monsieur Zuysestein, and went off with three Shalloops, thinking to get ashore in an Hour or two. But the Weather being foggy, and the Sea frozen all about the Shore, the Sight of Land being also intercepted by the Fog, and their Way to it lying through the intricate and uncertain Clefts of the broken Ice, it came to pass that it was eight the next Morning before they arrived at Gorce; that illustrious Company continuing all that Time, which was not much less than twenty four Hours, exposed in open Boats, to the pinching Frost, and the Dangers of the inconstant Winds and Waves.

When he came to the Hague, he was met by the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Zell, the Duke of Wolfembüttel, the Prince of Commerci, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Prince Waldeck, the Marquis of Gastanaga, Governor of Flanders, with the Ministers of the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, the Electors upon the Rhine, and other Princes. The King

represented to them the Necessity of Unanimity, and of making a vigorous Opposition to the growing Power of France, concluding with the Readiness he would always shew in doing of his Part. His Reasons were so enforced by the Necessity of Affairs, and the high Veneration they all had for him, that they soon agreed to employ amongst them two hundred and twenty Thousand Men in different Parts, to repress the Attempts of the French.

But a Body consisting of so many disjointed Parts is not so soon put in Motion, as that which is directed by one supreme and Sovereign Head. The French with a Celerity and Diligence that would have been truly admirable, had it not been employed to disturb the World, and fill Europe with Blood and Desolation, had their Forces ready as soon as ever the Season remitted of its Rigour, and sat down before Mons, March 15. The King of England was no less vigilant and active than him of France; but he had to do with Confederates, who were slow and remiss to the utmost Degree. He ordered the Forces to draw to a Rendezvous, and came to the Army himself on the twenty sixth of April. But though he met there a Force of near fifty Thousand Men, all ready to march to the Relief of Mons, he found that the Spaniards, with their usual Negligence, had not provided the least Thing necessary for such an Expedition. So that he had the Mortification to stand by and see the Town taken, as it were, before his Face; while for want of Necessaries his Hands were so bound, that he could not stir to relieve it. Upon this Disappointment he left the Army, and went over into England where his Affairs called him.

In the mean Time the Correspondence between the Jacobites in England, and the Court of St. Germains, was discovered by the Government; and the Lord Preston, and Mr. Ashton, a late Servant to King James, were apprehended below Gravesend, on Board a Vessel which was to transport them into France; and many Letters and Papers of dangerous Import were found about them. They were both tried for High-Treason, convicted, and condemned; but Mr. Ashton only was executed; the Lord Preston escaping by Intercession of his Relations, and making Discoveries.

The King after having spent about three Weeks in England, in giving Orders relating to the entire Reduction of Ireland, and the fitting out of the Fleet, returned to Holland May 3. leaving Lieutenant General Ginckle to compleat the Conquest of that Countrey, which was now looked on as a Thing as good as finished. General Ginckle began the Campaign with the Attack of Ballymore, which surrendered at Discretion the same Day the Batteries began to play. After this Town was taken, and put in a better Condition than before, the English marched towards Athlone. That Town is divided into two Parts, the River Shannon running between them. One of these is

A.D. 1691.

The French Diligence and Success.

Mons taken by them.

The King returns to England.

Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton apprehended.

The King goes over again to Holland.

General Ginckle's Campaign in Ireland.

The Siege and taking of Athlone.



A.D.1691. called the *English*, and the other, the *Irish* Town of *Atblone*; and these two are joined together by a Bridge over the *Shannon*. The Army came first before the *English* Town, and a Breach being made wide enough for an Assault, the *English* Troops bravely attacked, and carried the Place.

But the Difficulty was to take the *Irish* Town, which was divided from them by a rapid River (the Bridge being broken by the *Irish*) and protected by an Army of twenty Thousand *French* and *Irish*, who came to cover the Place; a Number superior to the *English* without any other Disadvantage. Several Attempts were made to repair the broken Bridge with Beams and Planks, which all proved unsuccessful; the *Irish* being Masters of that Part which was nearest them, and destroying all the *English* Works. At last it was found that there could be no making a Way over the Bridge, unless the *Irish* were dislodged from the farther Part which they possessed. To effect this there was but one Course to be taken, which was to send a Party to cross the River by a Ford near the Bridge; who when they had gained the opposite Bank, might come round and secure that End of the Bridge the *Irish* were Masters of; it not being hard to make a Way over it, when the two Parties on each Side of the broken Arch assisted each other. It was a perillous Enterprize to storm a fortified Town under all these Disadvantages in Sight of a superior Army; but the *English* Bravery was not daunted at it. The Signal being given, a Party of Grenadiers entered the *Shannon*. The Enemy seeing this, sent an Express to Monsieur de *St. Ruth*, who commanded the *French* and *Irish* Army, with an Account of it; and in the mean Time fired furiously with their great and small Artillery upon those who were passing the River. The Stream ran very swiftly, and the Bottom being full of great Stones, the Soldiers not able to discern them through the Water, stumbled over them; so that with the Violence of the Current, and the stony Bottom, they had much ado to keep their Feet. Yet still they pressed on, though above their Middle in Water, and surrounded with Flame and Smoke, and Cannon and Musket Shot flying on every Side of them. At last they gained the opposite Bank, and possessed themselves of that End of the Bridge that lay next the *Irish* Town, and assisted those who laid Planks from the other Side over the broken Arch. While this was doing, others were preparing Pontons for the other Part of the Army to pass. So that these Preparations being made with that Celerity the Occasion required, the whole *English* Army got over; and the *Irish* terrified at so adventurous an Attempt, fled out of the Town without any farther Resistance; so that the *English* made themselves Masters of it in less than an Hour.

Which succeeds.

The Express that was sent to the *Irish* Camp was very differently received. The brave and active Colonel *Sarsfield* upon Ad-

vice of it, came in all Haste to the *French* A.D.1691. General, telling him he must send immediate Succours, or the Town would be lost. But the other laughed at the News, and at *Sarsfield's* Concern, and said, it was impossible the *English* should offer such a Thing, when he was so near; adding, that he would give a Thousand Pistoles they durst attempt it. *Sarsfield* in a Passion told him, he knew the Enterprize was not too difficult for *English* Courage to attempt; as he would find too late if he lost any more Time. But the *French* General was unmoved, and turned *Sarsfield's* Anger into a Jest, which occasioned hot Words between them, till the *Irish*, flying from the Town to the Camp, determined the Dispute. *St. Ruth* then sent Detachments to drive the *English* out again, but they were forced to retire; upon which *St. Ruth* decamped that Night, and posted himself near the Castle of *Agbrim*, which lay between him and the *English*.

General *Ginckle* followed him, and found him very advantageously situated. His Camp lay on the Side of a Hill called *Kill-comodon*, extending two Miles in Length. Before him there was a deep Bog, which made his Camp inaccessible to Horse, except at two Passes at each End, one of which on the Right, was defended by the Castle of *Agbrim*. The Side of the Hill on which his Camp lay, was cut into many small Inclosures, which were lined with small Shot, who being covered by the Sides of the Ditches, could fire at the Assaultants with great Security to themselves. It was plainly a hazardous Undertaking to attempt the *Irish* and *French* Camp in this Situation; but it was necessary; the *English* Army being got too far to retreat, either with Honour or Safety. *St. Ruth* seeing their Countenance, as if they designed to attack him, made a Speech very well suited to the Persons and the Occasion; and concluded with ordering his Soldiers to give Quarter to none, especially not to the *French* Hereticks in the *English* Army.

Sunday July 12. this Battle began, which The Battle fully determined the Fate of Ireland. A- of *Agbrim*. bout twelve o' Clock at Noon the *English* Army began to move, being hindered before by a Fog. The General first sent a Party to secure that Pass which was on the Left Hand of his Army, and to the Right Hand of the *Irish*; who valiantly opposing them, a fierce Encounter began on that Side, each Party being insensibly reinforced by Assistance from the neighbouring Armies. At last the *Irish* were forced to retire, and left the Pass to the *English*. This being done, and a Way secured to come at the Enemy, the *English* held a Council of War, to consider, whether, since that was done, and the Day far advanced, it would not be better to defer the Battle till the next Morning. This was at first agreed on, but afterwards some Disorder appearing among the Enemy, it was resolved not to delay the Attack, lest the Enemy should march off in the Night, and they should lose



A.D. 1691. lose the Opportunity of so decisive an Action, as it was expected this would prove. Accordingly about four in the Afternoon the *English* Left Wing began to move towards the Enemy. This was done on Design to draw the Forces of the Enemy from the Pass near *Aghrim* Castle, that the Passage on that Side might be the safer for the *English* Right Wing; and this Counsel had its Effect. The Left Wing going through the other Pass, attacked the *Irish*, and the Fight grew fierce and bloody. The *Irish* being covered by the Ditches, and guarded by the Hedges upon the Sides of them, shot securely at the *English*, who were forced to stand their Fire, and break through the Hedges, before they could come upon equal Terms with their Enemies. And when they were come so near, they found the *Irish* as fierce and undaunted as before, and not to be driven from their Posts, but after an obstinate Resistance. And when they were at last obliged to give Way, they posted themselves in Lines which they had made from Ditch to Ditch, and fired upon the *English* in Flank, as they passed on to the next Hedge; who found there again the same fierce Enemies, and the same Disadvantage as before. It was a hot Service they were forced to go through upon this Occasion; but the *English* Intrepidity was not daunted, but still went on, and through all these Difficulties made their Way from Hedge to Hedge, still pressing on, and gaining Ground. This Action lasted an Hour and half, during which the other Part of the Army was not yet in Motion. But now the *English* seeing several Bodies of the Enemies Horse and Foot passing over from their Left to their Right, to the Assistance of their Men, who were hard pressed by the *English* Left Wing, they took the Opportunity to get over the Bog that lay between the Enemy and them; the Soldiers in their Passage being up to the Middle in Mud and Water. When they were on the other Side of it, the Fight began in this Part, in the same Manner as it had done to the Left. The *English* pressed on, and at first had good Success; driving the foremost of the *Irish* from Hedge to Hedge, till they were got very near their main Body. But the *Irish* being continually reinforced, which the *English* could not be, by Reason of the Difficulty of getting over the Bog, they overpowered the *English* with their Numbers, and forced them to retreat again to the Bog. In the mean Time the Right Wing of the *English* Horse got over the Pass by *Aghrim* Castle; but with great Difficulty, and through a furious Fire from that Castle, and some old Walls and Hedges adjoining. They fell upon the Enemy with great Courage; and the Foot, who were driven back in the Center, upon receiving a Recruit of fresh Men, returning to the Charge, the Fight seemed but now beginning. For above a Mile in Length nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoke, both Sides fight-

ing with equal Fury, and obstinately keeping their Ground.

At last, when Victory seemed as yet undecided, an Accident turned the Scale on the *English* Side. For *St. Ruth* the French General, as he was leading some Horse against the *English* Right Wing down the Hill of *Killcommadon*, was killed upon the Spot by a Cannon-Ball. The Death of the General put the *Irish* first into Disorder, which was increased by his having neglected to acquaint any others with the Order of Battle. For *Sarsfield*, who was next to Command, had been upon ill Terms with him since the Affair of *Atblone*. Thus the *Irish* Army soon fell into Confusion; none knowing what Orders were given, or from whom they were to receive them; and the *English* falling upon them in this Disorder, they made no longer any Resistance, but turned their Backs, and fled on all Sides. A thick misty Rain that fell as Night was coming on, hindered the Pursuit. There were killed in this Fight about four thousand of the *Irish*, and about seven hundred of the *English* Forces.

After some Days spent in Refreshment, the *English* Army marched to *Galloway*. The Garrison at first spoke high, and said they would defend the Place to the last. But they altered their Minds some Time after, and capitulated. There was now only one Place of Importance, which was *Limerick*, left in the Hands of the *Irish*; and the *English* Army soon bent their March thither. Eleven Days before they reached it *Tyrconnel* died there; of Grief, as 'tis said, for the ill Posture of his Master's Affairs.

August 25. General *Ginckle* with the *English* Army came before *Limerick*. The same Day they arrived, they took two Forts without the Town, and in two Days after two others; and soon after bombarded it. Nevertheless the Siege met with such Obstructions, that on the seventeenth of September it was debated in a Council of War, whether they should turn it into a Blockade. But at length it was resolved to go on with the Siege; and it was carried on with that Bravery and Success, that on the twenty third the *Irish* began to capitulate. After many Disputes in relation to the Articles of Surrender, they were at length agreed on Oct. 3. and the same Evening one of the Gates was delivered up to the *English*. The Surrender of this Town completed the Reduction of *Ireland*, in which General *Ginckle* gained himself immortal Honour, and the *English* Forces recovered their former martial Renown.

The Campaign in *Flanders* was quite unactive this Summer. The King put himself at the Head of the Army about the Middle of May. He endeavoured to bring the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who commanded the French, to an Engagement by many Feints and Stratagems of War; but he was not to be drawn to fight. Thus the two Armies continued observing each other during the Campaign. On the seventeenth of September the

*St. Ruth* the French General killed.

The *Irish* Army totally defeated.

*Galloway* taken.

*Limerick* besieged and surrendered.

The Campaign in *Flanders* unactive.



A.D. 1691. the King left the Army and went to *Loo*. Soon after he was gone, the Duke of *Luxembourg* found means to fall upon the Rear of the Confederates, at a Time they did not expect him, and did them some Damage. But that Action had no Consequences, and the Campaign ended with it.

The French  
successful in  
Savoy.

The Arms of *France* were successful both in *Italy* and *Spain* this Year. The Misfortunes that attended the Duke of *Savoy* at his Entrance into the Confederacy accompanied him still. Monsieur *Catinat* at the Head of the *French* invested *Nice*, which after a Siege of thirteen Days surrendered; as did also *Villa-Franca*, and the Forts of *St. Auspice* and *Montalban*. He went from thence to *Carmagnole*, which despairing of Relief, surrendered also after a short Resistance. When this was done he invested *Coni*. But this Place put a Stop to the Rapidity of his Success; being strongly situated and fortified, and well garrisoned. The Duke of *Savoy* sent a Body of three thousand Men to throw themselves into the Place, but they were met by the *French* and defeated. However, some of them made a Shift to enter the Town, which made the Garrison so much the stronger.

While this Siege was going on, the Duke of *Schomberg* arrived at *Turin*; being sent by King *William* to assist and comfort the Duke of *Savoy* in the bad Condition of his Affairs; for he was losing all his Countrey apace. He persuaded the Duke of *Savoy* to attempt the raising the Siege of *Coni*; but this was disagreed to by the *Spanish* Governor of *Milan* under frivolous Pretences; the true Reason being, that he feared the *French* would gain the Victory, and upon a decisive Action, would fall upon the *Milanese*. But what could not be compassed by the Arms of the Confederates, was done by an Accident. For a hundred Mules laden with Provision and Ammunition being sent to relieve *Coni*, convoyed by two thousand two hundred Horse under the Command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, he was joined at some Distance from *Coni*, by five or six thousand Militia. Upon this Monsieur *Catinat* sent Word to Monsieur de *Bullonde*, who commanded at the Siege, not to stir out of his Lines; and to expect a Reinforcement that was coming to him. But this Message was some how mistaken; for *Bullonde* quickly after raised the Siege in great Confusion; for which *Catinat* put him under an Arrest.

Soon after eighteen thousand Men commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, came to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Assistance. Their Arrival gave the Confederates such a Superiority, that *Catinat* was forced to decline Fighting, and send for Reinforcements. And the Confederates invested and retook *Carmagnole*. But this Advantage was more than balanced by the Loss of the strong Forts of *Montmelian*, which was taken by the *French* in *November*, and made them Masters of the whole Duchy of *Savoy*.

And in Cata-  
lonia.

In *Catalonia* the Duke de *Noailles*, who commanded the *French* Forces took *Urgel* in

*Cardagna*; and bombarded *Barcelona* for A.D. 1691. three Days together, which was all that passed on that Side.

On the *Rhine* nothing was done of Importance. The *French* had framed a Scheme for surprizing the City of *Mentz*, which was discovered and prevented. But they took two Towns, *Algesheim* and *Portzheim*; so that on this Side also they gained some Advantage.

And on the  
Rhine.

The King arrived from *Holland* at *Kennington*, Oct. 19. and met the Parliament on the 22<sup>d</sup>. He congratulated them in his Speech upon the Reduction of *Ireland*; and laid before them the Necessity of fitting out a strong Fleet; and maintaining a numerous Land Force. The two Houses returned Addresses to the King full of those Expressions and Assurances of Respect and Fidelity that were suitable to the King's Speech.

The Parlia-  
ment meets

The Commons on the sixth of *November* began to consider the King's Wants, and resolved to grant a Supply. And not long after they voted 1575898*l.* for the Fleet, and 1935787*l.* for the Army. These Sums were to be raised by continuing the Excise on Beer, Ale, &c. for another Year; and by a Tax on Land, and Salaries. They afterwards agreed to raise Money by a Poll Tax. But the Business of granting Supplies to King *William*, had a Fate attending it to move generally very slowly; so that the King was forced to quicken them to the Poll Tax, by a Speech he made to them at the passing the Act for the other Supplies Dec. 31. And the Act for the Poll Bill was not ready for the King's Assent till Feb. 24.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

During this Session a Scheme was set on foot in the House of Commons, for settling the *East-India* Trade upon a new Foundation: But the Court being against it, it came to nothing. A Bill was also brought in for regulating Trials in Cases of High-Treason, which passed the House of Commons; but the Lords putting in a Clause to alter the Forms of their own Trials, this was disagreed to by the Commons. This Difference of Opinion produced several Conferences between the two Houses, but without Success, so that the Houses being both stiff on different Sides, the Bill was lost between them.

A.D. 1692.

One *William Fuller* took upon him at this Time to set up for a Discoverer. But his Villany was soon found out; which might otherwise have been attended with as bad Consequences as the Popish Plot was in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. He desired a blank Pass to be granted him for two Persons to be sent for from beyond Sea, to give Evidence. But no such Persons appearing in six Weeks Time, his Scheme being either broken or ill concerted, he counterfeited himself sick when he was required to attend the House of Commons with them. Some Members were then sent to examine him; to whom he named two Persons, and directed them to the Places where he said they were. But upon Enquiry at those Places, no such were to be found. He was then

Fuller sets up  
for an Evi-  
dence.



A.D. 1692. then ordered to produce them himself, which not being able to do, he was unanimously voted an Impostor; and the Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute him. He was found guilty, and sentenced to stand in the Pillory.

The House of Commons order their Thanks to General Ginckle.

Upon General Ginckle's Return from Ireland, the House of Commons resolved not to let his Services pass without some distinguishing Mark of Honour. They ordered seven of their Members to wait upon him with the Thanks of the House both to himself and his Officers, who under him had contributed to the Reduction of Ireland, for the great Services performed by them. General Ginckle received this glorious Reward and Testimony of his Merit (and he could not easily receive a greater, than the Thanks and Praises of the Representatives of a free and powerful Nation) with a becoming Gratitude and Respect; saying, he valued it above a Triumph, and adding with great Modesty and Justice, that his Successes were chiefly owing to the Valour of the English; that he would communicate their Vote to the Officers in Ireland, and always endeavour the Prosperity of their Majesties and the Government. He was not long after made Earl of Athlone, and Baron Agbrim in Ireland, that the Honours he received might remind him of the Services that obtained them.

The Parliament adjourned.

On the twenty fourth of February the King coming to pass the Poll Bill, he at the same Time put an End to the Session, by ordering the Parliament to adjourn themselves till April 21. but they did not meet again till November.

The King embarks for Holland.

On the fifth of March the King embarked for Holland. During his Absence, the secret Correspondence that had long passed between the Discontented here, and the Courts of France and St. Germans, was ready to break out into an open Fire. Measures were concerted and agreed on for procuring from the King of France a powerful Aid, for re-establishing King James on his Throne. This Project succeeded so well, that the King of France sent a numerous Army into Normandy, to be ready to be transported into England, by a powerful Fleet which was ordered to attend them; King James being to accompany the Land Forces in Person. Preparations were also made by his Party in the North of England to favour and assist this Descent by an Insurrection.

The French King projects an Invasion of England.

The Alarms the Nation was under.

The Conjunction was difficult and dangerous. The French Army, with King James at their Head, lay at La Hogue, in Normandy, ready to embark; and the Mareschal de Tourville with fifty Men of War attended them; a Force superior to the English Fleet, who could not therefore be expected to hinder their Passage. To increase the Consternation, a Report was raised that some of the English Sea-Officers were confederate with the Enemy. Though this was probably but an Artifice to perplex their Counsels upon an Attack, by making them

suspected to one another, it served however to keep up the Alarm, and to propagate those Fears that always weaken the Hands of an invaded People. In this State of Things the French King sent Orders to Tourville to go and fight the English Fleet (the Inequality of Numbers making the Victory looked on as certain) that the Seas might be free for the Transports to pass through; which Orders were obeyed accordingly.

The Queen, who during the King's Absence always held the Administration, looked on these Dangers, and provided against them, with a Masculine Courage and Prudence; though no doubt with many inward Pangs for the hard Fate of her high Station, in which she was driven to the cruel Choice of sacrificing either her Piety to her Father, or that still greater Love and Duty she owed to her Religion and Countrey. She gave Orders for hastening out the Fleet, and putting the Militia in Readiness; countermanded the Troops designed for Flanders, who with others added to them, formed a Camp near Portsmouth; issued out Proclamations for apprehending suspected Persons, and for banishing all Papists from London. She took hold of the Report that had spread of the Corruption of the Sea-Officers to ingratiate her self still more with them; and by a Strain of equal Policy and Generosity, sent them Word by Admiral Russel that though a Report was raised by the Enemies of the Government, that some of them were not hearty in her Service, and that she therefore intended to displace many of them, it was entirely false; that she never had any Intention to displace so much as one, as knowing she could have no better Defence than the Courage and Conduct of so many brave Men, in whose Honour and Fidelity she reposed the most entire Confidence. This Generosity of the Queen wrought so much upon that which is natural to our Countreymen, that all the Flag-Officers and Commanders joined in an Address, in which they promised to venture their Lives with all imaginable Alacrity and Resolution in Defence of their Majesties undoubted Rights, and the Liberty and Religion of their Countrey, against all Foreign and Popish Invaders whatsoever. Whether there were any real Foundation for this Rumour of the Jacobites is hard to say; but this is certain, that Rear-Admiral Carter, who was particularly named, died a few Days after, bravely fighting against the French Fleet; which fully clears himself in particular from that Imputation, and makes the Report the more unlikely of the others.

The Queen's prudent Conduct.

But the French Preparations were soon discovered; first by the Conjunction of the English and Dutch Fleets, and afterwards by the Ruin of their own. For the Dutch seeing their own Danger in that of England, hastened out their Fleet with all possible Expedition, and it came Time enough to join the English. This Conjunction quieted all the

The French Designs frustrated.



A.D. 1692. Fears at home, the two Fleets making a Force much superior to that of the Enemy. But by a happy Delay it was effected so late, that the *French* Court did not hear of it; and therefore sent Orders to *Tourville* to seek out and attack the *English* Fleet, supposing he would find it alone; which Orders proved the Ruin of their whole Design, and of a great Part of the *French* Navy with it. To make the Disaster still more grievous, these Orders were scarcely issued, before a certain Account was brought that the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets were joined. Messenger upon Messenger was then sent to the *French* Admiral to decline Fighting; but they all came too late. For *Tourville*, when he received his first Orders, knowing that the Execution of them depended on Celerity, hastened out his Fleet with such a fatal Diligence, that they were got to Sea, before the Counter-Orders could reach them; and were advancing with a fair Wind, and crowded Sails to meet their Destruction.

The *French* defeated in a Sea-Fight.

On the nineteenth of *May* the *French* Fleet came in Sight of the *English* and *Dutch* off *Cape Barfleur*; and about eleven in the Morning bore down upon them. The *French* Fleet consisted of fifty Men of War, many of them large and stately Ships; the Confederates had about seventy. The two Fleets continued Fighting till about half an Hour past Four in the Afternoon; by which Time the *French* finding they had the worst, began to tow away with their Boats, the great Firing having occasioned a Calm. But a fresh Gale springing up about six, the Blue Squadron renewed the Fight, and maintained it till ten at Night; when the *French*, having had four Ships blown up, fled and steered away for *Conquet* Road. In this Fight Rear-Admiral *Carter* was killed. But all that Night it was very calm, so that neither could the *French* make off with any Speed, nor the Confederates pursue them. But the next Morning the *English* saw the *French* about two Leagues from them, much diminished in Number by those Ships that had fled or been blown up, not seeming to be above thirty eight Men of War. They made after them with all the Sail they could, but it falling calm again, they were obliged to come to an Anchor on both Sides. About eleven at Night both Fleets weighed Anchor again; and the next Morning the *French* finding themselves pursued closely, and unable to resist, some of them endeavoured to escape through the Race of *Aldernay*; three of their largest Men of War ran a-ground near *Cherbourg*; and thirteen of them hawled in for the Bay of *La Hogue*; where the Transports lay that were to carry the Land-Forces designed for the Invasion of *England*, who were also there encamped upon the Shore. Those who went into the Race of *Aldernay* escaped; the *English* not daring to follow them into that dangerous Road; so that they got off to *St. Malo's*, after having run prodigious Hazards in their Passage among the Rocks and Shoals in that perillous Streight. But the three that ran

a-ground near *Cherbourg*, were all set on A.D. 1692. Fire and burnt by the Red Squadron. One of them was the *Royal Sun*, the *French* Admiral, a Ship of one hundred and four Guns, the other two being the *Admirable* of one hundred and two Guns, and the *Conquerant* of eighty Guns. Three Ships of a lesser Rate were also burnt at the same Place. Those who got into the Bay of *La Hogue*, were pursued by Admiral *Ruffel*, who dropt Anchor there the same Day. The next Day he stood in, and sent Vice-Admiral *Roob* with several Men of War, Frigates, Fire-ships, and armed Boats, to destroy the Remains of the Enemies Fleet that were sheltered there. The *French* had got their Ships so near the Land, that only the small Frigates could do any Service, and they kept firing upon the *English* Seamen from their Platforms and Batteries upon the Shore. Nevertheless the Sailors went boldly in, and through all the Danger set Fire that Night to six of the Enemy's Men of War; and the next Day to the other seven, together with several Transport-Ships. And such was the Alacrity of the Seamen, that before they set the Ships on Fire they got on board them, and drove the Enemy with their own Guns in the Ships, from their Batteries upon the Shore; and all this in Sight of the *French* and *Irish* Army that was brought there to invade *England*.

Many of their Ships burnt near *Cherbourg*.

And in the Bay of *La Hogue*.

The strange Boldness of the *English* Sailors.

King *James* seeing his last Hopes ruined, was very deeply touched with Sorrow; and wrote to the King of *France* to tell him, that he had hitherto supported his Misfortunes with some Constancy, because as yet he had been himself the only Sufferer; but that he was now utterly overwhelmed and comfortless on Account of the Loss his Most Christian Majesty had sustained for his Interests. That he knew too well it was his own unlucky Star which had drawn that Misfortune upon his Forces, always victorious, but when they fought for him. Therefore he entreated his Most Christian Majesty no longer to be concerned for a Prince so unfortunate as himself; but permit him to retire with his Family to some Corner of the World, where he might no longer obstruct the Course of his Most Christian Majesty's Prosperities and Conquests; and where nothing could more contribute to his Consolation, than to hear of the constant Return of his wonted Triumphs by Sea and Land. The *French* King, in return, endeavoured with great Generosity to comfort him by a kind Answer; wherein he promised never to forsake him in the worst of his Extremities.

King *James's* Letter to the *French* King upon this Loss.

The Queen, when the News of this Victory was brought to her, ordered 30000*l.* to be distributed among the Seamen and Soldiers. And because the Consternation the Enemy was in upon the Loss of so great a Part of their Naval Force, might be of Advantage in making a Descent in *France*, great Preparations were set on Foot for such a Design. On the twenty third of *July*, the Land-Forces designed for this Expedition

A Descent on *France* projected.

were



A.D. 1692. were shipped off at *Portsmouth*, and soon after they set Sail. But whatever the Reason was, four or five Days after Intelligence came, that the Transport Ships, with part of the Fleet, had put into *St. Hellen's-Bay*. This unexpected Return caused various Conjectures; but all that was publicly known was, that soon after the Commission was opened, which is upon these Occasions, when they are got out to some Distance at Sea, it was agreed in a Council of War to return to *England*. A Committee of the Privy-Council upon this unlooked-for Incident was sent to the Fleet with fresh Orders; and after they had conferred with the Generals, they returned to *London*, the Fruit of this Conference continuing a Secret. Soon after the Forces employed upon this Occasion were sent to *Flanders*.

But is laid aside.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.  
Namur taken by the French.

The Campaign there this Year was unfortunate. The French, under the Command of their King, invested *Namur*, May 25. The Garrison did not hold out above ten Days, when they surrendered the Town, and retired into the Castle. The King marched with all Expedition to its Relief, and came up with the French Army June 8. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, who covered the Siege with seventy five Thousand Men, met him. The River of *Meuse* lay between the two Armies. The King planted his Batteries of Cannon with so much Dexterity, that he commanded the River; upon which he gave Orders to prepare *Pontons* to cross it, and attack the French Army. But the Weather proved so rainy for a long Time after, that the River being swelled, and the Banks grown boggy and slippery with continual Wet, he was obliged to give over that Enterprize. So that he being unable to raise the Siege, the Castle of *Namur* was obliged to surrender July 1.

The Battle of *Steenkirk*.

This Misfortune was succeeded by a Reverse the King received at the Battle of *Steenkirk*. The French King, after the taking of *Namur*, left the Army to the Command of the Duke of *Luxembourg*; who not designing to fight but upon Advantage, posted himself between *Engbien* and *Steenkirk*, in a Situation answerable to his Intentions.

But the King being informed of the Nature of the Ground thereabouts, resolved to attack him. The Enemies Camp was covered to their Right by a Wood; on their Front, and to their Left, there were inclosed Fields, furrounded by thick Hedges; and before the Wood and the Inclosures, there was a little Plain about a Mile and half over. On Sunday, August 3. the Vanguard, commanded by the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, came into this Plain, and crossing it, fell upon the Enemy who were posted behind the Hedges in the inclosed Fields, with such Vigour, that they drove them from Hedge to Hedge, possessed themselves of the Wood, and erected two Batteries of Cannon, on two little Eminences on each Hand of it. While this was done, and

these Batteries were playing, the Confederate Army came into the Plain. Four English Regiments were sent into the Wood, and seven more with the Left Wing of Horse, to the Skirts of the same on the Right. When this Disposition was made, the Fight began. For two Hours together nothing was heard but one incessant Roaring of the great and small Artillery, or to be seen but Flame and Smoke. The Vanguard behaved themselves very bravely, and possessed themselves of a Battery of seven Pieces of Cannon. But the rest of the Forces not being come up, they were so sorely pressed by the increasing Numbers of the Enemy, that the Duke of *Wurtemberg* sent twice to Count *Solmes* for Assistance. But Count *Solmes* was, it seems, envious of the Duke of *Wurtemberg's* Honour in having this Attack assigned him; and to gratify that ill Humour, neglected the assisting him. This obliged the Duke to send to the King himself; who immediately directed a positive Order to the Count, to send more Foot to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*. But even the King's Orders were ineffectual; for instead of Foot, he sent him Horse, which were entirely useless, in a Ground full of Copses and Inclosures. So that those brave Soldiers who had behaved themselves with so much Courage and Success hitherto, being overlaid with Odds of Numbers, were forced to turn their Backs, and retreat in great Confusion. The King was enraged at this Disappointment, and deeply touched with the Misfortune of those valiant Men, and cried out several Times with great Concern, *Oh! my poor English, how are they abandoned!* He did what he could on his own Part, and brought up some Foot to their Relief. But so much Time had been already lost, that they came too late. The King seeing this, commanded a Retreat; which was performed in good Order, the Enemy giving him little Disturbance. He repented the Behaviour of Count *Solmes* so much, that he would not admit him to his Presence for many Months after. And certainly had he inflicted on him any severer Punishment, it had been justly deserved; there not being a more unpardonable Crime, how common soever it be, than for Men to bring their private Humours or Resentments with them into a Field of Battle, or an Assembly of publick Council.

The King retreats.

In this Battle the Confederates lost General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, Sir *Robert Douglass*, the Earl of *Angus*, and divers other gallant Officers; above two Thousand Men killed, three Thousand wounded, or made Prisoners, and several Pieces of Cannon taken. The Loss on the French Side was not much inferior; but they gained the Honour of the Field, and the Glory and Reputation that attends Success.

A Domestick of the Elector of *Bavaria*, named the Chevalier de *Millevoix*, was discovered about this Time to be in Intelligence with the French; for which he was hanged upon a Tree.

A Com-



A.D. 1692.

A Design to  
kill the King  
discovered.

A Criminal of a worse Nature was also discovered, who had engaged in a Design to assassinate the King. This wicked Project had been begun the last Year. It was entered into by one *Barthelemi Liniere*, *Sieur de Granvau*, a Captain of Dragoons in the French Service, who together with one *Du Mont*, undertook to put it in Execution while the King was at *Loo*; but missing their Opportunity there, they followed his Majesty to *Flanders*. Thence *Granvau* returned to the French Army, while *Du Mont* stayed in that of the Allies; intending to shoot the King in the Back, when he should visit either the grand Guard, or the Lines. But for some Reason or other, *Du Mont*, after some Weeks Attendance, left the Army, and went to *Hanover* for that Year. But this Year the same base and villainous Design was resumed; and *Granvau*, with one *Leefdale*, whom he had engaged in it, met *Du Mont*, who came from *Hanover* at *Uden*, to concert Measures, and agreed to the same Scheme that had been settled before. But Providence was too merciful to Europe to suffer the Life of a Prince, who was the Support of its Liberty, to be so barbarously taken away; and permitted this black Conspiracy to be discovered by *Leefdale* and *Du Mont*, who related all the Circumstances of the Contrivance, and who they were that put *Granvau* upon this wicked Attempt. *Granvau* was taken, and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered, after he had made a full Confession of his Crimes, without Torture. And with this ended all the remarkable Transactions of the Campaign on that Side.

The Campaign on the  
Rhine.

On the *Rhine*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the Markgrave of *Baireith*, commanded the German Army. What small Advantage was gained there, was on the Side of the French; who in September fell upon a Party of four Thousand Men, commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and killed and took a great Number of them; the Duke himself being among the Prisoners. In December, the French received Orders from their Court to take Possession of *Rhinefeld*, it being looked on as a defenceless Place. But they met so brave a Resistance, that they were obliged to besiege it in Form in that rigorous Season; and by the great Diligence used by the Landgrave for its Relief, were afterwards obliged to raise the Siege.

The Campaign in Sa-  
voy.

On the Side of *Savoy*, a great Effort was made by the Allies; the French, who resolved this Year to bend the Power of their Arms against *Flanders* and *Germany*, leaving Monsieur *Catinat* very much inferior to the Allies there. The Duke of *Savoy* marched in the Month of July at the Head of twenty Thousand Men into *Dauphiné*, where he took the City of *Ambrun*. Many of the new Converts of the French Protestants came in to his Army; and being protected by the English Forces, made a Recantation of the Errors of the Church of Rome. From *Ambrun* the Army went to *Gap*, a City up-

The Duke of  
Savoy enters  
France.

on the Borders of *Provence*, whose Inhabitants opened their Gates to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, upon his first appearing before it. These Beginnings might have been attended with great Consequences; not only *Grenoble*, the Capital of *Dauphiné*, but all the neighbouring Provinces, and the great City of *Lyons* it self began to tremble. But that Inconvenience which is almost inseparable from Confederate Armies, Divisions among the chief Commanders, joined with a sudden Sickness the Duke of *Savoy* was taken with, disappointed these hopeful Expectations. So that the Army of the Allies was obliged to leave *France* again; but not without a great Booty, and doing very considerable Damage.

This Campaign produced an extraordinary Charity to the *Vaudois*, the Protestant Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, renowned among their Protestant Brethren, for having preserved the Christian Faith and Doctrine pure and uncorrupt, during those many Ages in which the rest of *Christendom* bowed under the Yoke of the *Romish* Superstitions. These poor People had lost all Manner of Ecclesiastical Discipline during the Violence of the late Persecution; and were so exhausted by it, that they were not able to maintain so much as a Minister or School-Master. *M. Dubourdieu*, Chaplain to the Duke of *Schomberg* in the English Army, found Means to represent their Case to the Queen; whose Christian Heart soon opened towards them in a generous Relief; establishing out of her own Privy Purse, a Fund for maintaining amongst them ten Preachers, and as many School-masters.

In *Catalonia* there was an entire Inaction; the French being employed another Way, and the Spaniards being too remiss to use the Opportunity to make any important Attempt.

A Plot was invented this Summer to be fathered upon some eminent Persons, but timely discovered. One *Robert Young*, a Fellow who had the Impudence to put on a Clergyman's Gown, but a shameless abandoned Wretch, was committed to *Newgate*, till he discharged a Fine imposed upon him for some Roguery or other, which he was perpetually employed in. He concerted with one *Pearson*, a Fellow-Prisoner, and such another as himself, to contrive a Plot, and charge it upon some Persons who were thought at that Time not so well affected to the Court. *Young* drew up an Association; and having found Means to get a Sight of the Hand-Writing of the Earls of *Marlborough*, and *Salisbury*, Sir *Basil Firebrass*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Cornbury*, he wrote their Names and Titles under this Association, counterfeiting their Hands so dexterously, that it was very hard to distinguish the Cheat. He also forged several Letters in the Earl of *Marlborough's* Name, directed to himself. In April he sent one *Stephen Blackbeard*, a Fellow he had engaged, to the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* House upon a pretended Business, who took

A.D. 1692.

But at length  
retires.The Queen's  
Charity to the  
*Vaudois*.A Sham Plot  
fathered up-  
on the Bishop  
of *Rocheſter*,  
and others.



A.D. 1692. the Opportunity to convey this Association so subscribed, into a Flower Pot standing in a Chimney. When this was done, *Young* gave Information of this pretended Plot and Association; and the Bishop's House being searched by the King's Messengers, this Counterfeit Instrument was found. The Bishop was put some Days under Confinement; but upon his being confronted, first with *Blackbeard*, and then with *Young*, the Villainy appeared so evident, that the Bishop was honourably discharged.

The King meets the Parliament.

On the fifteenth of *October* the King embarked for *England*, and landed at *Yarmouth* on the eighteenth. After some Days spent in Refreshment after his Voyage, and Congratulations upon his safe Arrival, he met his Parliament *November 4*. He then represented to them, in a very affecting and judicious Speech, the State of Affairs, the Necessity of a vigorous Opposition to the common Enemy, and his own Concern for the Glory and Happiness of his People. His Speech was received with universal Applause, and was answered by suitable Addresses to himself and the Queen.

Proceedings of Parliament.

The Escape made by some of the *French* Ships into *St. Malo's*, after the Fight off *Cape Barfleur*, and the sudden Stop of the projected Descent, were thought to deserve the Enquiry of the House of Commons. The Conduct of *Sir John Albby*, who commanded that Part of the Fleet that pursued the *French* Ships that got through the Race of *Aldernay*, was first examined into. But he cleared himself so handsomely, that the House was fully satisfied with his Conduct, and dismissed him with Honour. The same good Fortune happened to *Admiral Ruffel*, when the Enquiry about the Descent came on, and the House dismissed him also with an honourable Vote. The House then took into Consideration the *East-India* Trade, and having ordered a Bill to be brought in for regulating the same upon a new Foot, they went upon a Supply. They voted 1926516*l.* for the Navy, 2090563*l.* for the Land Forces, and 750000*l.* to supply the Deficiency of the Poll Tax of the last Year. These Sums were to be raised by a Tax upon Land, and an Excise upon Malt Liquors, with some Impositions upon other Merchandize.

Among other Bills which were of less Consequence, and were dropped this Session, there was one for free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament, by incapacitating Persons in many Civil and Military Employments, from sitting in the House of Commons. It passed the Lower House, but was thrown out in the Upper; the Courtiers being too numerous there.

The House of Commons in these Times were very watchful and prying into the Administration; and they found but too much Reason for their Care and Censure, by an universal Remissness that ran through the Administration of the publick Affairs and Concerns. Complaints were made of many Abuses and Mismanagements in the Affairs

of *Ireland*; and they were so well made out, A.D. 1693. that the House of Commons in a Body presented an Address to the King about them. The King answered their Address with his usual Complaisance to that House. But whether he was persuaded by some about him, who had a Part in those Abuses, or whether he thought of himself that the Discontented in the House of Commons might take Occasion to give him Trouble upon that Account, he came to the House of Peers five Days after, and having passed the Bills that were ready, prorogued the Parliament till *May 2*. This was a Method little used before; the Meetings of the two Houses being generally discontinued by Adjournments, but upon this Occasion it was necessary, to prevent this Affair's being resumed at the next Meeting.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Debates in the House of Commons about the Conduct of the Fleet in relation to the Descent, cost *Admiral Ruffel*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* their Places; the King saying of his Officers, as *Julius Cæsar* had done of his Wife, *That they ought to be as free from Suspicion, as from Faults*. In the Earl of *Nottingham's* Place, succeeded *Sir John Trenchard*; and Commissioners were appointed for the Office of Lord High Admiral. The Great Seal was at this Time given to *Sir John*, afterwards Lord, *Sommers*. These Things being done, the King went over into *Holland*, to expect there the Beginning of the Campaign.

This proved a fatal Year to the Confederates in every Part. At Sea we had a terrible Blow, in the Loss of a great Part of the *Streights* Fleet. For the *French* Naval Power making the Seas insecure to single Merchant Men, a great Fleet of *English*, *Dutch*, *Hamburgers*, and other Traders, to the Number of near four hundred Sail, bound to the Coasts of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the Ports of the *Mediterranean*, set out all together for the Sake of the Convoy of twenty three Men of War, commanded by *Sir George Rooke*, which was appointed to attend them. It being known that the *French* had a very large Fleet getting ready at *Brest*, Orders were given to the whole Confederate Fleet of *English* and *Dutch* to accompany *Sir George Rooke* and the Merchant-Men, till they came to such a Latitude, as some said, or as others, till they had certain Intelligence where the *French* Fleet was. Whether the Orders given were punctually observed or not, is neither certain nor material; it is certain that upon a real or pretended Excuse that they were not sufficiently victualled, the Grand Fleet left the others too soon. For *Sir George Rooke*, having sent away the Ships bound to the Northern Coasts of *Spain*, and those of *Portugal*, and pursuing his Voyage to the *Streights* with the others, was met within sixty Leagues of *Cape St. Vincent*, by the whole *French* Fleet of Men of War, consisting of no less than eighty Sail. At this unexpected Sight, a dreadful Alarm ran through the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, who were utterly incapable of making

An unfortunate Year.

The Loss of the *Streights* Fleet.



A.D. 1693. making any Defence against so formidable a Force. It appeared immediately that nothing was to be done but to give Orders to the Merchant-Men to shift for themselves, and while the Convoy protected them as well as they could, to get into the neighbouring Ports of *Spain* or *Portugal*; which they accordingly did. But the *French* seeing this, sent out some of their Ships after them, while others attacked the Convoy. It was a melancholy Sight to see the defenceless Merchant-Men flying this Way and that Way, from the Pursuit of a fierce Enemy they were unable to resist; while the Pursuers, as fast as they came up with them, took some, burnt some, and sent others to the Bottom with their Cannon. The Loss upon this Occasion was computed to be near eighty Merchant Ships, besides three *Dutch*, and one *English* Man of War of the Convoy. Of those that escaped, some got away with Sir *George Rooke*, who went off with them to *Ireland*. Some got into the Ports of *Portugal* and *Spain*; though these last proved an insecure Refuge, some of the Ships being taken and destroyed in the very Harbour of *Gibraltar*.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.

The *French* besiege *Huy*.

They march to attack the King.

In *Flanders*, the *French* by a vigorous Effort sent so great an Army into the Field, that at the Beginning of the Campaign it exceeded that of the Confederates by one half. The Campaign passed without any remarkable Occurrence till *July 14*. when Count *Tilly*, General of the Troops of *Liege*, marching to join the King, was surprized by the *French*, and obliged to retire. But soon after the Duke of *Wurtemberg* forced the Lines made by the *French*, to cover their conquered Countries, and raised great Contributions there. But this did not keep the Duke of *Luxembourg* from laying Siege to *Huy*, a small, but a strong Place upon the *Meuse*, in the Bishoprick of *Liege*. This brought the King nearer to that Place, to watch the Enemy while they were employed in that Siege. But as he was upon his March, News was brought him that *Huy* was surrendered. The Duke of *Luxembourg* having taken this Town, formed a Design to attack the King, whose Forces had been inferior to his own all the Campaign, and had been much weakened by Detachments sent to reinforce the Garrisons of *Liege* and *Maastricht*, which were threatened by the *French*. To compass this, he made a Feint of besieging *Liege*, but indeed marched directly to the King's Camp.

He found the King posted on the Sides of a River called the Lesser *Geet*, which ran behind his Camp, which was extended six Miles in Length along its Banks. The Left of his Camp was entirely covered by a Brook, which ran almost directly before it, only turning off somewhat obliquely to the Left. The Right was on its most extreme Parts covered with Hedges and hollow Ways; and was divided in the Middle by another Brook, which with two Villages on the Sides of it, covered its innermost Parts. Between these two Brooks, and the Villages

on the Sides of it, there was a Piece of open Ground, which was the only Part on which the Confederate Camp lay uncovered. A.D. 1693.

The King having News of the Enemies Approach, and finding they designed to attack him, called a Council of War. Many of the Officers proposed to repass the *Geet* that lay behind them; but the King trusting to his advantageous Situation, resolved to venture a Battle, rather than expose himself to the Danger of being attacked in his Rear. On *July 28*. about eight at Night the whole *French* Army came up; but it being so late, the Battle was put off till next Day. During the Night, the King ordered a Retrenchment to be made across the Plain that lay between the two Brooks and the Villages near them; so that the Enemy could not without Disadvantages attack a Camp, that was now covered on all Sides, either by the Brooks, the Villages, or the Retrenchment.

Who prepares to receive them.

The next Morning at Sun-rise, the *French* Army drew up in Order of Battle, and advanced towards the King's Camp. The Cannon from thence played upon them with good Success, but they stood the firing with wonderful Constancy. About eight in the Morning the Fight began on the Right of the Confederates; and the two Villages that covered the innermost Part were furiously attacked. The Battle was fierce and doubtful, those Villages being gained and lost once and again; but at last the Allies kept their Ground. The Enemy then attacked their Left, and were received there with so much Bravery, that after a sharp Encounter of two Hours, they were repulsed on that Side, and obliged to retire, without daring to make a second Attempt. But the Attack being renewed on the Right, the Face of Things changed; and the Confederates being overlaid with fresh Men succeeding the others, and having spent their Ammunition, were compelled to retreat; while the *French* posted themselves in the Villages the Allies had so long defended. This turned the Scale of Victory; for the Confederate Army having lost that Defence, the *French* came upon equal Terms with them on the Right; on which Side the Impression being once made, they poured in such numerous Troops, that the Allies sunk under the unequal Burthen, and gave Way. In the mean Time another Body of the *French* attacked the Retrenchment. The *English* Foot defended it with the usual Firmness of our Countrymen; but the Work being slight, as being cast up in haste, they were compelled to abandon it, and the *French* levelled it with all Diligence, that their Cavalry might come in that Way to attack the Right Wing of the Confederate Horse. This being done, and a fresh Torrent poured in upon those who were already spent and overpowered, that Wing was utterly broken and overthrown. The King seeing the Danger of his Troops, rode in all Haste to the Left, to fetch the *English* Horse to the Assistance of the others. But the



A.D. 1693. the *French* broke in on all Parts to the Right with such increasing Numbers, that though the *English* Troopers came as fast as their Horses could gallop, they arrived too late to restore the Fight. And now the Victory was clearly decided in favour of the Enemy; so great a Part of the Confederate Troops being routed and broken. There remained nothing to do but to bring off in Safety those Forces that were left; which was happily done. The *French* had now made their Way into the Confederate Camp, which was filled with Disorder and Confusion, every one shifting for himself, and crowding to the Bridges that lay over the River behind them. In this universal Flight and Fear, the Bridges being neither wide nor numerous enough to give a quick Passage to such Multitudes, many of those who were most closely followed by the Enemy were obliged to throw themselves into the River, where abundance were drowned; the Earl of *Athlone* narrowly escaping the same Fate. The King seeing himself in Danger of being surrounded by the *French* Troops, ordered three Regiments to secure his Retreat over one of the Bridges, which he gained with great Difficulty. The Confederates lost according to their own Accounts, about six thousand Men, sixty Pieces of Cannon and nine Mortars; but the Baggage having been sent away the Night before, escaped the Enemy's Hands. In this Battle the late Duke of *Ormond* received several Wounds, and was made Prisoner. The King escaped no less than three Musket-Shots very wonderfully, one of them passing through his Peruke, a second through his Coat-Sleeve, and a third carrying off the Knot of his Scarf, and leaving a small Contusion in his Side. The Glory he gained for his Personal Valour was answerable to the Danger by which he acquired it; his very Enemies admiring it so much, that it was a common Saying amongst them, that they only wanted such a King to make them Masters of Christendom; and confessing that so much Valour well deserved the peaceable Possession of the Crown he wore.

'Tis very probable, that the Loss of the *French* was very great in this Battle; because, instead of pursuing his Victory, the Duke of *Luxembourg* continued without Motion for fifteen Days afterwards. But at last he marched to *Charleroy*, and invested that Place. The Governor, though he had little or no Prospect of Relief, made a brave and honourable Defence, and kept the *French* Army employed for twenty six Days from the Opening of the Trenches. When he could hold out no longer he obtained an honourable Capitulation, and the Surrender of this Place put an End to the Campaign.

The Campaign in Catalonia. In *Catalonia* the *French* began the Campaign so early, that on the twenty ninth of May they invested *Roses* by Sea and Land; and in seven Days made themselves Masters of that important Place. The taking of *Roses* was succeeded by Inaction for the rest of the Year.

On the *Rhine* the *French* Diligence A.D. 1693. brought them into the Field so early, that they pass'd the *Rhine* before any Forces of the *Germans* were in a Condition to oppose them. They then invested *Heidelberg*, the Capital of the *Palatinate*, which was surrender'd, and afterwards set on Fire by the *French*, who committed great Barbarities throughout that Electorate. After this they made several Attempts to attack Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; but being disappointed in them all by the Prudence and Conduct of that General, they broke up; and sent away their Troops into other Parts.

In *Piedmont* the Duke of *Savoy*, being recovered of the Sickness that took him at the Close of the last Summer, began the Campaign with the Siege of *Pignerol*. But Monsieur *Catinat*, descending into the Plains, so alarmed the Duke for *Turin*, that he broke up the Siege to observe the *French* Motions. This brought on the Battle of *Marfaglia*, in which the Confederates were defeated, with the Loss of most of their Cannon, and seven or eight thousand Men. But this Battle was fought so late in the Year, that the *French* Victory could not be pursued.

To humble the Pride of that ambitious Monarch, who saw almost all *Europe* in Arms against him, and yet flying every where from his single Force, it pleased the Divine Providence to send him a Scourge into the Bowels of his own Countrey; a severe Famine, which daily swept away Multitudes of his Subjects. The Misery and Desolation was so great, that in all this Height of Success he was compelled to sue for Peace. But as this was done with his usual Craft and Insincerity, the Allies rejected his Proposals.

Oct. 30. the King arrived at *Kensington* from *Holland*; and in seven Days after met his Parliament. His Speech was short, to let them know the Necessity of encreasing the Forces by Sea and Land, and the Supplies by Consequence. It was answered by a Vote of the Commons, that they would support their Majesties and their Government. But before they proceeded on this Vote, they enquired into the dreadful Mis-carriage that had happened to the *Smyrna* Fleet; and after having spent some Time in this Enquiry, voted that it had been occasioned by a notorious and treacherous Mismanagement. But this general Censure was attended with no Consequences, it being so difficult in Cases of that Nature to find certain Grounds for proceeding against particular Persons.

This being over they fell upon the Supply; and voted two Million five hundred and thirty Thousand five hundred and ninety Pounds for the Army; and two Million five hundred Thousand Pounds for the Fleet. It was also found, that the Funds settled the last Year fell short above four hundred Thousand Pounds. This Deficiency they also proposed to supply. For raising these great Sums, a Land Tax of four Shillings in the Pound was charged again, with the Excise upon Malt-Liquors; to which was added a Duty

The Confederates defeated.

And on the Rhine.

And in Piedmont.

The Battle of Marfaglia.

A Famine in France.

The French King offers Conditions of Peace, which are rejected.

The Parliament meets.

Their Proceedings.



A.D. 1693. Duty upon Salt, Leather, Soap, Wine, and the Tonnage of all Ships and Vessels. And because all these were insufficient, a Poll Tax was again made use of; and in the last Place a Duty laid upon Hackney and Stage Coaches, with another upon Paper and Parchment. The Tax upon Salt, with a Part of the Excise, was formed into a Fund to continue for sixteen Years, of one hundred and forty Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and a Million was to be raised by way of Lottery from this Fund.

A.D. 1694.

Bill for free Proceedings in Parliament rejected by the King.

The Representation of the Commons to him.

The King's Answer.

While the Supply was depending, a second Bill for free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament was set on foot; and at this Time passed through both Houses. But when it came before the King when he passed the Land Tax, he refused his Sanction to it. The Commons resented this as deeply as reasonably, and the next Day resolved, that whoever advised the King not to give the Royal Assent to that Bill, was an Enemy to their Majesties and the Kingdom. This Resolution was succeeded by a moving Representation to the King himself, in which, without the least Warmth, and in the most modest and respectful Words, they expressed their Grief and Concern that a Bill of that Importance to the Publick Welfare, made by Advice of both Houses of Parliament, should not obtain the Royal Assent at a Time when the Commons had so freely voted such large Supplies. That they could impute this to nothing but the Insinuations of particular Persons, who advised his Majesty contrary to the Advice of Parliament. Upon which Considerations they humbly prayed, that for the future his Majesty would hearken to the Advice of his Parliament, and not to the secret Advices of particular Persons, who might have private Interests of their own, separate from the true Interests of his Majesty and his People. The King had as little to say in Answer to this affecting Representation, as Men use to have when they are entirely in the Wrong. He told them in general Words, that he was sensible of their Affection to him; that he should always have a great Regard to the Advice of Parliaments; and should look on those as his Enemies who should advise any Thing that might lessen the Confidence between himself and his People. When this evasive Answer came to be considered by the House, it was proposed to apply to the King for a farther Answer. But others maturely considering that the Opportunity was lost for the present Time, and that a farther Mention of this Affair, would only serve to produce and increase ill Humours, which might be of bad Consequence to the other Publick Concerns, they suffered the Question to pass in the Negative. Thus an Opportunity was lost of adding a most noble and necessary Part to the glorious Structure of the *English* Constitution; which however admirable when compared with others, will continue blemished with one great Defect, unless some happier Time should hereafter compleat it, by adding thereto this finishing Beauty and Support.

When the Bills for the Supplies were ready, the King came to the House and passed them, with others of a more private Nature; and then prorogued the Parliament.

A.D. 1694. The Parliament prorogued.

By the Time this was done the warlike Motions began. Our Naval Forces were unfortunate in some Places, and successful in others. Sir *Francis Wheeler* conducting a Fleet of Merchant-Ships up the Streights at Sea was cast away, with several of the Men of War and Merchant-Ships near *Gibraltar*. The Confederate Fleet went out in hopes of blocking up the *French* Navy in the Harbour of *Brest*, or of fighting them; but were disappointed of both; the *French* getting out of the Harbour, and sailing away to the *Mediterranean*. Admiral *Ruffel*, who had been restored to his Place, was ordered after them; to prevent their Designs on *Catalonia*, which Principality was in great Danger from the *French* by Land and Sea. Before he went he had an Opportunity to destroy a great Number of *French* Merchant-Men in *Bertheaume* Bay; of whom he burnt or sunk thirty five, with a Man of War that was to be their Convoy.

But a Design that was laid for destroying the Harbour of *Brest* proved unsuccessful; which was in good Measure owing to the ill Conduct of some, who kept the Secret so ill that it was Town-Talk in *London* some Months before it was attempted. This gave the *French* an Opportunity to provide themselves for it, so that the Confederates were repulsed with Loss. On the seventh of *June* the Confederate Fleet came before that Harbour; and the Lord *Cutts*, and the Marquis of *Caermarthen* went into the Bay, in a small Galley with Oars. They were thundered upon by the Enemy's Cannon on every Side; but that did not hinder them from taking the Depth of Water in many Places amidst all the Fire, and getting out again safely. After they had given the Lord *Berkley*, who was the Commander, an Account of what they had observed, it was resolved at first to send two, but afterwards eight Men of War, to cover the Soldiers who were to land in the Bay. Accordingly the Ships stood in, and the Land Forces to the Number of nine hundred were put into Boats, and got ashore. But they had not long been there, before a Detachment of *French* Marines charged them so furiously that they were obliged to retire. And to compleat the Mischief, it happened to be ebbing Water, so that many of the Boats lying a-ground could not be got off, the Men on board them being either miserably slaughtered, or forced to beg for Quarter. Lieutenant-General *Talmash* who commanded them, was shot in the Thigh. However some of the Boats made a Shift to retreat under the Protection of the Men of War; who had in the mean Time been sorely handled by the Enemy's numerous Batteries, and one of them was left behind. Most of the Land-Men were killed or taken Prisoners; and four hundred Men were killed aboard the Ships. General *Talmash* being sent to *Plymouth*, died there of his Wound.

To



A.D. 1694.

Diep and  
Havre de  
Grace bom-  
barded.

To make some Amends for this Disappointment, the Lord Berkley sailed towards Diep, and threw one thousand one hundred Bombs and Carcasses into the Town, which set it on Fire in several Places. The Townsmen despairing to quench the Flames, began to run away in great Consternation. Two Regiments of Militia were sent to encourage them; but the Disorder was so great, and the Fire so dreadful, that the Soldiers fled with the rest. But this not being then known to the English Fleet, who might have possessed themselves of the Place in all probability, had they been acquainted with it, they sailed away, leaving the Town almost ruined. They went from thence to Havre de Grace, where they did a great deal of Mischiefe.

The French had been busy at the Beginning of this Year in Intrigues for getting the Cardinal de Bouillon chosen Bishop of Liege, which had been a very great Blow to the Allies. But their Endeavours were disappointed by the Choice of the Elector of Cologne into that Bishoprick. The Campaign began in Flanders not long after, with a very fair Prospect on the Side of the Confederates; who had the finest Army there they had ever had on foot. But the French on their Part bounded their Designs to the covering of their own Territories, which made the Summer inactive; the two Armies being only employed in observing and following each other's Motions. Only towards the End of the Season the King invested and regained the Town and Castle of Huy; with which the Campaign ended on that Side.

The Cam-  
paign in  
Flanders un-  
active.The Cam-  
paign in Ca-  
talonia.

In Catalonia the French had great Success. The Marechal de Noailles with an Army of near thirty Thousand Men, arrived at the Banks of the River Ter, where he found the Spaniards intrenched on the other Side. Nevertheless he resolved to pass it, and having founded all the Fords the same Evening, he crossed the River, and attacked the Spanish Retrenchments. After a short Dispute he obliged the Spanish Infantry to abandon their Posts, and to retreat under Cover of the Horfe. Soon after he laid Siege to Palamos, a Town by the Sea Side, about twenty two Leagues from Barcelona, and in about a Week took it by Storm. From thence he marched to Gironne, a well fortified Town, where the Spaniards at first threatened to make a stout Resistance. But in ten Days they changed their Minds, and surrendered the Place upon ignominious Terms. From Gironne the French advanced to Ostalrick, a little Town upon the Road to Barcelona, which they quickly carried without any great Resistance. But their Army becoming sickly by the excessive Heats, the Marechal de Noailles put them into Quarters of Refreshment for some Time; after which taking the Field again, they assaulted and took Castel Folet, a Town a little to the West of Gironne. The Spaniards had taken the Opportunity of the Absence of the French to besiege Ostalrick; and carried on the Siege with so much Success, that the Governor

capitulated, and Hostages were exchanged. A.D. 1694. But before the Articles of Surrender were agreed on, the Governor had Advice that Monsieur de Noailles was marching to his Relief, upon which he re-demanded his Hostages, and refused to stand to the Articles; after which the Siege was quickly raised.

The City of Barcelona was the only fortified Place throughout Catalonia, that remained in the Hands of the Spaniards. The French encouraged by their past Success threatened the Siege of this famous City, in which they were to have been assisted by their Fleet, which came from Brest into the Mediterranean, to second their Land Forces on this Side. But the Arrival of Admiral Ruffel into these Seas quashed all the French Designs. For upon the News of his coming the French Fleet retired into Toulon; whom Admiral Ruffel confined there so closely that they were unable to get out. The Absence of their Fleet put a Stop to all farther Progress of the French, and the Action of the Campaign on this Side.

Barcelona be-  
sieged.The Siege  
raised.

That in Piedmont was unactive; the Duke of Savoy being in a secret Negotiation with France, which made him remiss, and the French careless in that Part.

The Cam-  
paign in Pied-  
mont.

On the Rhine some Motions were made both by the French and Germans, that seemed to promise some vigorous Action. But they passed over without any Consequence. Towards the End of the Campaign the Germans cross'd the Rhine, and brought off with them a considerable Booty from the other Side.

And on the  
Rhine.

On the ninth of November the King arrived in England; and in three Days after met the Parliament. He briefly mentioned to them the State of Publick Affairs, the Necessity of Supplies, and a Proposal for the Encouragement of Seamen.

The Parlia-  
ment meets.

Before the Commons proceeded on the Supply, they ordered a Bill to be brought in for the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments; by which it was enacted that a new Parliament should be called once in three Years. Bills to this Purpose had been set on foot in former Sessions, but were defeated by the Court; who being well pleased with the present Parliament, had no Mind it should be changed. But the Commons now brought it in again, and appeared so resolute for it, that it passed the two Houses with Success. After this Bill was brought in, the Commons voted a Supply of two Million three hundred and eighty two Thousand seven Hundred and twelve Pounds for the Navy; and two Million five hundred Thousand Pounds for the Army.

The Bill for  
Triennial  
Parliaments.

But while this was doing, the whole Nation was alarmed with the News that the Queen was suddenly taken ill on the twenty first of December. Her Distemper soon appeared to be the Small-Pox, which increased upon her with that Violence, and was attended with such fatal Symptoms, that in seven Days it ended in her Death; which deprived our Countrey of one of the most excellent Princes that ever filled a Throne.

The Queen's  
Sickness and  
Death.



A.D. 1694. The King, the Parliament, the Court, the City, the Countrey, were struck with the utmost Grief for this invaluable Loss. Though the Multiplicity of Affairs the King was always pressed with, and perhaps too his natural Disposition, did not allow him to be a fond Husband to the Queen, he had yet the profoundest Esteem for her Merit and Virtues. And this being enhaunfed by the Want he now felt of her, and that by the Suddenness of the Loss, his steddly and martial Temper was all melted into Tenderness; and his Firmness of Soul gave way to all the Transports and Weaknesses of an inconsolable Affliction. The same Concern filled the Minds of all those who had been her Subjects. The two Houses of Parliament waited upon the King with their Addresses of Condolence, in which they bewailed with him their common Loss, and endeavoured to mitigate his Grief by taking their Share of it with him, and by the strongest Assurances of Duty and Fidelity on their Parts. Their Example was followed by the City of London, and most of the Corporations throughout his Majesty's Dominions. The King received upon this Occasion a great Satisfaction from the Conduct of the Princess Anne of Denmark. There had happened a Misunderstanding between that Lady and her excellent Sister, which by some about them was heightened to that Degree, that the Princess Anne was obliged to leave the Court, and to live in an obscure Retirement, more like a private Person in Disgrace, than the Heir apparent to the Crown. The King had Reason to apprehend she might shew her Resentment hereafter, by the Interest she had in both Houses, now increased by her nearer Approach to the Throne; and this the more, because by the decease of Queen Mary, the King was left alone, exposed to the Malecontents at home, many of whom had been restrained by the Affection they bore to that admirable Lady, on Account of her Virtues, and of her Relation to King James. But it always happens with such excellent Persons so nearly related, that the Death or Misfortune of one extinguishes at once all past Resentments, and leaves Room for nothing but Sentiments of Love and Tenderness. The Princess upon the News of her Sister's Death remembered nothing but that Love and Harmony that had reigned between them before the late Difference happened, and all past Misunderstandings being drowned in her Grief, she wrote a Letter to the King full of her Concern for his great Loss, and of Kindness and Duty to himself; desiring Leave to wait upon him, and assuring him of her sincere Respect for him, and Concern for his Interests. The Archbishop of Canterbury took this Opportunity to represent to the King the prudent Conduct of the Princess and her Consort, the Prince of Denmark, during their Recess from Court; that they might have given him great Disturbance in Parliament, but that on the contrary those Members of either House who had Places under

their Highnesses, were always among the foremost in promoting his Majesty's Interest. These Reasons, with the Princess's Letter, worked so powerfully on the King, that he immediately presented her Royal Highness with most of her Sister's Jewels; and his Sorrow for the Loss of so good a Wife was much alleviated by the Reconcilement of so kind a Sister. A.D. 1694.

The Day after the Queen was first taken ill, the King had gone to the House of Peers, and passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments. This was either a Piece of great good Fortune, or a very wise Strain; since every one knew that Bill was not approved by the Court, though much desired by the People; and it gave great Satisfaction that the King had passed it at that Time, which implied his voluntary Concurrence; whereas had the Royal Assent not been given to it till after the Queen's Death, it would have been said, that he was compelled to it by the Necessity of his Affairs.

A remarkable Transaction was soon after A.D. 1695. laid before the House of Commons. On the fifteenth of June of the last Year one Lunt had given Information of a Plot to raise War against the King and Queen. That to this End he had delivered Commissions from King James to several Gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire; at whose Instance and Costs he had bought Arms, and enlisted many Persons for King James's Service; and was twice sent by them into France to acquaint King James that they were in Readiness, and to receive his farther Commands. This Deposition was confirmed by that of one George Wilson, who had assisted Lunt in the Delivery of these Commissions. Warrants were issued out to seize the Conspirators; but though some suspicious Arms and Papers were found, there did not appear any convincing Proof of the Truth of the Informations. Several Persons were however apprehended and brought up to London, and committed to Prison. From thence they were sent down to their Tryals at Manchester; where Lunt and Wilson, and several others deposed according to the Informations abovementioned. Upon this Tryal Lunt being ordered to point at the several Prisoners by Name, made a Mistake, and pointed to the wrong Man; but because the Mistake might be occasioned by the Crowd, the Judge ordered him to name and touch them with the Cryer's Staff; and then he named them all right. The Prisoners in their Defence produced one Taffe, who had been acquainted with Lunt, and had accompanied him in the Search that had been made in the several Gentlemen's Houses. This Man declared in the open Court, that the whole Plot was nothing but a villainous Contrivance between himself and Lunt; upon which the King's Counsel stopt all farther Proceedings, and the Prisoners were acquitted. When the King's Counsel returned to London, he represented the Plot there as so wicked a Contrivance, that the Government ordered the



A.D. 1695. the Witnesses to be prosecuted for a Conspiracy against the Lives and Estates of those Gentlemen. But they not being satisfied with this, brought the Affair before the House of Commons.

It is examined in the House of Commons.

It underwent there a careful and strict Examination. On the Behalf of the Gentlemen there were urged *Lunt's* Mistake in Court, *Taffe's* Declaration, and the Non-Appearance of the Arms and Commissions mentioned in *Lunt's* Informations. On the other Side it was said, that it was possible the Persons accused might have Notice sent them to burn their Commissions, and hide their Arms; and that though all that *Lunt* had sworn to did not appear, yet that enough was found to give Cause of Suspicion. That *Lunt's* Mistake was immediately rectified upon a more accurate Experiment. That as to *Taffe*, not to mention that his Declaration was not given upon Oath, he was a Person of an ill Character, having taken the Opportunity of being concerned in the Search of the Gentlemen's Houses, to commit many egregious Felonies; for which scandalous Behaviour, instead of the Reward which he pretended to, he had been slighted and reprimanded. That it was no difficult Matter to tamper with such a Person, and by Bribery to get him off; and that it was actually sworn, that this had been done. That this was confirmed by many foul Practices of the same Kind, that appeared to have been made Use of upon this Occasion by the Friends and Solicitors of the accused Persons. And that lastly, the Truth of the Plot was confirmed by the agreeing Testimonies of numerous Witnesses, some at a great Distance from, and utter Strangers to one another. At last, after several Hearings, Examinations of Witnesses, and long Debates, the House thought fit to confirm the Testimonies given of the Plot, by resolving, First, that there was sufficient Grounds for the Prosecution and Trial of the Gentlemen at *Manchester*; and secondly, that a dangerous Plot had been carried on against the King and Government. Besides this, a Draught of a Declaration to be published at King *James's* Landing, being found in the Closet of one Mr. *Standish*, of *Standish-Hall*, they ordered him to be taken into Custody; and their Messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they addressed the King to issue out his Proclamation for the apprehending him. Upon this Disappointment, the Enquiry was carried by the Persons concerned into the House of Peers; but when the Question was put, after careful Examinations, and many Debates, whether the Government had sufficient Cause to prosecute the *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* Gentlemen, it was carried in the Affirmative. Nevertheless at the *Lancaster* Assizes, *Lunt*, *Wilson*, and *Womball*, another Witness, were tried for Perjury, and found Guilty; and afterwards indicted for a Conspiracy against the Lives and Estates of the *Lancashire* Gentlemen. But the latter refusing to furnish the Attorney and Solicitor-

And in the House of Lords.

General with Witnesses to prove the Perjuries alledged, the Prosecution was let fall, and *Lunt*, *Womball*, and *Wilson* discharged.

The Parliament was employed this Session in another very important Enquiry. It seems some Soldiers quartered at *Roxton*, had been guilty of Abuses in exacting Sub-sistence-Money from the Inhabitants. This was petitioned against in the House of Commons, and the whole Matter being heard and examined, this Exaction was voted illegal, and a Violation of the Liberties of the Subject. But in the Course of this Examination, the House receiving Hints of several Abuses and ill Practices committed by the Officers and Agents, they thought it necessary to look farther into them. And upon Enquiry they ordered Mr. *Tracy Pauncefort*, Agent of the Regiment complained of, with Mr. *Guy*, a Member of their House, to be committed to the Tower; and Mr. *Edward Pauncefort* to the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms. They soon after addressed the King against Colonel *Hastings*, Commander of the Regiment, who was cashiered. The Abuses discovered already, engaged the House to a farther Examination; and they ordered Mr. *James Craggs*, and Mr. *Richard Harnage*, two of the Contractors for clothing the Army, to be examined before the Commissioners for stating the publick Accounts. And because they refused to answer upon Oath to the Things demanded of them, the House ordered a Bill to be brought in to oblige them to it.

It appearing that the House was in earnest in redressing these Corruptions, others were encouraged to bring in new Complaints of the same kind; and the Commissioners for licensing Hackney-Coaches being charged with Bribery, a Committee was appointed to examine the Matter; upon whose Report *Henry Ashurst*, and *Walter Overbury* Esquires were honourably cleared; and three others, *Henry Killigrew*, *Henry Villiers*, and *Richard Gee*, Esquires, were declared Guilty, and an Address was voted to remove them; which was done accordingly.

These Proceedings of the House of Commons against smaller Corruptions, gave Rise and Encouragement to a common Rumour, that an Universal Corruption had overspread the Nation; that the Court, the Camp, the City, and even the Parliament, were infected. It was said, that it would be to little Purpose to redress these trifling Grievances, and not to look into others of vastly greater Importance. That none but a House of Commons could make the Enquiry; and that unless they did so, it would give Cause to suspect that they screened the Corruptions of others to keep their own undiscovered. These Reports alarmed the House, who thereupon appointed a Committee to search into the Bottom of this reigning Contagion. In the Years 91, 92, and 93. the Parliament had been much busied about the Affairs of the *East-India* Company, who declined submitting to the Regulations the House of Commons proposed

A.D. 1695.

An Enquiry this Session into Bribery. The Occasion of it.

Some of the Commissioners for licensing Hackney Coaches censured.

An universal Complaint of Bribery.

A Committee of the Commons appointed to enquire into it.



A.D. 1695. to lay them under; and having procured Friends at the Court, found Means by their Interest there, to frustrate all the Endeavours of the House of Commons; and in the Year 93, procured a new Charter from the King; in Opposition to which the House of Commons had voted, that all Subjects of England have equal Right to trade to the East-Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Par-

liament. The House was induced by several Reasons, to suspect Corruptions upon this Occasion; and ordered the Committee to inspect the Books of the East-India Company; as also of the Chamberlain of London, on Account of the Orphans Bill, which had been lately set on Foot, where Bribery was also suspected.

The Report of the Committee. Soon after Mr. Foley reported from the Committee, that upon inspecting the Company's Books, they found several Sums charged as expended for special Service in the Years abovementioned; but that the greatest Payments were made in 92 and 93, which amounted to eighty seven Thousand four Hundred and two Pounds, Sir Thomas Cooke being Governor. That they found the Ballance of the Company's Cash-Book October 31. last past, to be one Hundred twenty four Thousand two hundred and forty nine Pounds; but that asking the Cashier, if he had this Ballance in Cash, they understood that ninety Thousand Pounds of it was lent upon Sir Thomas Cooke's Notes. That Sir Benjamin Bathurst acquainted them, that discoursing with Sir Thomas Cooke about it, he was informed that the said ninety Thousand Pound was to gratifie some Persons. That Sir Basil Firebrass had acquainted them that he had offered to several Persons, and to Members of the House of Commons among others, to purchase East-India Stock for them, and offered to lay down the Money; and that he had given an Account to the Company of his doing so, who promised to indemnifie him. The same Committee reported, that they found in the City Chamberlain's Books an Order for paying one Thousand Guineas to Sir John Trevor Speaker, as soon as the Orphans Bill should pass; another to pay Mr. Jodrell, Clerk of the House of Commons, one hundred Guineas for his Service on the same Account; and an Entry made of twenty Guineas paid to Mr. Hungerford, Chairman of the Grand Committee, for his Pains and Service.

Upon these Reports, Sir John Trevor and Mr. Hungerford were expelled the House; and it was ordered that Sir Thomas Cooke should give an Account how the eighty seven Thousand four Hundred and two Pounds abovementioned were laid out. He refused to do this at first; upon which he was committed to the Tower; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in to oblige him to make the Discovery. This Bill passed a few Days after, he having been first heard by his Counsel, and was then sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Sir Thomas Cooke examined and committed to the Tower.

A Bill brought in to oblige him to discover.

When this Bill was first read, the Duke of Leeds, President of the Privy Council, stood up, and spoke vehemently against it. This was much taken Notice of, that a Law of so great Consequence and Necessity, should be warmly opposed by so great a Man; and it was the more observed, because he introduced his Discourse with so many Protestations of his own Innocence, as gave Suspicion. After the Bill was read, Sir Thomas Cooke, by Leave of the Commons, he being a Member of that House, was brought to the Bar of the Lords, where he declared himself ready and willing to make Discoveries, but desired to be indemnified from all Actions and Suits, and from Scandalum Magnatum. Upon this the Lords resolved not to proceed on the Bill sent up from the Commons against Sir Thomas Cooke, but to draw up another to indemnifie him.

He is brought before the Lords.

But soon after this, Notice came from Sir Thomas Cooke, that he was afraid he might be misapprehended as to what he said concerning a Discovery; for that when he said that he was willing and ready, by ready he meant only willing; and that he should need four Months to make the Discovery he promised. But this Prevarication so incensed the Lords, that it was talked of resuming the Bill to oblige him to make Discovery, which terrified him so, that he promised to make it in seven Days. During the Time he was preparing it, the Bill for indemnifying him passed both Houses, and had the Royal Assent. A Committee of both Houses were then appointed to examine him.

April 23. he appeared before them, and gave them an Account of the Disposal of sixty seven Thousand, out of the eighty seven Thousand four Hundred and two Pounds abovementioned; and of that of the other ninety thousand Pounds. He said, that ten thousand Pound was paid for the Service of the King; though he could not say the King had it. That this was a customary Present, used in other Reigns, as appeared by the Books of the Company. He said however, that this was paid in Expectation of having their Charter confirmed. That twelve thousand Pound was paid to one Mr. Aiton, recommended to them as a Person who had Friends that could do great Service to the Company by speaking with Parliament Men. That this was to prevent a Bill depending at that Time for a new East-India Company. That three Hundred and thirty eight Pound was paid to Mr. Nathaniel Molineux, who told him he was to pay the Money to the Lord Rivers; but in Truth kept it himself. That one Thousand Guineas were paid to one Colonel Fitz-Patrick since deceased, who pretended he had great Interest in the Lord Nottingham, and promised to do great Things, if he might have such a Sum; but that he believed he also kept the Money for himself. That five Hundred forty five Pounds



A.D. 1695. Pounds were paid to one Mr. *Bates*, who was said to have Acquaintance with several Lords, particularly the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, now Duke of *Leeds*. That forty Thousand Pounds were paid to Sir *Basil Firebrass*, ten Thousand Pounds to recompense his Losses in the interloping Trade, and thirty Thousand Pounds upon Contracts made with him, which Money he conceived he was to distribute to several Persons. That two Hundred and twenty Pounds were paid to Sir *John Chardin*; and three Hundred and fifty Pounds to *Paul Dominique* Esquire, which Sums he believed were expended for the Company's Service. That three Hundred and eighty two Pounds were paid to Captain *Germain*, to bring him off from the Interlopers, and engage him in the *East-India* Company's Interest. And lastly, that the ninety Thousand Pounds were expended in buying ninety nine Thousand one Hundred and ninety seven Pounds Stock for the Use of the Company; that he was accountable for it; that part of the Stock was transferred to the Company, and that the other Part was sold for their Use, and that they had the Money.

Sir *Basil Firebrass* and Mr. *Acton* examined.

This Examination being reported to the two Houses, Sir *Basil Firebrass* and Mr. *Acton* were ordered to attend the Committee. Sir *Basil Firebrass* deposed, that the forty Thousand Pounds mentioned as paid to himself, were for his own private Use entirely, on Occasion of great Losses sustained by him for the Service of the Company; and that he paid no Part of that Sum towards any Act of Parliament or Charter, nor ever promised to use it that Way. But he acknowledged he had given two Notes for five Thousand five Hundred Guineas to Mr. *Bates* abovementioned, whom he thought able to do Service in passing the Charter, as being acquainted with several Persons of Honour; which Notes he had from Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and was accountable to him for the same. That he could not tell what *Bates* did with the Money, for that *Bates* would not deal with him on the Terms of telling Names. That *Bates* introduced him several Times to the Lord President, the Duke of *Leeds*, who made some Scruples in Point of Law, which were removed by the Attorney-General. That one Day in the last Week *Bates* came and offered him the five Thousand Guineas again, saying it might make a Noise; of which he took back only four Thousand four Hundred Guineas. That *Bates* would have paid the Whole, but Sir *Thomas Cooke* said the Account would not be even if the other six Hundred Guineas were brought to the Account. He confirmed what was said of the Money paid to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*, who, as he said, told them he had offered five Thousand Guineas to the Lord *Nottingham* upon passing the Charter, and five Thousand Pounds on the Act of Parliament; but that the Earl absolutely refused them. That he had heard also that a Note for fifty Thousand Pounds were offered to the Lord *Port-*

land; but that it was refused by him, not without a severe Reprimand. A.D. 1695.

Mr. *Acton* deposed, that he had received the twelve Thousand Pounds mentioned as paid to him. That ten Thousand Pounds were to be distributed by him among those he thought likely to serve the Company; and that the other two Thousand Pounds were to recompence his Trouble. That he did not distribute any of the ten Thousand Pounds to Members, but to such as had Interest with Members.

Upon Sir *Basil Firebrass*'s Examination, Mr. *Bates* was summoned. He deposed, that Sir *Basil* applied himself to him to use his Interest for obtaining a new Charter, and told him they would be grateful; and that he used his Interest with the Lord President, who said he would do what Service he could. That the Lord President had before delivered his Opinion publickly on the Side of the Charter. That in Return for using his Interest with my Lord, Notes for five Thousand five Hundred Guineas were given him; which were all for his own private Use. That he offered them to my Lord, but he refused them. That indeed my Lord's Servant received the Money, but that it was because the Deponent desired the Servant might be sent, as not being used to tell Money himself; and that after the Servant (whose Name was Monsieur *Robert*, a *Swiss*) had received the Money, he brought it back to this Deponent, in whose Custody it had remained till he carried back the four Thousand four Hundred Guineas to Sir *Basil*. That the Reason why he paid back that Money was, because it made a Noise, and because People might think he did not deserve them. But he happened to be taken in a Contradiction upon a second Examination; for he then said that the four Thousand four Hundred Guineas he paid back were brought him by Monsieur *Robert*.

Mr. *Bates* examined.

After this, Sir *Basil Firebrass* added to his other Informations, that upon an Apprehension that their Business stuck with the Duke of *Leeds*, he applied himself to Mr. *Bates*; who told him he would not talk to the Duke, but said, that the Company must tell him what they would do. That he answered, that he thought a Present might be made of two or three Thousand Pounds. That Mr. *Bates* told him he went to St. *James's*, and had spoke with his Friend, who said, he had more offered him on the other Side, which he said was five Thousand Pounds. That it was last agreed that the Duke should have first two Thousand and afterwards three Thousand Guineas, and Mr. *Bates* five Hundred Guineas for himself. That from the Time the Notes for five Thousand five Hundred Guineas were given to Mr. *Bates*, they had free Access to the Lord President, and found him easy, and willing to give the Company any Assistance. That Mr. *Bates* was shy, and called him his Friend at St. *James's*. That the Condition of one Draught of a Counter-

Sir *Basil Firebrass*'s farther Information.



A.D.1695. note, which Mr. Bates brought was worded, *In Case the Lord President did not assist the Company in passing the Charter, which this Deponent altered by putting out my Lord's Name. That the Deponent did intend, in Case the Charter and Act of Parliament passed, to have distributed the thirty Thousand Pounds in Manner following; to Sir Edward Seymour, Sir John Trevor, and Mr. Guy, ten Thousand Pounds; to the Merchants Interlopers ten Thousand Pounds, and the remaining ten Thousand Pounds to himself. That Sir Edward Seymour chid him for making the Proposal; but that Sir John Trevor gave him some Hints of his Expectation.*

When these Examinations were reported to the House of Commons, they were all on Fire. Warm Speeches were made against the Duke of Leeds; and at last it was carried to impeach him. When the Report was read in the House of Lords, the Duke stood up, and made a Speech, in which he asserted, "That he was wholly unconcerned in the Receipt of the Money; that he had indeed spoken with Sir Basil Firebrass, and lent his Servant to Mr. Bates to receive the Money, and that Mr. Bates offered him that Money; but that he obstinately refused to touch a Penny". He had scarce ended his Speech, when he had private Notice that the Commons were proceeding to an Impeachment against him; upon which he went down in Haste to that House, and desired to be heard. His Speech was much to the same Purpose as that he made to the Lords; insinuating besides, that the Charge against him took its Rise from the private Malice of some particular Persons; and desiring them to reconsider what was done, or else to let him have speedy Justice. But the Duke's Speech was not satisfactory; and so the Impeachment was carried up to the House of Lords, attended by many of the Members; and afterwards a Committee was appointed to draw up Articles, which were for contracting with the *East-India* Company, or their Agents, for five Thousand five Hundred Guineas to procure them Charters; which Sum was received by him, or his Agents, or Servants, with his Privy and Consent.

There can be no Doubt made, but that the Evidence of Sir Basil Firebrass, and more especially the Contradictions in Mr. Bates's Examinations, gave just Cause to suspect the Duke of Leeds; though we should suppose that Suspicion ever so false at the Bottom. But to impeach him upon Hear-say and doubtful Evidence, without having any Witness in their Power, who could positively charge the Crime upon him, was certainly a false Step in the House of Commons; and favoured too much of that Impetuosity and Precipitation that sometimes attends the Proceedings of that Assembly upon such Accusations, and has as often made them frustrate; as it happened in the present Case.

For there being no body but Monsieur A.D.1695. Robart who was like to charge his Duke on his own Knowledge, it came to pass that when the Serjeant at Arms was sent to summon him to attend the Committee, he was not to be found. This made the Commons Evidence very lame, and indeed put a Stop to their Proceedings. They were forced, when the Lords called upon them to make good their Impeachment, after the Duke's Answer and their Replication had passed in the usual Forms, to return them Answer that Monsieur Robart not being to be found, they were not yet ready to make good their Impeachment. This produced an Address from the Lords to the King, for a Proclamation to stop up the Ports, and seize him. But 'tis observable the Proclamation was not published till about nine Days after the Address.

Robart's Flight put an End to the Impeachment, and gave the Duke an Opportunity of triumphing over his Accusers, who had charged him with a Crime before they had Witness to prove it. To clear himself of the Suspicion of having sent him away, he told the House, that when the Messenger of the House of Commons came for Robart, he was out of Town; but that he (the Duke) sent for him immediately. But when the Man returned, and heard his Lord was accused, and Mr. Bates in Prison, he was so terrified, that he went away towards Harwich, designing for Switzerland. That he knew the Man so well, that he believed he would not be here again in haste; and that therefore he hoped their Lordships would let the Impeachment fall, unless the Commons proceeded against him; it being unreasonable that he should lie under the Disgrace of such an Accusation till a Person was forthcoming, who was not likely to be seen here again. But all farther Proceedings in this Matter were stopped by a Prorogation.

Besides the Affairs abovementioned, another of the utmost Consequence employed the Cares and Wisdom of the Parliament this Session. A Practice had been begun a few Years before of clipping and adulterating the Current Silver Coin of this Kingdom. This was done at first sparingly and cautiously, in Regard to the severe Laws made against it. But the Mischief being either not heeded, or wilfully neglected, it throve upon Impunity to that Degree, that by slow Steps succeeding each other, our Money was so pured by the Clippers, that five Pounds in Silver Specie, was scarce worth forty Shillings according to the Standard; not to mention the vast Quantities of Trash and adulterate Money that was then passed about. 'Tis easier to conceive the numberless Inconveniencies that must attend such a State of our Coin, than to give a Reason why the Evil was suffered to increase to such a mischievous Height. But at last the Disease growing so inveterate that all Men felt it, a new Act was passed this Session to prevent

The Duke of Leeds impeached. His Defence.

The Impeachment at a Stand.

An Act to prevent the Clipping of the Silver Coin.



A.D. 1695. prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the current Coin of the Kingdom.

These were the chief Occurrences that passed this Session. The Commons were still warm upon the Pursuit of Bribery; but the Day after the last Speech of the Duke of Leeds, as they were proceeding to impeach other Persons mentioned in the Report of the Committee, they were interrupted by the Black Rod, who summoned them to attend the King in the House of Peers. The King then thanked them for the Supplies they had given, but told them that his Presence being necessary abroad, he thought it proper to conclude this Session. Then the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth of June.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Massacre at Glencoe.

The Parliament in Scotland was busied this Summer upon an extraordinary Occasion. After the Death of the Lord Viscount Dundee, who was slain, as was said above, fighting for King James, his Party declined apace; and the Highlanders came in by Degrees, and submitted to King William. But some of them, being secured by the Difficulty of getting to them, or from other Motives, still held out. A Proclamation of Indemnity had been published, by which all who came in by the first of January 1692. were to be pardoned; and this not bringing in all of them, Instructions were sent to the Commanders to allow the Benefit of the Proclamation to all who would take the Oath of Allegiance, even though the Time fixed for their Submission were elapsed. There was one Mac-Jan Mac-Donald, Laird of Glencoe, who a few Days before the Time prefixed was expired, had come in, and offered to take the Oaths, but was sent by the Officer to another Place, because, as he said, he had not Power to administer them. The Laird of Glencoe upon this went away to Inverary, the chief Town in Argyleshire; but the Weather and the Roads being extremely bad, as was natural in that Countrey, and at that Season, he did not arrive there till the Day after the limited Time was expired; notwithstanding which, the Oaths were administered to him and his Attendants. About a Month after, a Body of Soldiers came to Glencoe, and were there quartered. There was for some Time a very good Correspondence between them and the Glencoe Men, the Commander being taken into the Laird's House; but on a sudden, at five o' Clock one Morning, the Soldiers fell upon their Hosts, and murdered eight and thirty Men in their Beds, set Fire to their Houses, and drove away the Cattle; the poor Women and Children being turned out in that rigorous Season without Habitation or Shelter. This horrible Barbarity was resented, as it deserved, by the Scotch Nation; and it occasioned many heavy Reflections on the Government. The King being informed of this, ordered Commissioners to enquire into it; upon whose Reports to the Parliament, the Earl of Braidalbine was committed Prisoner to Edinburgh Castle; the Execution of the Glencoe Men

was voted a Murder, and Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton voted guilty of the same. But before any Progress was made in this Affair, the Parliament was adjourned. It was ordered indeed to be resumed at their next Meeting; but whatever the Reason was, no more was heard of it.

The King went over to Holland, soon after the Parliament of England was dismissed, to attend the Operations of the Campaign. The French Success in Flanders ended with their Victory at Landen; which cost them so dear, that they could only stand upon the Defensive the Year last past; and in this Campaign Fortune proved favourable to the Confederate Arms. Their Forces consisted this Year of about twenty thousand Men more than the French; and King William was too active and vigilant to suffer that Advantage to be lost. His Intentions were to attack Namur, a strong Fortress on the Borders of the Duchy of Luxembourg, famous for the Strength of its Situation, and the vast Works cast up about it, which made it reckoned impregnable. It was a Place of no less Importance than Strength; being as it were the Key of France on that Side; there being only the Towns of Dinant and Charlemont beyond it, to cover the Province of Champagne. The King at the Beginning of the Campaign had laid a Scheme for besieging this Town; but was obliged to conceal his Intention, that if possible the Place might be invested before the French should throw in any Reinforcement, which was to be expected upon the least Suspicion of any Design that Way. And the Number and Strength of the Garrison and Fortifications made the Attempt difficult enough already. To this End he made a Feint of attacking the French on the opposite Side of the Countrey; and his Scheme succeeded so well, that he drew all their Forces that Way, without the least Suspicion on their Part of his real Intention. But as soon as he had done this he sent Orders to a Body, which he had kept for that Purpose as near Namur as he could without giving Umbrage, to go immediately and invest the Place. The French hearing of the Motion of those Troops, were very much surprised; and the Marechal Boufflers made all possible Speed that Way with a strong Reinforcement of Troops, with the famous Monsieur Megrigny, and others of their best Engineers and Gunners; and marched with such a critical Celerity, that he arrived at Namur before the Town was wholly invested, or the Lines of Circumvallation compleated; and threw himself into the Place with all the Forces he brought with him. So that the Garrison now consisted of near fifteen Thousand Men, and most of them the best Troops of France. This gave a discouraging Prospect to the Allies; but it is the Nature of great Minds, like that of King William, to be then most present and secure, when all others are filled with Despair or Doubt. He continued firm to his Purpose, and soon after came in Person with the main Body of his Army before the

The Campaign in Flanders.

The King resolves to besiege Namur.

The French throw Relief into it.

But the King persists in his Intentions.



A.D.1695. the Town; leaving a considerable Force in *Flanders* under Prince *Vaudemont* to observe the Motions of the *French* Army there under the *Mareschal de Villeroy*; who was not like to be idle in those Parts, while the King was employed in the Siege of *Namur*.

The Difficulty of the Attempt.

The Enterprize was difficult and hazardous. The Town and Castle were provided with all the Defence that Nature, Art and Expence could furnish; and there was a powerful Army on foot which might be at least able to incommode the Besiegers, if not to attack them. The Garrison was brave, numerous, well commanded, and furnished with all Necessaries in all the Abundance that could be desired. So that the *French* made no doubt of frustrating this Attempt, which they called an unparalleled Temerity, and said that *Namur* would be the Rock on which the Grand Confederacy would split. But all these great, and in Appearance invincible, Obstacles, were not able to shake King *William*. They only served to keep his Fortitude, Prudence and Vigilance awake, and make him concert effectual Measures for surmounting all Difficulties; which he did to his immortal Glory, the Astonishment of his Enemies, and the Admiration of all *Europe*.

The *French* march to attack Prince *Vaudemont*.

The Siege of *Namur* was scarce begun, before the King received Advice of a great Danger his Forces had escaped, which he had left under Prince *Vaudemont* to cover *Flanders*. As soon as the King was gone, the *French* Army under *Villeroy* put themselves in Motion. Prince *Vaudemont* not knowing their Design was much perplexed; for on the one hand he apprehended they would follow the King to *Namur*, in which case it was necessary he should attend them, to reinforce the King's Army in case of an Attack; and on the other hand he feared they might take a contrary Course, and fall upon some of the Maritime Towns of *Flanders*. He saw that if he marched to the Right he should prevent their surprizing the King, but should leave the Towns of *Flanders* exposed; if he marched to the Left, he should indeed cover those Towns, but then the *French* would be two Days March before him in their Way to *Namur*. But the *French* had neither of those Intentions the Prince suspected; but knowing that the Forces under his Command were vastly inferior to their own, were upon the March directly to attack him. The Doubt he had been in concerning their Designs, had made him stay in his Camp a whole Day without Motion; which gave the *French* such an Advantage that they came in Sight of him on the Evening of that Day. He at first ordered his Camp to be fortified, resolving to expect them; but when he saw they not only appeared in his Front, but sent a Party to secure a Post in his Rear, he began to apprehend being surrounded, and to think of making a Retreat. This seemed as dangerous as Fighting, the Enemy being so near; who were not like to miss the Opportunity of falling upon him with twice his Number of

Men, as soon as they should perceive the least Motion that Way. But it was the only Counsel that was left; and by the Prince's extraordinary Conduct and Judgment, the Motions towards retreating were so dextrously concealed, that the *French* suspected nothing of it, till the whole Army of the Allies disappeared on a sudden, and got so far the Start of the *French*, that they were unable to overtake them. Some few of the *French* Horse made a Shift to come up with them, and killed a few Men by feigning themselves of the Confederates Side, but they were soon made to retire; and by the next Morning the Troops were all secure under the Walls of *Ghent*. This Retreat was allowed by all to be one of the most glorious Retreats we find in Story; and the King wrote to Prince *Vaudemont*, that he had given in this Retreat greater Marks of a General consummate in the Art of War, than if he had won a Battle. The *French* being thus disappointed, formed a Design upon *Newport*; but it was prevented by Prince *Vaudemont*'s sending a great Reinforcement to the Garrison. This failing, they attacked *Dixmuyde* and *Deynse*, which were surrendered without firing a Gun; for which one of the Governors was punished with Death, the other with Infamy.

He makes a fine Retreat.

During this, the Siege of *Namur* went on, with such Diligence and Success on the Part of the Allies, that they gained some Advantage almost every Day; notwithstanding the furious Resistance of the Besieged, who defended the Place with all the Bravery and Skill that could be expected from valiant and experienced Soldiers. At last the Outworks being all gained by the Besiegers, and Breaches made in the innermost Fortification wide enough for an Assault, the *French* seeing that all Preparations for a Storm were ready, declined to stand it; and Count *Guiscard* who commanded in the Town sent out to capitulate. The Articles being agreed on, the *French* evacuated the Town, and retired into the Castle.

The Siege of *Namur* goes on successfully.

The Town surrendered.

While this Siege was going on, the *English* Fleet was carrying Terror along the Coast of *France*. The Town of *St. Malo's*, which was a Nest of Privateers, who had infested our Channel and trading Ships, felt the Fury of an *English* Bombardment this Summer. But the Loss they sustained on Land, was not answerable to the Mischief they did to us at Sea. The *English* afterwards set Fire to *Granville*, but were unsuccessful at *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. The *French* King so resented these Insults of the *English* on his Sea-Coasts, that he sent Orders to the *Mareschal de Villeroy* to bombard *Brussels*. Prince *Vaudemont* endeavoured to hinder his Approach; but found it impracticable without giving the *French* an Opportunity of posting themselves between him and the King's Army before *Namur*, which might have occasioned the raising of that important Siege; the King's Army being unequal to that of the *French*, unless reinforced by the Troops under the Prince's Command. So that all

The *French* Sea-Ports bombarded.



A.D. 1695. he could do was to post himself as well as he could, to secure the City of *Brussels* against any farther Attempt.

The French bombard *Brussels*.

The French Army soon after appear'd before *Brussels*, and the Marechal sent a Letter to the Governor, the Prince of *Bergben*, to let him know that he had Orders from his Master to bombard the Town, by Way of Reprizal for what the *English* did on his Coasts. That as soon as he could be assured the Sea-Ports of *France* should be no more bombarded, his Master would not bombard any Place belonging to the Princes with whom he was at War. That as he understood the Electress of *Bavaria* was within the Town, if the Governor would let him know in what Part she was, he was commanded not to fire there. The Elector of *Bavaria* had posted to *Brussels* from the Camp before *Namur*, and having seen this Letter, sent Answer, that he would acquaint the King with it, and that he should have an Answer in twenty four Hours; acquainting him also, that the Electress was at the Royal Palace. But the Marechal would not stay so long, but that very Evening began to fire upon the City with twenty five Mortar-Pieces, and eighteen Pieces of Cannon that shot red hot Bullets. It was not long before the Fire broke out in several Places. The French continued firing without Intermission all that Night, the next Day, and the Night after that; during which arose a high Wind, which would have spread the Conflagration through the City, if the Inhabitants had not blown up several Houses. But the next Day about Noon the French gave over Firing, and drew off. The lower Town suffered the most by the Enemy's Bombs, and many Houses about the Market Place were laid in Rubbish. The Electress of *Bavaria*, though she was removed to a safe Place out of the Reach of the Cannon, was so frightened with the continual Roaring that she miscarried upon it.

The Siege of the Castle of *Namur* vigorously carried on.

The Siege of the Castle of *Namur* was carried on with a Vigour, equal if not superior to that of the Town. The Besiegers having opened the Trenches, erected no less than twelve Batteries; from whence they played upon the Castle with such Fury as was never known since Gun-powder was invented. The Air was filled with Fire and Smoke, and the Thunder of the Cannon and Mortars; which sent into the Castle such incessant Showers of Bombs and red-hot Bullets, as drove all the Garrison into subterraneous Shelters, except those who by the Discipline of War were obliged to be upon Duty, and stand the terrible Brunt as well as they could. This Fury was accompanied with such a Regularity of Proceeding, that all the Attempts of the Garrison to disturb the Besiegers were continually frustrated.

The Marechal de *Villeroy* unwilling to bear the Loss of so important a Place without attempting to relieve it, drew together a considerable Reinforcement from the neighbouring Towns, and joining these to his own Forces marched towards *Namur*.

Prince *Vaudemont* upon this moved with all his Troops the same Way, and posted himself in a strong Camp within five Miles of *Namur*. The Marechal de *Villeroy* made some Offers of attacking the Confederates, but he found the Enterprize too dangerous to be undertaken in earnest. And the King feared him so little, that he gave Orders for a general Attack of the Castle in Sight of the whole French Army; one of the most memorable that ever was made, whether we consider the Extent and Strength of the Works that were to be attacked, the Valour and Skill of the Garrison that defended them, or the Intrepidity and Conduct with which the Besiegers overcame all Difficulties and Opposition. At last after an Action of several Hours, the Allies possessed themselves, though not of all, yet of a great Part of the Enemy's Works; so that finding a second Assault preparing for, the Garrison desired to capitulate. And the Articles being with little Difficulty agreed on, in three Days Time the Castle was delivered up. The King gained immortal Glory by succeeding in this Enterprize, which was thought at first so hazardous. And he had the Satisfaction to find it acknowledged by all, that his own Prudence and Bravery was the undisputed Cause of his Success; to which Fortune seemed to have relinquished any Claim.

A general Attack made upon it.

The Garrison capitulates.

The Marechal de *Villeroy*, being informed of the Surrender of the Castle of *Namur*, by a triple Discharge of all the Artillery, and three Salvoes in a running Fire along the Lines of the Confederate Army, laid aside all Thoughts of Fighting; and having sent two Thousand Men to reinforce the Garrison of *Dinant*, he marched with the rest of his Army towards *Mons*. As the Garrison marched out of the Castle the Marechal *Boufflers* was arrested by the King's Order, and seized, by Way of Reprisal for the Garrisons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynse*, who were detained contrary to the Capitulation, and many of them forced to list in the French Service. The Arrest of so great an Officer brought the French to Reason; and the Marechal having received Permission to engage his Word for the Release of those Garrisons, he was soon after set at Liberty; and conducted to *Dinant*. And not long after this both the Armies separated.

In *Catalonia* the Spaniards were not so unsuccessful as they had been the last Years. Two considerable Parties of the French were beaten by them; and they besieged *Palamos* with such Success, that they had certainly taken the Place, if Admiral *Ruffel*, who with his Fleet assisted them in the Siege, had not been obliged to leave it upon a false Report that the French Fleet intended to sail from *Toulon* into the Ocean. But this put an End to the Progress of the Spaniards, and the Campaign with it.

The Campaign in *Catalonia*.

The Campaign in *Italy* was still less favourable to the French, by the Loss they had of the important Place of *Casal*. This Fortrefs had been blocked up a long Time

The Campaign in *Italy*.



A.D. 1695. by the Confederate Forces to little Purpose, upon which a Siege was resolved on, and prosecuted with so much Success, that in a few Days the Allies became Masters of it. It was agreed in the Capitulation that the Fortifications should be demolished; and the Duke of Savoy, who was leaning towards the French, caused that Work to go on so slowly, that it kept the Confederates from attempting any other Enterprize this Campaign. On the Rhine nothing was done; the two Armies offering and avoiding Battle in their several Turns.

The Parliament dissolved.

The King makes a Progress.

An idle Report of a Design to poison him at Oxford.

The Parliament meets.

A Bill for regulating Trials for High-Treason.

The King returned to England on the eleventh of October, where the first Thing he did was to dissolve the present Parliament, and call another to meet a Month after, during which the King made a Progress; in the Course of which he made a Visit to Oxford. Being received there with the usual Formalities, it was expected he would dine there; and accordingly a magnificent Entertainment was provided. But it happened that a Letter fell into the Hands of the Duke of Ormond, the Chancellor, which intimated that a Design was laid to poison the King at Dinner; which being shewn him by the Duke, the King inconsiderately giving it Credit, resolved neither to eat nor drink there, but immediately took Coach for Windsor; excusing himself from going to see the Colleges by saying, that this was a Visit of Kindness and not of Curiosity, he having seen the University before. This Slight put upon that eminent Body, and so extreme a Caution upon such slender Grounds, seem unsuitable to the King's Character both for Prudence and Courage, and they were accordingly much resented.

The Parliament met Nov. 22. and chose Paul Foley, Esq; Speaker. The King's Speech was upon the usual Topicks; and was answered by suitable Addresses from both Houses. The first Thing the Commons went upon, was a Bill for regulating Tryals in Cases of High-Treason, which had been lost in former Parliaments, but now passed both Houses. By this excellent Law many Hardships which had before lien on Prisoners in those Cases were removed; and they were allowed to speak for themselves by Council. It was ordered that upon the Tryal of any Peer or Peeres for Treason, all the Peers who had Right to vote in Parliament, should be summoned to appear and vote upon the Tryal. This Bill having passed, the Commons voted two Million five hundred Thousand Pounds for the Navy; two Million seven Thousand eight Hundred and eighty two Pounds for the Land Forces; sixteen Thousand nine Hundred and seventy two Pounds for the Officers of the Marine Regiments; and five hundred Thousand Pounds for the Office of Ordnance, Pay of General Officers, Transports, and other Contingencies.

These large Supplies being granted, they resolved to raise them by a Land Tax of four Shillings in the Pound, and continuing the Duties on Wines, Vinegar, Tobacco,

East-India Goods, and Salt; and by laying a Duty on French Wines, Brandies, and Vinegar. A.D. 1695.

But the most important Affair that employed the Parliament, was the State of the Coin. How it was corrupted, has been above taken notice of; and if the Law made the last Parliament had put a Stop to the Progress of the Mischief, it could not remedy that which was already done. The House of Commons in a Grand Committee took this weighty Matter into Consideration.

The ruinous State of the Coin.

The first Question was, whether it was necessary or expedient to recoin the Silver Money; upon which the House was divided, and the Arguments were weighty on both Sides. The Reasons against calling in and recoinning the Silver Money were: That it was not a fit Conjuncture; that the Nation was engaged in a burthensome and doubtful War, by which the Kingdom had already greatly suffered, and of which it grew every Day more sensible. That therefore the People on whose Affection the Government so much depended, should not be provoked by fresh Grievances, and those greater than any they had yet felt; as those would certainly be, that must arise from calling in the Silver Coin. That if this was done, however Things might be managed or accommodated at home, it would be impossible to maintain either the Commerce or the War abroad; for neither the Merchant would receive his Bills of Exchange, nor the Soldier his Subsistence. That if this Design should be prosecuted, Trade must stand still for want of mutual Payments, whence such Disorder and Confusion would certainly follow as would dishearten and discourage the People to the highest Degree, and perhaps reduce them to Despair, which might carry them to terrible Extremities. That therefore the recoinning the Money at this Time, was not to be attempted without hazarding all.

Debates about recoinning the Silver Money.

Arguments against it.

It was alledged by those of a contrary Opinion, at the Head of whom appeared Mr. Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Halifax; that the Mischief would be fatal if a present Remedy was not found out and applied. That by reason of the ill State of the Coin, the Exchange abroad was infinitely to the Nation's Prejudice. That the Supplies raised to maintain the Army would never answer their End, being so much diminished by the unequal Exchange and exorbitant Premiums, before they reached the Camp. That this was the Cause that the Guineas advanced to thirty Shillings, and foreign Gold in Proportion; and that therefore not only the Dutch, but all other Nations of Europe, would send that Commodity to this Market; till by exchanging our Goods or our Silver for their Gold, we should at last have only Guineas to trade with; which no Body could think our Neighbours would take back at the Value they went for here. That upon these Accounts this Disease would every Day take deeper Root, infect the very Vitals of the Nation,

And for it.



A.D.1695. Nation, and if not remedied, would soon become incurable. That our Enemies must be mightily intimidated by so great an Action, and would sooner agree to honourable Terms of Peace; in case they saw us able to surmount this Difficulty, by retrieving the ill State of our Coin, on which their Hopes of the Nation's speedy Ruin so much depended; and that it would justly create a mighty Esteem abroad of the Wisdom and Greatness of the Parliament of England, which was able to conquer such an obstinate and almost insuperable Evil in such a Juncture of Affairs.

The latter Side prevails. The whole Matter being fully debated and considered, the Commons resolved to call in and recoin the Silver Money, chusing rather to run the Hazard of some great Inconveniences by attempting the Cure of the Disease, than by longer neglecting it, to expose the Kingdom to apparent Ruin.

Farther Debates on the same Subject. This Step being made, the next was to consider whether the several Denominations of the new Money should have the same Weight and Fineness as the old, or whether the established Standard should be raised? And this Question produced many Debates. Some were for raising the Standard; and gave it as their Reason, that the Price of Silver in Bullion being then at six Shillings and three Pence the Ounce, it was necessary to raise the Value of the same when coined to the same Price; otherwise if the Silver in Bullion were dearer than the same in Coin, the Consequence must infallibly be that the Coin would be melted down. That this raising of the Value of the Coin would prevent the Exportation of it, and would besides encourage People to bring their Plate and Bullion to the Mint.

On the other Side it was argued, that this Rise of the Value of Silver Bullion was a mere Fallacy; that it was true People commonly gave 6s. 3d. an Ounce for Bullion, but that was only when they paid for it in clipt Money; which were Shillings and Pence in Name only, but were no more so in the just Sense of the Word, than an Ell can be said to be an Ell after the third Part of it is cut off. That this was so evident, that it was Matter of Fact at that Time, that though with clipt Pieces one could not purchase Bullion under 6s. 3d. the Ounce; yet with new milled Pieces which had not suffered any Diminution, one might buy as much Bullion as one pleased at 5s. 2d. This being made clear, it was easy to see that all that imaginary Value to which the Coin should be raised above its native Worth must be in the Course of Exchange so much Loss to us abroad, and some Time or other a great Detriment at home.

The Commons resolve that the Silver Money be recoined. After the Debates on this Subject, the Commons resolved to recoin the clipt Money according to the established Standard of the Mint, both as to Weight and Fineness; and to make it more easy to the People, they voted a Recompence for the Deficiency of the clipt Money, and that the Loss of such clipt Money should be born by the

Publick, and a Fund of one Million two hundred Thousand Pounds was to be settled for that Purpose, which Sum was afterwards raised by the Tax on Window-Lights.

The Parliament was sensible of the Inconveniences that would attend the calling in and recoinng the Silver Money; the principal of which would be a Cessation of Payments, and thereupon an Interruption of Commerce. They therefore agreed to call in the old Money by Degrees, that while some Denominations of Coin were suppressed, others might be Current; hoping that before the last Money should come in to be recoined, so much of the new might circulate from the Mint, as might answer the Necessities of the Nation. Thereupon they resolved, "First, That a Day should be appointed, after which no clipt Crowns, or Half-Crowns, nor any Money clipt within the Ring should pass in Payment, unless towards the King's Revenue. Secondly, That a Day be appointed, after which no clipt Money should pass in any Payment whatsoever. Thirdly, That a Day be appointed for all Persons to bring in their clipt Money, to be recoined into Milled-Money, after which no Recompence should be made for the same"; and the King issued out his Proclamation pursuant to these Resolutions.

The Days appointed by the King's Proclamation for putting a Stop to the Currency of clipt Money were so sudden, that thereby an immediate Stop was put to Trade. This was partly occasioned by the Backwardness of the People to receive any old Money though allowed for the present to pass, apprehending that it would at last be left upon their Hands; partly from the Slowness of Recoining, in Respect to the People's Wants, though dispatched with all the Expedition imaginable in so great an Affair; and partly from the unequal intrinsic Value between the new-milled Money, and those Pieces or Denominations of the old Money which were allowed to be Current. For while the hammered Money, and Pieces not clipt within the Ring, were permitted to pass for the Necessity of Trade, no body was willing to make Payments in new Money, which so much exceeded the old in its intrinsic Worth. And therefore the new Silver-Money, as fast as it issued from the Mints and the Exchequer, generally stopped in the Hands of the first Receivers; for none were disposed to make Payments in the new Silver Coin at the old Standard, when they could do it in Pieces so much below it. Those who had no Payments to make, kept their new Money in their Chests, like Medals or Rarities; and there was Reason to believe, that at first a great deal of the new Money, by the Help of the Melting-Pot, went abroad in Ingots to purchase Gold there, which, by the high Price of Guineas which were at 30s. was become a very profitable Commodity in England. These Inconveniences being represented to the Commons, the House in a grand Committee consider'd

Regulations to prevent the Inconveniences that might arise from thence.

The Difficulties the Publick underwent.



A.D. 1696. considered the State of the Nation; and how to prevent the Stop of Commerce during the Re-coining of the clipt Moneys. After some Debates on several Days the Commons resolved, "That the Recompence for supplying the Deficiency of clipt Money, should extend to all clipt Money which was Silver, though of a coarser Alloy than the Standard. Secondly, that such Money be received in all Payments towards his Majesty's Revenue. Thirdly, that a Reward of five Pound *per Cent.* be allowed to all who should bring in either milled or broad unclipt Money, to be applied in Exchange of the clipt Money throughout the Kingdom. Fourthly, that a Reward of 3 *d.* *per* Ounce be given to all Persons who should bring in wrought Plate to the Mint to be re-coined. Fifthly, that for the sooner bringing in the clipt Money any Person might pay in their whole next Year's Tax of 4 *s.* in the Pound, in the said clipt Money, at one convenient Time appointed for that Purpose. Lastly, that Commissioners be appointed in every County, to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipt Money, and the new coined Money, and to receive the clipt Money". A Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill upon these Resolutions, which after a second Reading was committed to a Committee of the whole House. It was resolved afterwards to give a farther Encouragement for the bringing in of Plate to be coined, and of broad Money to be exchanged for clipt Money. And two Clauses were inserted in the Bill, one to prevent the melting and Exportation of the Coin, and another to prohibit the Use of Plate in Publick Houses. This last proved the best Expedient to supply the Mints with Silver; there being few Publick Houses who had not Silver Tankards, and other Utensils of the same Metal; the Use of which being prohibited, the Owners chose rather to carry them to the Mint, and turn them into ready Money, than to let them lie useless at home.

A Debate about the Price of Guineas.

At last a Bill for regulating the ill State of the Coin of this Kingdom, passed the Houses and the Royal Assent; at which Time the King gave his Sanction also to the famous Act for regulating Trials in Cases of High-Treason. The next Thing the House of Commons took into Consideration was, the high Value to which Guineas were raised. This produced a Debate. The Reasons against lowering the Price of Guineas were, that the People were easie, and pleased with it; that Abundance of People would be Losers, in whose Hands the Guineas should be found at last, which would raise great Disturbance and Clamour in the Nation; and therefore in that Juncture of Affairs it was not proper to incense the People, who had already suffered so much by the War. On the other Hand it was argued, that there was as great Reason to bring down Guineas, as to recoin the Silver Money at the old Standard. That though

the Parliament, by the Necessity of Affairs A.D. 1696. was obliged to suffer for a Time the Guineas to pass at that excessive Rate, that, in some Measure, there might be a Currency of Money, while the Mints were employed in new coining the Silver; yet that now they were obliged to sink the Price of them nearer the old Standard, that the Silver Money might not be stoppt and hoarded up as fast as it issued from the Mints. And that whatever Losses and Inconveniencies private Persons might suffer by the reducing of Guineas, yet that the Mischiefs that arose, and would daily increase by not doing it, did vastly overballance those on the other Side. Upon this it was resolved to lower the Price of Guineas, but that it might be done with the less Grievance and Dilquiet to the People, they were at first reduced to eight and twenty Shillings; thirteen Days after to twenty six, and at last a Clause was inserted in the Bill for encouraging the bringing Plate to the Mint, by which they were settled at two and twenty Shillings; from whence they naturally sunk to their former Price of one and twenty Shillings and six Pence. However, though the Parliament lowered the Value of the Guineas, hoping to bring out the new Money into Circulation, yet by the Artifice and Management of some Men, the People were made to believe that the Price of Gold would be raised the next Session; upon which Abundance of Men that had great Sums of Guineas, kept them close in their Chests. By this Means, though the Circulation of the new Money was a little promoted, yet that of Guineas, by which the Nation chiefly subsisted, was considerably obstructed. The new Silver Money too, which People were made to believe, would be also advanced in Value when the Parliament should next meet, was for that Reason much hoarded up, to the great Damage of Commerce. Another Evil arose during the re-coining of the Money; namely, a general Loss of Credit, which shook the State. But this was cured by a seasonable and wise Remedy, which the Parliament found out the next Session. And such Diligence was used, not only in the Mint at the Tower, but likewise in those which the King ordered to be set up at York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester; that at last, to the immortal Honour of the Parliament in general, and of Mr. Montague in particular, who was the chief Manager, this difficult Undertaking was happily accomplished; on the Steps of which we have been the more large, on Account of the Rarity as well as Importance of this remarkable Transaction.

With this prudent Care of the National Concerns, the Parliament mixed some Proceedings not agreeable to the King. An Act of Parliament had, it seems, passed in Scotland, for erecting there a Company trading to Africa and the East-Indies; in which it was provided that the Ships, Goods, Members and Servants of that Company, should be free from all Duties and Burthens for

Their Price lowered from 30 *s.* to 22 *s.*

The Inconveniencies felt by the Publick at this Time.

A Scotch East-India and African Company erected



A.D. 1696. for one and twenty Years. Another Clause was also therein, that in Case of any Damage done to the Company, the King would interpose his Authority to have Reparation made them; and that upon the Publick Charge. This Act produced an Address from the *English* Lords and Commons jointly, laying before him the great Detriment that would arise to the *English East-India* Trade from this *Scotch* Establishment, occasioned by the Advantages granted by the first of those Clauses to the one and the Burthens with which the other was oppressed, to the utter Ruine of the *English* Trade in Course of Time; and that by the second Clause the King seemed to be engaged to employ the Naval Strength of the Nation to support this new Company, so detrimental to his *English* Subjects. The King answered them with his usual Moderation, that he had been ill served in *Scotland*, but that he hoped some Remedies might be found to prevent the Inconveniencies which might arise from that Act. But the Commons went still farther, impeaching a great Number of Persons of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, who were concerned in it. But one *Roderick Mackenzie*, who had given Evidence against those Persons, changing his Mind, made his Escape while the Committee was drawing up the Impeachments; and though the King issued out a Proclamation to apprehend him, he got away; which lamed all farther Proceedings. But upon this Occasion a Bill was ordered to be brought in for erecting a Council of Trade.

The *English* Parliament address against it.

A Grant made to the Earl of *Portland*.

The Commons address against it.

Another Affair was, about this Time, brought before the House of Commons, which touched the King very sensibly. The Earl of *Portland* had, it seems, begged of the King the Lordships of *Denboigh*, *Bromfield* and *Yale*, in the County of *Denbeigh*, which the King, whose Weakness lay towards his Favourites, granted, not only to him, but to his Heirs for ever; an Instance of his Favour not only too great in it self, but especially at that Time unreasonable, when the Burden of supporting the Crown lay so heavy upon the Nation. This Warrant coming before the Lords of the Treasury, the Gentlemen of the County desired to be heard against the Grant; and their Reasons appeared so weighty, that the Lords of the Treasury promised to represent them to the King. From the Treasury the Gentlemen attended the Grant to the Privy-Seal, where their Complaints were candidly heard; but the Grant being as yet only superseded, but not recalled, they addressed themselves by Petition to the House of Commons. Upon this Occasion Mr. *Price*, a Member of that House, set forth the Exorbitancy of that Grant in such strong Colours, that he drew the House to address the King against it; who finding no Remedy but Compliance, said to them that he had a Kindness for my Lord *Portland*, which he had deserved by long and faithful Services; that he should not have given him those

Lands, if he could have imagined the A.D. 1696. House of Commons would have been so much concerned; but that since they were so, he would recal the Grant, and find some other Way of shewing him his Favour.

The Diminution which these Proceedings of the Parliament had brought on King *William's* Royal Dignity, was made up to him about a Month after by the Discovery of a Plot, which, as usual, raised the Spirits of his Friends, as much as it discountenanced those who were not well affected to him. The Correspondence that was always kept on Foot between the *Jacobites* here, and King *James's* Court at *St. Germain*, began to form it self into a regular Scheme for the Restoration of that Prince. It was projected that an Invasion should be made from *France*, which should be countenanced and promoted by a sudden Assassination of King *William*, and the Confusion it was expected the Nation would fall into upon such a terrible and unforeseen Accident. But when this Scheme was communicated in *England*, most of those who agreed to assist the Invasion, upon their mistaken Notions of Duty and Loyalty, had too true a Sense of Honour and Conscience to agree to the Assassination, and declared themselves against it. Some few only consented to it, who kept their Counsels to themselves, without communicating the same even to those of their own Party who were of a different Mind. The Court of *St. Germain*, who lived in *French* Air, and were not so much touched with those Notions of Generosity that *English* Liberty inspires, endeavoured to keep up both these separate Parties, and to give Encouragement to both. It was agreed between that Court and the Party for the Assassination, that the Blow should be given at the Beginning of 1695. But this did not take Effect, and the King got in Safety to his Army in *Flanders*.

This put off all farther Attempts till his Return, so that the Summer of 1695. was spent in Consultations about bringing on the Invasion, that it might fall in with the proposed Murder of the King. They sent one Mr. *Charnock* to solicit the Invasion at the *French* Court, and to procure a Commission from King *James*, which was, as some say, to attack the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters, by which was understood the killing him; or, as others say, only to levy War against him. The Court of *France* gave Ear to the Proposal of an Invasion, but acted with so much Refinement, that they gave *Charnock* a positive Denial; saying, that the King of *France* could not spare so many Men. Nevertheless they went on with the Preparations for this Expedition, and with such Secrecy, that King *James* himself did not know the Reasons of them, till every Thing was just ready. Then in December 1695. the Commission was brought over by Sir *George Barclay*, who being either ordered, or disposed of himself to assist the Invasion by taking off the King, fell

The Assassination Plot.



A.D. 1696. in with those *Jacobites* who agreed to that wicked Part of the Design. Several Ways were proposed to effect this. Some indeed were for only seizing the King, and carrying him alive into *France*, but this was laughed at. Others proposed to kill the King at *Kensington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Dead of Night, but this was laid aside as impracticable. Others again were for murdering him as he came on *Sundays* from *Kensington* to St. *James's* Chapel; for which Purpose forty Men well armed were to attack the Guards, which did not then exceed twenty five in Number, while six Men on Foot should shut *Hide-Park* Gate, and the rest assassinate the King. It was also proposed to kill the Coach Horses as they were entering into the Park, that the Passage being stopped, the Guards might be prevented from coming up, till the Assassins had done their Work. Another Proposal was to murder the King as he returned from Hunting, in a narrow Lane near *Richmond*, leading to the *Thames*, on the other Side of the Water, about an hundred and fifty Paces long; in which there is a Gate, that, when shut, would hinder Coaches and Horses from coming that Way. One of the Conspirators was sent to view this Ground, and another to survey the Lane abovementioned; but Sir *George Barclay* disapproved it; so that this Project also was laid aside. At last they all fixed upon a Place between *Turnham-Green* and *Brentford*, in a Moorish Bottom, where there is a Bridge, and divers Roads that cross one another. On the North-Side there is a Road that goes round *Brentford*, and on the South, a Lane that leads to the River, so that Passengers may come thither several Ways. After passing the Bridge the Road grows narrow, having on one Side a Foot Path, and on the other a high thick Hedge; and here this wicked Attempt was to be perpetrated. And indeed, all Circumstances considered, a fitter Place could hardly have been found; for the King often returned late from Hunting, and usually passed through this Lane, after landing at *Queen's-Ferry*, attended with only five or six of his Guards. For it was his Custom to enter the Ferry-Boat in his Coach, and as soon as he landed on this Side of the Water, to go on without expecting the rest of the Guards, who waited on the *Surrey* Side, till the Ferry-Boat returned to bring them over. For this Purpose the Conspirators were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches three several Ways; one Party being to attack the Guards in the Front, another in the Rear, while a third was to fall upon the King himself in his Coach. The fifteenth Day of *February* was appointed for the Execution of this horrible Design.

But all the while this was transacting, the Court had an Account of what passed by one *Richard Fisher*, who was informed by one *Harrison* a Priest, who took him to be of their Party. One Mr. *Grimes* also gave

some Information. But these either not A.D. 1696. knowing, or refusing to tell the Names of the Conspirators, their Informations were but little regarded.

While these Things passed in *England*, The Preparations in new Levies were made in *France* during the Winter of 1695. and a great Number of Forces were ordered to file off towards *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. A Squadron of Men of War, with four Hundred Transports, and thirty Battalions to be put on Board them were provided there, in order to invade *England* as soon as the Blow should be given; and the Forces were to be commanded by King *James* in Person. The Conjunction was very favourable to this Enterprize. A very inconsiderable Number of Troops was then in *England*; the great Ships were many of them laid up, and those who were fitted out had Orders to sail to the *Streights*; and besides, the true Design of the *French* in bringing together this Force was not suspected. But the Divine Providence which has so often saved these Nations, was pleased to dissipate this Storm also.

On the fourteenth of *February* one Mr. *Pendergrafs* came at Night to the Earl of *Portland*, and without Ceremony accosted him in these Words: *Pray, my Lord, persuade the King to stay at home to Morrow; for if he goes abroad to hunt, he will be murdered.* This unusual Information made the Earl carry him to the King, though it were so late. He then laid before the King the whole Plot; and his Behaviour appearing suitable to a Man of Honour, great Stress was laid upon what he said. The next Day the same Discovery was made by another Person, Mr. *de la Rue*. These two Informations agreed very well together, but both of them peremptorily refused to name the Conspirators. But at last the King, taking them separately into his Closet, found Means to prevail upon them, a Promise being made them that they should not be used as Evidences.

These Discoveries not being as yet known publicly, King *James* on the eighteenth of *February*, came in a Post Chaise to *Calais*; upon whose Arrival the Troops, Artillery and Stores were ordered to be put Aboard with all possible Diligence. This being done in the Neighbourhood of *Flanders*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other Commanders of the Confederate Troops there, were soon informed of it; and apprehending the Danger *England* was in, gave the King Notice by several Expresses; and the Duke of *Wurtemberg* stopped all the Ships at *Ostend* and *Bruges*, and sent over to *England* the Forces under his Command for the King's Service. But before this was done, the King had received the Information above related; and the Measures taken here soon put a Stop to the intended Invasion. A Proclamation was issued out for the apprehending of the Conspirators; the Forces in *England* were put in a Readiness to march, and a Train of Artillery was prepared to attend them.

The Ways that were proposed to kill the King

A Place fixed on.

The Plot discovered by Mr. *Pendergrafs*.



A.D. 1696. them. Admiral *Ruffel* went to Deal to command the Fleet; which by a wonderful Providence, had been detained in the Downs by contrary Winds for some Weeks. And this Fleet being reinforced by other Men of War from the River, and twelve Dutch Ships from *Spithead*, in five or six Days the Admiral had near sixty Men of War, with which he stood over to *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, and the Appearance of his Ships put an utter Stop to any farther Progress towards the Invasion of England.

The King communicates the same to the Parliament.

The King having now sufficient Evidence of the Reality of the Conspiracy, went and acquainted the Parliament with it. His Speech was seconded by another made in the House of Commons by Sir *William Trumbull*, Secretary of State, an able and dexterous Minister; who knowing how commonly (and often how reasonably) the Truth of Plots is suspected, laid before the House the Credibility of the present Informations so skilfully, that every one was perfectly satisfy'd. The Lords and Commons join'd in an Address to the King full of Duty, Affection and Loyalty; and the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in to empower the King to secure dangerous Persons; to which they added another, enacting, That in Case of the King's Death the Parliament should continue to sit; or if no Parliament were then in Being, that the last preceding Parliament should convene and sit.

An Association entered in to by the Parliament.

After this an Association was brought in to the House, by which the Members engaged themselves to support the King against the late King *James*, and all his Adherents to the utmost of their Power; and, in case the King should come to any violent or untimely Death, to revenge it upon his Enemies and their Adherents. This Association was signed by many of them with Reluctancy, but the Tide ran so strong that they feared to oppose it. And soon after it was presented to the King by the Commons in a Body; who desired it might be lodged among the Records in the Tower, as a Monument of their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty; which the King, after returning them Thanks for this Proof of their Affection, promised them should be done. The House of Lords presented their Association not long after, and the Example of the two Houses was followed by all the Corporations of the three Nations.

After this a Committee of the Commons was appointed to examine Sir *William Parkyns* and Sir *John Friend*, who had been accused and apprehended for the Plot. The first owned his being privy to the Assassination, that he had intended to assist the Invasion; and that he had seen a Commission from the late King *James* to levy War against the Prince of *Orange* and all his Adherents. Sir *John Friend* disowned any Knowledge of the Assassination; but confessed that he intended to assist King *James*. This Report being made, it was unanimously resolved that a Bill be brought in for the bet-

ter Security of the King's Person and Government, by which Nonjurors were to be made subject to the Penalties of *Papish* Recusants; the Association was ratified, and all Persons who would not sign it, were disabled from enjoying any Office; and a Penalty was inflicted on those who should deny King *William's* lawful Title to the Crown, or assert King *James's*. The Hardships laid upon Nonjurors by this Bill, made it liable to some Censure; though in other Respects acknowledged both just and prudent. It was said that those Penalties would fall most heavily upon conscientious but weak Persons; who were never likely to disturb the Government, though they were suffered to live in quiet. That such Persons by forbearance and gentle Usage might in good Time be brought to Reason; whereas now, finding themselves exposed to Suffering for what they thought a Matter of Conscience, they would be only tempted to hold their fond Mistake so much the faster.

In the next Place came on the Trials of such of the Conspirators as had been secured. The first was the Trial of Mr. *Robert Charnock*, Lieutenant King, and one *Thomas Keyes*; who upon a full Evidence were found Guilty of High-Treason, and executed. Before Execution, they delivered Papers to the Sheriffs, in which they confessed the Crime they were accused of, but endeavoured to palliate and defend it. Next to these, Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkyns* were convicted and executed. Sir *John Friend* denied his Knowledge of the Invasion and Assassination; but Sir *William Parkyns* confessed that he was privy to a Design upon the Prince of *Orange*, but was not to act in it. It was observed, that Sir *William Parkyns*, at the Place of Execution, was absolved by three Nonjuring Clergymen, which gave great Offence, and two of them were committed to *Newgate*; but no Punishment was inflicted on them. After these, Brigadier *Rookwood*, Major *Lowick*, and Mr. *Cranburn* were tried, found guilty, and executed; the latter professing himself a Protestant, the other two being Papists. Two others, *Cooke* and *Knightley* were afterwards tried and convicted, and the latter by his own Confession. But the King entirely pardoned the latter, and gave Leave to the other to transport himself beyond Sea.

The Affairs done in Parliament to the End of the Session, were not very material. They fell into a Proposal for establishing a National Land-Bank; and a Bill for that Purpose passed both Houses; but the Project proved not only useless but mischievous. A Bill passed both Houses for farther regulating the Elections of Members to sit in Parliament; but this being presented to the King with other Bills on the tenth of April, he refused his Assent to it. This was so resented by the Commons, that a Question was put, that whosoever advised the King to that Refusal, was an Enemy to the King and Kingdom;

A.D. 1696. A severe Law against Nonjurors.

The Trials of the Conspirators.

Proceedings of Parliament.



A.D. 1696. dom; but it was carried in the Negative by a great Majority. The King came to the House of Peers a second Time April 27. when having passed other Bills that were ready, he prorogued the Parliament. A few Days after he embarked for *Holland*, where he arrived on the seventh of May.

The Campaigns abroad generally unactive.

A Treaty of Peace set on Foot.

The Occurrences of the War this Year were not of much Importance. In *Flanders* the two Armies spent the Summer in observing each other, the Sinews of War being equally wanting in both Camps; in the *French* by reason of the general Poverty introduced by the ambitious and expensive Projects, by which its Monarch had ruined his Subjects, while he disturbed the World; and in the *English* on account of the recoin-ing the Money. The Condition of both Armies made the Way easier for a Negotiation of Peace, begun by Monsieur *Callieres*, and set on foot by the *French* King; who finding the Confederates gaining upon him, and his Kingdom exhausted, began to dread the final Event of the War. Whether he had not at that Time the Project he afterwards executed so successfully, of advancing his Grandson to the Throne of *Spain*, may be reckoned uncertain. Monsieur *Callieres* addressed himself to the *Dutch* first, partly because they were thought the most inclined to a Peace of any of the Confederates; and partly because King *William* had never been yet acknowledged by the Court of *France*. The Offers made by *Callieres* were so plausible, that the States gave Ear to them; and they being communicated to the other Allies, were so well received, that it was agreed on all Hands by the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, to send Plenipotentiaries to finish what was so well begun.

In *Catalonia* there happened a small Action between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which ended to the Advantage of the *French*, but was in it self of no great Consequence. On the *Rhine* Things passed also with the usual Inaction.

The Affairs of Italy.

The main Business of the Confederacy lay on the Side of *Italy*. During the Winter the Court of *France* renewed their Intrigues with the Duke of *Savoy*, to engage him to a separate Peace. The Pope's Nuncio, and the *Venetian* Envoy seconded the Designs of that Crown, and made in the *French* King's Name such advantageous Offers to the Duke, that he at last resolved to accept them. For being only bound by Honour to the Allies, he was easily prevailed on to come over to the *French*, who made him theirs by Interest; a Tie that uses to be much more forcible with Princes than the other. Besides other advantageous Offers the *French* made him, a Match was proposed between the Duke's eldest Daughter, and the *Dauphin's* eldest Son, the Duke of *Burgundy*. It was not safe to carry on this Treaty at *Turin*, where the Duke's Steps would be narrowly watched by the Ministers of the Allies; for which Reason the Duke gave out, that he had formerly obliged himself by a Vow to make a Pilgrimage to the Image of the Vir-

gin *Mary* at *Loretto*, and that his Conscience A.D. 1696. would not permit him to defer it any longer. The Ministers of the Allies were startled at this sudden Fit of Devotion in a Man of the Duke's Character, and easily found that something must be hid under it. The Lord *Galloway* upon that offered his Service to accompany the Duke; but his Royal Highness with equal Dissimulation, refused to give his Excellency so much Trouble. This increased the Suspicions already conceived, and the Lord *Galloway* sent Spies after him. But though a Treaty was signed at *Loretto* by the Duke, through the Mediation of the Agents of *Rome* and *Venice*, the Spies could get no Notice of it. By this Treaty the *French* restored to the Duke all they had taken from him in the War, gave him four Million Livres to repair the Damages he had received in it; and agreed to a Marriage between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*.

When the Duke was returned to *Turin*, he still kept up his Dissimulation; partly because the Allies had great Forces in his Countrey, and partly because he desired to secure the Subsidies due to him from the Confederates. But the King of *England*, at so great a Distance, was better informed than his Minister at *Turin*; and sent the Duke of *Savoy* the Articles concluded on between him and *France*. The Duke was much surprized at the Discovery; but persisted to deny it, till the *French* coming to his Assistance encouraged him to throw off his Disguise. At last he thought it needless and useless to dissemble any longer, and signed openly the Treaty he had made with the *French* before in private. The Forces of the Allies retired from his Countrey into the *Milanese*, whither the Duke followed them at the Head of his own, and the *French* Troops, and laid Siege to *Valentia*. Thus, by an Adventure not paralleled in Story, the same General commanded two hostile Armies in the same Campaign; nay, 'tis certain that while he had not yet openly declared himself, he gave Orders in both at the same time, being acknowledged by both for their Commander. But before *Valentia* was taken, an Express brought the Consent of the Allies to the Neutrality of *Italy*, which had been some time in Agitation. And this News put an End to all Motions on that Side.

His deep Dissimulation.

The Duke of *Savoy* forakes the Allies.

The King came over from *Holland* on the sixteenth of *October*, and in four Days after met the Parliament. He acquainted them with the Overtures made by the *French* towards a Peace; observing to them however the Necessity of treating Sword in Hand with so faithless an Enemy, and of a Supply by Consequence equal to those of former Years. And to shew his Concern for the Publick, he hinted to them that some Inconveniencies relating to the Coin were still unremedied; and that it was necessary to find Expedients for the Recovery of Publick Credit, which was in a languishing Condition.

The Parliament meets.

The



A.D. 1696.

Their Proceedings.

The Commons answer'd the King's Speech with a suitable Address, and went upon the three great Affairs recommended to them from the Throne. As to the first, they resolved not to alter the Standard of the Gold and Silver Coin; and because the Circulation of Guineas had been obstructed by the Causes above-mention'd, Encouragement was given to coin Gold at the Mint. They then prepared two Bills for the recoinage of the broad unclipp'd Money, and to encourage the bringing in of Plate to the Mint.

They voted a Supply in the next place of two Million three hundred and seventy two thousand one hundred ninety seven Pounds for the Navy, and two Million five hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and eighty two Pounds for the Land-Forces, with one hundred twenty five thousand Pounds assigned for making good the Deficiency in recoinage the broad Money, and the Recompences ordered for bringing in Plate to be coined. The first two Sums were to be raised by a Poll and Land-Tax, and the latter by Duties upon Plate, and upon Paper, Vellum, &c.

The ruinous State of Publick Credit.

But the great Difficulty the Parliament had to overcome, was the Loss of Publick Credit. Loans of Money had been formerly made to the King upon Funds, which had either proved deficient, or were so remote in the Course of Payment, that it was a great Disadvantage to those who had advanced the Money upon them. This had been a great Inconvenience to the Publick on two Accounts; first, as it was a Loss and Detriment to the Possessors of the Tallies, who were very numerous; and secondly, as it lessen'd the Value of Government-Security, which compelled the Treasury to allow excessive Discounts and Premiums to bring in ready Money there. These Inconveniences, in themselves very great, were enormously increased during the present Scarcity of Money, arising from the recoinage of the Silver *Specie*. For Men being obliged to part with their Tallies for a present Supply of Cash, the Uncertainty and Remoteness of the Payments made upon them, joined with the Scarcity of Money, made them of so little Value, that they were discounted at forty, fifty, or sixty *per Cent*. And it is easy to judge from thence what exorbitant Premiums must be paid by the Government for new Credit, when the old was at so low an Ebb. Even the Bank Notes were discounted at twenty *per Cent*. so sunk was publick Credit at that Time.

Thus by slow and unheeded Steps, and various and concurring Causes, we were become a Nation without Money or Credit. All Men were at a Gaze, and stood wondering what Measures the Parliament would take in such perplexing Difficulties; scarce believing the Wisdom of Man was able to find an Expedient to cure so inveterate an Evil. But the Parliament being fully convinced of the Importance and Necessity of some Remedy, were animated rather than discouraged by the Difficulty of the Under-

taking; and they happily succeeded in it. A.D. 1696. In this excellent Work, all agree they were much assisted by the Prudence and Counsels of the late Earl of *Hallifax*, then Mr. *Montague*, whom the Laws of History will not suffer to pass unnamed upon this Occasion.

To restore Publick Credit, the Parliament in the first Place enquired into the Causes of its Decay. And they were made sensible that a principal Source of this Mischief rose from the Deficiency of the Aids and Duties to which the Tallies belonged. To remedy this, they resolved to grant a Supply to the King for making good the Deficiencies of Parliamentary Funds; which by an Estimate they found, amounted to five Million one hundred and sixty thousand four hundred Pounds. This Deficiency they provided for by continuing and adding several Duties that were to answer that Sum; which was to be a general Fund for paying off the Principal and Interest due on the deficient Funds. And in the next place, all the fit Provisions were made that punctual and regular Payments should be issued out of this Fund. And because all the Branches of Publick Credit support each other mutually, the Parliament in the next place took into their Consideration the State of the Bank of *England*, which was then ready to sink.

To do this, they agreed to augment the Capital Stock of the Bank, by continuing the Bank a longer Time, and other Encouragements; and by ordering the new Subscriptions to be made good in Tallies and Bank Notes; in the Proportion of four Fifths of the former, and one Fifth of the latter. Upon this Scheme, into which the Men of Money readily came for the Advantage of entering into that Company, a Million in Bank Notes and Tallies was subscribed and paid. Thus the Bank being eased of a Debt of two hundred thousand Pounds in their Notes, which were brought in upon this Occasion, and strengthened by the Accession of many wealthy Persons to their Society, were enabled to look their other Obligations in the Face. And eight hundred thousand Pounds being required in Tallies, those Securities went no longer a begging, but were sought after by those who proposed to be concerned in this new Subscription. So that so many Bank Notes and Tallies being sunk, and the Value of the rest heighten'd by this Contrivance, Publick Credit recovered apace; the Bank Notes became equal to Money; and the Tallies having a Fund fixed for the Payments, rose to a just Value.

But there remained another Inconvenience which required the prudent Care of the Parliament to find a Remedy to, which was the Scarcity of Money, arising from the recoinage of the Silver and the other Causes above related. A Remedy to this Evil was naturally to be expected, after some time; for the recoinage of the Money went on as fast as the Thing could be done; and it seemed a Contradiction in Terms, to think to furnish the Nation with Money before it

The wise Methods taken to restore it.

Exchequer Bills issued to supply the room of Money.



A.D. 1696. could be coined. But the Parliament, sensible of the terrible Pressure that lay upon Trade for want of that necessary Communication, attempted and compassed that seemingly impossible Work. For there being at this Time a vast Number of Payments to be made into the Exchequer, the Lords of the Treasury were authorised to issue out Bills from the Exchequer to the Value, first and last, of above two Millions; which were to be received by the Treasury as Money, upon any of the King's Duties or Revenues, except the Land Tax. These Bills also bore Interest at above seven *per Cent.* When these Bills were first issued a small Discount was allowed for them; but when People understood they were to be taken in the Exchequer as ready Money, they arose at last to an Equality. And a great Number of them being for five and ten Pounds, they answered the Necessities of Commerce in its inferior Branches tolerably well. Thus the Defect of Coin was supplied, till the Money of the new Fabrick came to be so plentiful, that the former Inconveniences, and the Remembrance of them, passed gradually away.

Sir John Fenwick's Case.

While these important Transactions went on, they were interrupted a little by an Affair of an uncommon Nature. Among those who were accused for the Assassination-Plot, was Sir John Fenwick, who endeavouring to escape into France, was seized in Kent. He was not wanting in Endeavours to save, or at least to prolong his Life, after he was apprehended. He wrote two Letters to his Lady; in which he proposed to her to get some Jury-men upon his Tryal who should starve the rest; and gave her Advice to apply for him to several about the King. But these Letters being intercepted, turned to his Disadvantage. This failing, he drew up an Accusation of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and several other eminent Persons as corresponding with the late King James, and in his Interest. This was at first believed, or at least startled the King and Court; and gained Sir John Fenwick so much Time, that his Friends took the Opportunity to persuade Cardel Goodman, who was one of the Witnesses against him, to go over into France. They made the same Attempt upon Captain Porter, who was the other Evidence; but he discovered it to the Government. However, one Witness being gone, and the Law requiring two, it was plain that Sir John Fenwick must have been of Course acquitted at his Tryal.

A Bill of Attainder passed against him.

The Accusation Sir John Fenwick had fixed upon the great Men abovementioned being so resented by Admiral Ruffel that he desired an opportunity of justifying himself before the House of Commons, the Affair came before that House, and Sir John Fenwick was called upon to make good what he had said. But he prevaricated so much in his Answers about what he knew he could not make out, and the Practices used by him to take off the Evidence against him were so notorious, that a Motion was made for a Bill to attain him of High-Treason,

which was carried in the Affirmative. This A.D. 1696. produced very remarkable Debates when the Bill was read the third Time, and it passed but by a small Majority in both Houses. Sir John Fenwick was afterwards beheaded, and denied that he knew any Thing of King James's coming to Calais, or of any Invasion from thence till it was publicly known; but that he had a Notion that something of that Nature might have been attempted by the Toulon Fleet coming to Brest.

The Parliament having dispatched all the important Affairs that lay before them, the King came on the sixteenth of April and prorogued them; and in a few Days after embarked for Holland. Immediately after the Parliament separated, a remarkable Incident happened at Court; the Earl of Sunderland being made Lord Chamberlain in the Room of the Earl of Dorset. Every one was amazed to find a Man who was always looked on as the prime Instrument of the Arbitrary and Popish Counsels of the late Reign, so eminently preferred in this. It gave Room for many Conjectures and Speculations not much to the King's Honour; and was so universally resented, that soon after the Parliament met, he found himself obliged to resign, to prevent a more publick Disgrace.

The Earl of Sunderland promoted.

The Treaty for a general Peace that was begun the last Year, was the chief Business of this. It was agreed in the first Place that the Conferences should be held at Ryfwick, a Palace belonging to his Britannick Majesty; the Ministers of France residing at Delft, and those of the Confederates at the Hague. After this the Preliminaries were signed, by which the Towns of Strasburgh in Germany, the Towns of Mons, Charleroy, and Dinant, and the Duchy of Luxemburg in the Netherlands, with the Places taken in Catalonia, were to be restored by the French; as also the Duchy of Lorrain, according to the Treaty of Nimeguen. The King of France was also to acknowledge King William, and restore to him the Principality of Orange. These were the chief Preliminary Articles.

The Treaty of Peace negotiated at Ryfwick.

While these were in Debate, there was some Action in the Field. In Flanders the French besieged Aeth, and took it; the King openly declaring he would not sacrifice a Man for the Relief of a Town which he knew must be given up by the Peace. For the same Reasons it was so faintly defended by the Governor, that it surrendered after the Trenches had been opened twelve Days. In Catalonia the French besieged Barcelona, investing it by Sea and Land. This Siege continued with dubious Success about a Month; but by the ill Conduct of the Spaniards without, it was surrendered, after a noble Resistance by the Prince d'Armstadt, the Governor.

The Successes of the French during the Treaty.

These Successes of the French might have had an ill Effect upon the Treaty at Ryfwick, if they had not been disappointed in an important Scheme laid by them in another Place. John Sobieski, the King of Poland, who



A.D. 1697. who gained so much Renown by raising the Siege of Vienna, died the last Year, and filled that Kingdom, as usual, with Intrigues and Animosities about the Choice of a Successor. The French, knowing how great an Influence a King of Poland in their Interest must give them over the Empire, proposed the Prince of Conti to succeed him. This Proposal seemed likely to be attended with Success; for there appeared no Competitor to stand against him but Prince James Sobieski, who was yet universally disliked.

The Elector of Saxony opposes him, and carries it.

It seemed very probable that the Prince of Conti would carry the Election, when on a sudden, every one was surprized to hear that the Elector of Saxony was a Candidate; who, though bred a Protestant, was content to renounce his Religion for a Crown. And in that venal Countrey, it was no difficult Matter by a Profusion of Bribes and Promises, in which he outwent the Abbot Polignac, the Prince of Conti's Agent, to get himself proclaimed King by a Majority of the Polish Diet. Some Opposition was made by the Cardinal Primate, and others of the Grandees in the Prince of Conti's Interest, and that Prince arrived in Poland; but his Competitor having an Army at Hand to support his Claim, the Prince found himself obliged to give Way, and returned to France.

The Negotiations of the Earl of Portland, and Mareschal Boufflers.

This Disappointment received by the French, made them more tractable in the Conferences of Peace. While a great deal of Chicanery passed between the German and Spanish Plenipotentiaries, and those of France, King William determined the Matters in Controversie between the French King and himself in a more summary Way. He chose to cut off at once the flow Forms used by professed Negotiators, and to leave the Treaty to two Men of the Sword, the Earl of Portland, and the Mareschal de Boufflers. These two Generals, in four Conferences, adjusted all Things between their respective Masters; after which the King sent the Earl to the Congress, to let them know that, all Points between himself and the King of France being settled, he desired them to be speedy in the Conclusion of the important Work they were about. Many Speculations were raised upon these Interviews of the two Generals; but if any Thing more passed than was at that Time publicly known, the World has not yet been informed of it.

The Treaty signed at Ryswick.

After a long Series of Conferences and Disputes, as is usual upon those Occasions, the Treaty was signed at Ryswick by the Ministers of England, Holland, Spain, and France on the twentieth of September N. S. and about a Month after by the French and German Plenipotentiaries. By this Peace King William got great Honour; the Articles thereof being more advantageous than the State of Affairs among the Allies seemed to give Room for. Many important Places were restored in Flanders and Germany to Spain and the Empire; only Strasburg, which by the Preliminaries was to be given up,

was insisted on by the French in the Course of the Treaty, and kept by them. King James, of whom the French King had publicly declared that he would not lay down his Arms till he had restored that Prince to his Throne, was entirely forgot; and King William's Title was acknowledged in the fullest Manner.

An Attack was made this Summer by the French under Monsieur Pointi, upon Cartagena in the West-Indies, a famous and rich Port belonging to the Spaniards, where they took a considerable Booty; having also the good Fortune to escape the English Men of War twice in their Return.

The King returned to England after the Peace was made, and received the joyful Acclamations and Applauses of his Subjects. After much Time had been spent in Rejoycings and Congratulations on Account of the Peace, the King met the Parliament. His Speech, in which he gave them an Account of the Conclusion of the Peace, was not so acceptable in the House of Commons; and was disliked by several, as being expressed in too magisterial a Style, and in Terms that seemed to upbraid the Nation with what he had done for it; and it was disapproved by others, because he professed himself against disbanding the Army. So that their Address of Thanks was six Days before it was presented. It was conceived however in handsome Terms, and received a suitable Answer from the King.

But soon after arose a Struggle between the King and the House of Commons. That House considering in a grand Committee the State of the Nation, fell upon the Debate concerning the Number of Forces to be disbanded. The King, acting by his Representatives the Court-Party there, was for keeping on Foot a numerous and considerable Body of Troops, which was warmly opposed by the Countrey Party. The Arguments on both Sides were weighty, and urged with great Acuteness. On the one Side it was alledged, that we had made Peace with an Enemy who would certainly keep it no longer than it suited his Interest. That he had not yet reduced any of his Forces; and by Consequence was as formidable as ever; so that if that Army which had driven him to sue for Peace should be disbanded, it could not be expected but that he should fall upon us disarmed and defenceless, and impose upon us a second Time that arbitrary Prince we had so happily expelled and kept out before. That it could not be denied that there was Danger to the Liberties of a free People from a Standing Army; but that it was not universally true, either that Liberty was always ruined by Armies, or that it could not be destroyed without them. The Republicks of Venice and Holland who maintain great Forces are yet free, and without any Apprehension of becoming otherwise. And the Liberties of France received the first Blow, not from the sudden Violence of an armed Soldiery, but from the dark and wicked

A.D. 1697.

The Parliament meets.

A Debate about a Standing Army.

Arguments for it.



A.D.1697. ed Policy of a subtle and crafty Tyrant *Louis XI.* That the Danger of keeping the Army on Foot, was answered by the greater Danger of being without it. For that if we should part with our experienced Soldiers, we might be surprized with ten or fifteen thousand Men from *France*, who having no regular Force to oppose them, would overrun the Kingdom; since every one knows how insignificant a new-raised raw Countrey Militia must be before old and disciplined Troops. That though it might be said our Fleet would prevent this; yet that we had at the late Revolution an Instance, that a Wind might rise that would carry an Enemy out of their Ports, and keep our Ships confined to our own; not to mention that the Officers of the Fleet might be corrupted, or that a Storm might destroy it. That besides, this Army was not designed to make a Part of our Constitution, but to be kept only for a little Time, till the Circumstances of *Europe* would better permit the Nation to be without them. That a Regard was to be had to the Disaffection reigning among a great Part of the Nation; and that so long as the People kept the Power of the Purse in their own Hands, they would keep the Military Power in Dependence upon them.

Arguments  
against it.

On the other Side it was said, that since it appeared beyond Denial, from the History and Experience of all Nations, as well as from the Nature of the Thing, that Standing Armies were of the utmost Danger to free Countries, it signified very little to quote an Instance or two to the contrary, which might be only Exceptions to a general Rule, and therefore a very improper Ground to reason from. But that in Truth the Examples alledged of *Venice*, *Holland* and *France* were nothing to the Purpose; neither *Venice* nor *Holland* keeping any Standing Forces, but in their conquered Countries only. And though *Louis XI.* had incroached upon his People's Liberties without publick Violence, yet that an armed Force was soon found necessary to support that injurious Invasion of the Native Rights and Freedom of Mankind. And that it must be so in all other like Cases, appears very plainly; since otherwise, as soon as the People feel (and they will quickly feel it) a Change in their Condition for the worse, it is impossible but that they must immediately fly upon their Oppressors, and make them disgorge in one Day the ill-got Power they have been acquiring for Years. The extreme Danger arising from Standing Armies being then allowed, it being indeed a Truth too evident to be denied, it remained to consider, whether the Danger from Abroad was such as to compensate so great a one at home. And it was urged, that such a sudden Invasion as was talked of by those on the other Side, seemed a Danger too remote to be mentioned with the other. That so long as we keep the Seas well guarded, an Island like ours has little to fear from any Power which is not already our Superior in Naval Force. That the fitting out a Fleet

able to encounter our own, and the other A.D.1697. Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking, must be so long a Work, that we could not miss having Time enough to reinforce our Navy, to send for Forces out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to prepare our Militia; after which there would be no great Danger that any Invader would care to come amongst us. Not to mention that our Confederates would have Time to arm, and call off the Enemy's Forces another Way. To the Objection, that a Wind might rise that would carry an Enemy out of their Ports, and confine our Ships within our own, it was answered, that it was hard to conceive even the Possibility of such a Thing, if an Invasion should be attempted from *France*; but granting that such a critical Wind might naturally happen to blow, yet that no Prince could be supposed to hazard the vast Expence, besides other Dangers that would attend such an Attempt, only in prospect that such an improbable Contingency might at last chance to favour his Design. As to the Objections of the Sea-Officers being corrupted, or Mischiefs by Storms; it was replied, that Accidents so little to be expected would be effectually provided against by a well-trained Militia. That the *English* Temper is naturally warlike; and that if our Militia is of very little use, it is for want of Experience in the Forms of warlike Discipline, and not of natural Bravery. That the Practice and Skill of the Weapons and Motions used in War, is no such Mystery, but that it may be so easily learned, as in Conjunction with native Courage (which no Nation is less wanting in than our own) to make a good Soldier in no long Time. That if the Gentry, Freeholders and Traders of *England* were thus trained and exercised, the Remembrance that they were fighting for their own Liberty, Security and Possessions, would inspire them with another kind of Courage in Danger, and give another kind of Edge to their Swords in Battle, than mercenary Soldiers who fought only for their Pay could possibly be capable of. That this was confirmed by the Experience of the late War, in which as great Things had been done by the *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, the *Miquelets* in *Catalonia*, and the Militia in *Ireland*, as can be paralleled in History. That it would be the same in *England*, if the Court would give their hearty Assistance in promoting this Design; if the King would appear in Person at their Head, and give Rewards and Honours to such as should deserve them. And because it might be objected that such a Militia as this is a Standing Army, and would be as dangerous, and much more chargeable, it was answered, that there can be no Danger from an Army, where the Nobility and Gentry of *England* are the Commanders, and the Body of it is made up of Freeholders, their Sons and Servants; unless it could be conceived that they would all join in an unnatural Design to make void their own Titles to their Estates and Liberties; and as for the Charge, it was not to come



A.D.1697. come in Competition with the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties. As to the disaffected, who were alledged as a Reason for keeping up a Standing Army, it was said, that such a Force might indeed restrain them, but that it would at the same Time increase their Number. It was added, that in Truth there was not a more likely Way to restore King James than to maintain a Standing Army to keep him out. To prove this it was said, that so long as the Authority of a Prince depends on the Affections of his People, his Throne is founded on a Rock; whereas if it depends on a Standing Army, it leans on a Support the most tottering and unsteady that can be imagined. The History of all Nations shews, that more violent and sudden Revolutions have happened by the Caprice and Humours of the Soldiery, than have ever happened in any unarmed Governments. That if with us, two or three of the chief Officers should be disobliged, or have Intrigues with *Jacobite* Mistresses, or the *French* King could again buy his Pensioners into the Court or Army, we should have another Revolution, and the People would be only idle Spectators of their Ruin. To all this they added the lesser Inconveniences of a Standing Army; frequent Quarrels, Murders and Robberies; the dishonouring and corrupting of Women, whose Weakness is easily captivated by the showy Outside of Military Men; the Insolencies often committed by them; the Destruction of the Game; and an endless Train of other Mischiefs, too many to be enumerated. However they concluded, that it would be highly unreasonable that those brave Men should be ruined by the Peace, which their Courage and Fidelity had procured; and that therefore the Parliament, out of Gratitude as well as Generosity, ought to give them a Donative proportionable to their Commissions.

The Army ordered to be disbanded.

Other Proceedings of Parliament.

A.D.1698.

After long Debates it was agreed to disband the Army; but to allow a Gratuity to all the Officers and Soldiers. And it was resolved, that ten thousand Men would be a sufficient Summer and Winter Guard at Sea for the ensuing Year. They voted the King seven hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* for his Life, for the Support of the Civil List; three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds for Guards and Garrisons; and two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds by way of Bounty to the disbanded Officers and Soldiers. Because of Deficiencies in the Land-Tax, which sometimes happened, they assessed a certain Sum upon each County, to prevent the like for the future. They then examined the Debts the Nation was liable to on Account of the War, which amounted to not a great deal less than five Millions; part of which they resolved to clear off.

A new East-India Company erected.

There had been long a Contest between the *East-India* Company, and some Merchants who desired to put in with them for a Share of that Trade, and to erect a new *East-India* Company under Regulations different from the other. This came now to

be decided by the Parliament; who gave it A.D.1698. in favour of the new Company, on Condition they should lend the Government two Millions at eight *per Cent.* Nine Days after the Bill had received the King's Assent, Books were set open to receive Subscriptions for those two Millions. This was done on *Thursday July 14.* and by the *Saturday* following this vast Sum, and something above it, was subscribed; though the Time was so short, that half the Counties in *England*, and much more Foreigners, had not Opportunity to remit their Commissions for the great Sums they intended to subscribe; so that 'tis very likely that two other Millions might have been taken in, had not the Books been closed so soon. All *Europe* stood amazed, and could hardly believe it, when this Proof of the *English* Wealth and Greatness came to be related in foreign Countries, and they were told that after having born the Charge of a long and expensive War, our Nation was able to raise two Millions of Money in less than three Days.

Two Millions raised in three Days.

The House of Commons was next employed in the Discovery and Punishment of two great Abuses. Upon the coming over of the Refugees from *France*, some of them had been made use of to set up a Manufacture here of Alamodes and Lustrings; which was carried on by a Corporation called the Royal Lustring Company; the Importation of all *French* Manufactures of the same kind being prohibited. But in Contempt of this Prohibition, several *French* Merchants and others here in *England*, kept up a Correspondence in *France* for those Wares, and smuggled great Quantities of them; and to compleat the Mischief, the same Ships which brought the *French* Commodities hither, carried away great Quantities of our Wool. This being accidentally discovered, and made out before the House of Commons, that House resolved to impeach the Persons concerned of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and ordered them to be taken into Custody. But before the Commons appeared to make good their Impeachment before the Lords, eight of them, *viz.* *Stephen Seignoret, René Baudoin, John Gaudet, Nicolas Santini, Peter De Hearce, John Pierse, John du Maistre, and David Barrau,* confessed themselves Guilty and were fined; the first ten thousand Pounds, the second three thousand Pounds, the two next fifteen hundred Pounds each, three others one thousand Pound each, and the last five hundred Pounds, in all nineteen thousand five hundred Pounds. The Sum being considerable, the Commons prudently considered how to apply it to some publick Service; and addressed the King that it might be appropriated to *Greenwich* Hospital; which Address was of course complied with, though not without a great Disappointment to several greedy Courtiers.

Smugglers prosecuted by the Commons.

Another sort of Offenders were this *Self* sion animadverted upon by the Commons, but had the good Fortune to come off unhurt. It has been already observed of what signal Use Exchequer Bills had been, during

And false Endorsers of Exchequer Bills.



A.D. 1698. ring the recoinage of the Silver Species.

Now because there was an Interest of seven Pounds twelve Shillings *per Annum* allowed upon the second issuing those Bills out of the Exchequer, after they had been paid in on any of the King's Taxes, whereas at their first issuing from the Exchequer they bore no Interest; this encouraged several of the King's Officers, in the Exchequer, the Customs, and the Excise, to contrive together to get great Sums of Money by false Endorsements on these Exchequer Bills, before they had been circulated about, or brought into any Branch of the King's Revenue. This knavish Contrivance lay chiefly between Mr. *Charles Duncomb*, Receiver-General of the Excise; Mr. *John Knight*, Treasurer of the Customs; Mr. *Bartholomew Burton*, who had a Place in the Excise-Office; and Mr. *Reginald Marryot*, one of the Deputy Tellers of the Exchequer; which last, to get his Pardon, compounded to accuse the rest. Upon a full Proof, *Duncomb* and *Knight*, who were Members of the House of Commons, were expelled the House, and committed Prisoners to the Tower; *Burton* sent to *Newgate*; and Bills were ordered to be brought in to punish them. The Bill against Mr. *Duncomb*, whereby a Fine of near half his Estate (reckoned to be four hundred thousand Pounds) was set upon him, quickly passed the House of Commons, notwithstanding the Opposition that was made to it, particularly by the Attorney-General. But being sent up to the House of Lords, which was equally divided upon it, the Duke of *Leeds* gave his casting Vote for the rejecting it. It was then the common Report, that Mr. *Duncomb* dispelled the Storm by a Golden Sacrifice; which however cannot be affirmed, because it never came to publick Notice. Mr. *Duncomb* was afterwards set at Liberty by Order of the House of Lords; but the Commons resented it so, that they ordered him to be remanded to Prison; and he continued in the Tower till the End of the Session. The Bills against *Knight* and *Burton* had the same Fate; and thus the Cloud that hung over this Act of Publick Robbery, spent it self in Vapour and Noise.

But they escape.

The Parliament dissolved.

The Earl of *Portland's* Embassy to *France*.

Little was done after this, till the Parliament was prorogued by the King on the fifth of *July*; which was followed two Days after by a Proclamation for dissolving it, and summoning another to meet on the twenty fourth of *August*.

At the Beginning of this Year, the King sent a very splendid Embassy to *France* by the Earl of *Portland*; who was received every where with all the outward Marks of Honour, but was wholly unsuccessful in his private Negotiations. His Business was to get King *James* removed from *France*, and a Moderation of the Persecution against the Protestants in *France*; but the *French* Court was inflexible in both those Points. Instead of this, they laid in this Embassy the Beginnings of the famous Partition Treaty, in which it is universally agreed, that they over-

reached King *William*. And no doubt the A.D. 1698. extraordinary Honours shewn to the Earl of *Portland*, were intended to smoothe the Way for that refined Piece of State-Policy.

The *French* had another Reason for ingratiating themselves with our Countrey; their Trade hither having been almost ruined by the Prohibitions and vast Customs laid on *French* Commodities in *England* during the late War. *Monf. Phelippeaux* was sent over hither, to revive that Commerce which *France* found so profitable. But he found his Endeavours to little Purpose; partly because of the high Duties on *French* Goods, and partly because in the long Time of the War, we had set up so many Manufactures of the same kind, that we had little need of those of *France*; and had learned to supply our selves with the Commodities of the Product of *France* from other Countries.

Some Time after the Parliament of *Eng-* Affairs of *land* was prorogued, that of *Scotland* met. *Scotland*. The *Scotch East-India* Company applied themselves to that Assembly for their Favour with the King in that Company's Behalf, towards removing the Obstructions that *England* had put in their Way. The Parliament joined with the Company, and addressed the King in their Favour. But the King not finding himself in a Condition to serve them without disobliging his *English* Parliament, he found means to wave the giving a positive Answer to the *Scotch* Representations.

The Peace was now concluded, and so many Offices of Civility and Kindness were interchanged between the contending Parties, as if the Remembrance of all past Wars and Discord were to be for ever buried, and all Fear of any to come were to be banished the Christian World to all future Generations. But still there remained a bitter Root of Jealousy and Contention, which if not carefully looked after, was likely and in no very long Time too, to sprout out, and increase with such a fatal Growth, as to spread it self over *Europe*, and kill with its poisonous Shadow this fair and tender Plant of Peace. The King of *Spain* was childless, and of a Constitution so infirm, that his Death was continually expected. As that Branch of the House of *Austria* from which he was descended would be extinct in him, it was a Matter of no small Difficulty, either for his Subjects at home, or the Powers abroad, to find out a Successor to that potent Crown, who should be universally accepted. It could not be imagined, that the *French* King, whose Ambition had so long troubled Mankind, should be quiet upon such an Occasion, that Crown having at all Times reserved and hidden Claims upon most of the Crowns and States that are its Neighbours; and being at present so well provided with Forces and Strength to make any of them good. And it could as little be expected that the Powers which had been so long confederate against the exorbitant Greatness of *France*, should quietly suffer it to receive so immense an Accession of Strength and Riches, as the *Spanish* Dominions would

The unsettled Condition of Affairs in *Europe*.

add



A.D. 1698. add to it. So that it required no great Discernment to see, that unless some unlooked for Event interposed, the late Peace would be of no long Duration.

The Partition-Treaty proposed by France.

The Terms thereof.

The King accepts it.

The Court of *France* did indeed take Care to make their Profit of this extraordinary Situation of Affairs; and they pursued and compassed their Ends by a very notable Strain of Politicks. They sent to the King, (who went to *Holland* soon after the breaking up of the Parliament) the Count *de Tallard*, with Orders to ply him close about the Partition Treaty. They had, as was said, made an Entrance into this Affair when the Earl of *Portland* was in *France*. The Scheme laid by *France* appeared by the Consequences to be as follows. Knowing that King *William's* Care and Circumspection could not be unconcerned about the impending Death of the King of *Spain*, they made him a Proposal, under Pretence of consulting the Publick Tranquillity, which might at once lay his Vigilance asleep, and make Way for the Execution of Projects of a different Nature. They offered to him that in Consideration of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, the Province of *Guipuscoa* on this Side of the *Pyrenees*, *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebastian*, *Final*, and the Places in *Tuscany*, of which *Spain* stood possessed, the Dauphin should renounce his Pretensions to the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which was to be given to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*; the Duchy of *Milan* excepted, which was to fall to the Share of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's second Son. The Proposal was very specious; for on the one Hand it seemed likely enough that *France* having seen so many Designs on the Liberties of *Europe* frustrated, and having drained both her Treasure and her People in those unsuccessful Attempts, might be sincerely disposed (the King too declining in Age) to suffer Mankind at last to be at Rest. And the great Demands they made for the Dauphin, strengthened the Opinion of their Sincerity; for to quit so great Pretensions without considerable Advantages in Return, would naturally have bred Suspicion. In the mean Time, as they knew the *Spaniards* would not bear the Thoughts of dismembring their Monarchy, an Opportunity was given them of inducing the *Spanish* Nation, rather to accept a King proposed by *France*, than to suffer so large a Part of their Dominions to be for ever alienated. And in this Project the Court of *France* had all the Success they could desire.

The King closed with this Proposition of Count *Tallard*, though his Ministers were apprehensive of the Consequences; and he concluded this Treaty of Partition, as it is called, with so much Earnestness that he would not stay for the Lord *Somers's* Answer to the Letter in which he acquainted him with it, and desired his Advice. This Affair being finished, the King went to make a Visit to the Duke of *Zell*, his intimate Friend; where he was waited on, and com-

plimented by many of the *German* Princes. A.D. 1698. His Intention in this Journey was to cement the Union of the Princes of *Germany*, by a Match between the King of the *Romans*, and the Princess of *Hanover*, which was then agreed on, and soon after compleated.

In the mean Time, *France* was not idle The Negotiations of the French in Spain. The Marquis *de Harcourt* was sent Ambassador thither by the French King. His Instructions were to persuade the *Spaniards* to accept of the second of the Dauphin's Sons for their King; but if this could not be done, to hinder the Crown of *Spain* from devolving on any of the Emperor's Children, who claimed it by Virtue of the Will of *Philip IV.* Father of the present King of *Spain*. The Marquis followed his Instructions with great Address and Application. But he found himself thwarted by the Queen, who was entirely in the Emperor's Interest; and being informed of the French Ambassador's Practices, under Pretence that the Air of *Madrid* was prejudicial to her Husband's Health, carried him to *Toledo*, without allowing any Foreign Ambassador to follow him. The Marquis *de Harcourt* quickly saw into the Meaning of this Journey; and judged, very rightly, that being there sole Mistress of the King, she might easily prevail with him to ratifie King *Philip* the IVth's Will. He followed the King to *Toledo*, under Pretence that he had received a Memorial, which he had Orders to communicate to none but the King himself. But the Queen understood his Meaning, and excused her permitting him to see the King, by telling him, that she could not suffer his Majesty to be troubled with Business, lest it should retard the Recovery of his Health. But the defeating this Journey of the French Minister introduced a greater Inconvenience; for upon his Return to *Madrid*, finding those Measures ineffectual he had laid at first, he entered upon new ones, in which he had better Success. And applying himself to Cardinal *Portocarrero*, he found Means to engage him so far in the French Interest, that he compassed the same Thing another Way.

For greater Security, the French, at the same Time, strengthened themselves by a firm Alliance with the Crown of *Sweden*, their old Confederate. They also caused a great Encampment to be made at *Compiene*, not above twenty Leagues from the Frontiers of the *Spanish* Netherlands, under Pretence of instructing the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Art of War; and during the Marquis *de Harcourt's* Negotiations in *Spain*, ordered sixty Thousand Men to move towards *Spain*. But the unexpected Recovery of the King of *Spain's* Health, dispelled all farther Attempts and Views that Way for some Time.

King *William* knew *France* too well to depend upon her Faith in the Observance of the Partition Treaty; and therefore omitted no Provision in his Power against a sudden Infraction of it. To this End he mediated

The King mediates a Peace between the Emperor and the Turks.



A.D. 1698. ated a Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*, that the Arms of the former might be ready and undiverted upon any future Emergency. And the Lord *Paget*, his Ambassador at the *Porte*, assisted by Mr. *Colliers*, the *Dutch* Ambassador there, easily prevailed upon the *Turks*, disheartened with their ill Success in the War, to accept of their Mediation. The Conferences between the Ministers of the *Turks* on one Side, and those of the Emperor, and his Confederates the Czar of *Muscovy*, the King of *Poland*, and the Republic of *Venice*, began at *Carlowitz* in *Hungary*; and went on with that Success, that in about three Months the Treaty was signed. And thus an universal, though not lasting, Peace was established throughout *Europe*.

The Parliament meets.

Their Temper.

The Commons resolve to disband all the Forces but seven Thousand Men.

The King's Speech to them upon that Occasion.

A.D. 1699.

While this Treaty was on Foot, the King came over to *England* to meet his new Parliament. When the Speaker, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, was presented, the King made a Speech; in which, besides the usual Assurances of Affection and Motions for Supplies, he hinted to them, that he conceived it necessary to maintain a good Body of Land-Forces against all Events. But the People were heartily weary of the Burthens they had been charged with on Account of the War. So that the Elections in this Parliament had fallen chiefly upon Persons who were known to have little Complaisance for the Court, which was understood to be the Spring and Source of all martial Projects. And these Members opposed all Propositions from thence, perhaps farther than was exactly reasonable.

The Commons soon passed a Resolution, that no more than seven Thousand Men should be kept on Foot of the Land Forces, who should be all his Majesty's Natural-born Subjects; and that the others should be paid and disbanded. This Vote made the King very uneasy, and wish that he had shewn more Complaisance with the late House of Commons, who were likely to shew him in Return more Complaisance than he found he could expect from this. But he saw there was no Room for contending, but with Civility; and therefore as soon as the Vote abovementioned was turned into a Bill, and had passed both Houses, he came to the Parliament on Purpose to give his Assent to it. At the same Time he made a Speech, in which he let them know, that in his own Opinion it would be dangerous to disband so many of the Forces at that Time; but that he came however to pass it in Compliance with their Desires, that there might be no Appearance of Distrust or Jealousie between himself and them. This Speech produced Addresses from both Houses, in which they returned the King their most hearty Thanks for his gracious Expressions, but at the same Time let him see that they could not agree with his Sentiments on that Point.

The King finding the two Houses concurred in discharging the Land-Forces, gave at last effectual Orders for doing it, though with great Reluctancy. But he was more

especially concerned at his being obliged to A.D. 1699. send away his Regiment of *Dutch* Guards, which had attended him from his Cradle in all the Accidents of his Life. He resolved to make one Effort to try the good Nature of the House of Commons; and sent them a Message, all in his own Hand-Writing, to let them know that the necessary Preparations were making for transporting the Guards, that came with him, out of *England*; and that he intended to send them away immediately, unless out of a Consideration to him, the House were disposed to find a Way for continuing them longer in his Service, which he should take very kindly. It was moved upon this to appoint a Day to consider of this Message; but the contrary Party was so prevalent, that the Motion was rejected. Instead of that, the House in a Body presented an Address to the King, in which they said they were mightily troubled they could not comply with his Majesty's Message, and at the same Time have due Regard to the Constitution he came over to restore. That they begged of him to trust his sacred Person with his own Subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves in the late War upon all Occasions. The King answered them with such a Prudence and Moderation, as was suitable to the Occasion, and most likely to work on them. But though his Answer was well taken, it could not make the Commons alter their Resolutions; so that the *Dutch* Guards were soon after shipped off for *Holland*, which occasioned some Murmurings among the Well-affected, who thought the forcing away that Regiment was a needless Hardship and Disrespect put upon the King.

The Commons having provided for the Other Proceedings of Parliament. disbanding of the Army, proceeded to consider the State of the Navy; and soon after presented an Address to the King, complaining of several Mismanagements therein. This was chiefly levelled against Admiral *Ruffel*, whom the King had made Earl of *Orford*; and who had indeed made such Advantages of his truly eminent Services, as rendered him liable to Suspicion. But the Earl, finding a Storm gathering, avoided its Fury, by laying down his Places of Treasurer of the Navy, and Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and taking Shelter in the Harbour of a private Life.

The House in the next Place voted fifteen Thousand Men to be the Guard at Sea for the next Year. And for disbanding the Army, maintaining the Fleet, and Guards and Garrisons, they voted one Million four Hundred eighty four Thousand and fifteen Pounds, to be raised by a Land Tax of three Shillings in the Pound. They afterwards voted Provisions for several Debts; but those Votes were not put in Execution this Session. A Petition of the Old *East-India* Company, praying that their Case might be taken into Consideration, was received, and a Bill ordered to be brought in thereon; but it was rejected before the second Reading.

On



A.D. 1699. On the fourth of May the King came to pass all the Bills that were prepared for the Royal Assent; and after a short Speech prorogued the Parliament. In about a Month after he embarked for *Holland*.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Scots plant a Colony at *Darien* in *America*.

The Minister of *Spain* presents a Memorial against it, with which the King complies.

Notwithstanding the Discouragements which the *Scotch India* Company had received from *England*, as was above related, they went on with their Designs. And having found a Countrey on the *Isthmus* of *Darien* in *America*, which had never been possessed by the *Spaniards*, with whom the Natives were continually at War, the *Scots* found such Means to ingratiate themselves with these *Indians*, that they were permitted to make a Settlement there, to which they gave the Name of *Caledonia*. The Project might have been of great Service to the *Scotch* Nation at any other Season, but was at present certainly wrong-timed. For the *Spaniards* who claim the Dominion of that whole Countrey, could not be expected to be easie under a Settlement made by a brave and industrious People, in the very Heart of their *American* Colonies. And the State of Affairs in *Europe* obliged the King to a more than ordinary Complaisance to *Spain* at this Time. This the *Scots* did not consider, which proved the Ruine of their Undertaking. For the *Spanish* Minister here presenting a sharp Memorial to the King on Account of this new Plantation, in what he called his Master's Dominions, the King could not avoid complying with it. The *Scots* indeed answered this Memorial by several Representations to the King, in which they endeavoured to shew the Legality of their Settlement in Opposition to the Pretences of the *Spaniards*, or any other Nation; all which was likely to be true, but not proper to be insisted on by the King in the present Situation of Affairs. So that he gratified the *Spaniards* so far, as to give Orders to all the Governors of the *English American* Colonies, not to hold any Correspondence with the *Scots* Settlement, or any Ways to assist them with Arms, Ammunition, Provisions or any other Necessaries whatever. The *Spaniards* also made great Preparations in *America*, to go and dislodge the *Scots*. They found themselves unable to maintain their Settlement without the Assistance, and much more against the express Will of the King of *England*, shewn by the Orders abovementioned to the Governors of his Colonies. So to engage him in their Defence they sent him a Representation of their peaceable Behaviour and Disposition, ever since their Landing, and of the Advantages he might hope for by giving their Colony Protection. This was seconded by a Petition from the *Scotch* Company, who set forth the Reasons the King had to support their Rights and Credit; and besought him to recal the Orders abovementioned; and that the Parliament of their Kingdom might meet in the *November* following, to deliberate on that weighty and general Concern. But the King was inflexible, and only made them Answer that he was sorry for their Loss; but let them know that he

could not help them. As to the Parliament, A.D. 1699. he told them that they stood adjourned to the next *March*; and that he would call them, when he judged that the Good of the Nation required it. This Answer put an End to all Hopes of Countenance from *England*, whose Behaviour towards the *Scots* on this Occasion, bred ill Blood in that Northern Kingdom. On the other Hand, the *Scots* were certainly indiscreet to make such an Attempt, which could not, if the King gave it the least Countenance, but cause a Rupture with *Spain*; which at that nice Juncture of Affairs, was of the utmost Consequence. The Colony at *Caledonia*, after having suffered great Hardships for Want of Provisions, was at last obliged to forsake their Settlement.

The King did little during his Stay in *Holland*, but receive the Visits and Compliments of Foreign Ministers and Potentates. After a Summer's Rest he embarked for *England* in *October*, and in *November* met the Parliament. The Speech he made, though elaborate, and full of those Expressions of Affection and Care for the Publick that are fitting and usual upon those Occasions, was not suitably answered by the Commons. They remembered that in the Speech the King made at the last breaking up of the Parliament, he expressed a Dissatisfaction with their Proceedings in Relation to the Land-Forces. So that their Address of Thanks for the last Speech, seemed rather an Answer to the former. They besought his Majesty, that since the Necessity of a mutual and entire Confidence between himself and his Parliament was so apparent, he would be pleased to shew Marks of his highest Displeasure towards all who should presume to misrepresent their Proceedings to him, assuring him in Return of the utmost Care on their Parts to prevent any Misunderstandings between his Majesty and his People. The King would not seem to understand their Meaning, and returned them a very obliging Answer.

The Parliament meets.

Their disagreeable Proceedings.

But the Commons soon after fell upon an Enquiry very disagreeable at Court. The Zeal and Unanimity with which the Papists in *Ireland* had appeared for King *James*, had produced very numerous Forfeitures of Estates after the Reduction of that Kingdom. As these Lands amounted to a very great Value, the Commons in former Parliaments had made Use of their Interposition to prevent those Estates from being given away among so many undeserving and unreasonable Askers as Kings are sure to be surrounded with, when they have a great deal to bestow. They conceived it would be full as convenient to have the vast Sums that might be drawn from those Estates, which was little less than two Millions, applied to the Publick Service; and Bills to this End had passed their House, which were sent up to the Peers for their Concurrence. But the Lords, either conceiving they would intrench too much upon the Crown, whose Prerogative it is that all Forfeitures in such Cases accrue to it, or being otherwise influenced by the Court, thought fit to stop

They enquire into the Disposal of the Irish forfeited Estates.



A.D.1699. those Bills in their House. So that the Matter lying undecided, the King took the Opportunity to give very costly Tokens of his Favour and Bounty to several Persons whom he thought proper Objects of his Royal Munificence. But the ill Humours of the Commons being now swelled to a very great Height, they determined to make Enquiry into the Disposal of these forfeited Lands; in which they had Reason to expect, from the Nature of Mankind, and of such Affairs, that by a severe Inquisition into the Management there, they could not fail to meet with abundant and plausible Ground for Murmur and Complaint.

The Report of the Commissioners.

In the last Session they had appointed Commissioners to take an Account of these Estates, who by this Time had drawn up a Report which they presented to the House. It set forth that the Value of these Estates was at first computed at two Millions six hundred eighty five thousand one hundred and thirty Pounds, but that this Value was at present very much diminished; partly because several Estates had been restored to those who forfeited them; and partly on Account of several valuable Grants made out of them by the King. It also set forth many great Abuses and very unwarrantable Practices that had been used in all the Management relating to those Estates. In the Conclusion they said, the Lands remaining liable to the publick Claim after the above Deductions were made, might be valued at one Million six hundred ninety nine thousand three hundred and forty three Pounds, without including a Grant valued at three hundred thirty seven thousand nine hundred and forty three Pounds, made out of the private Estates of the late King *James*, to the Countess of *Orkney*; a Lady who was thought to be honoured with a very particular Share of his Majesty's Royal Favour.

A Bill for applying those Estates to the Publick Service.

Upon the Perusal of this Report, the Commons resolved that a Bill be brought in to apply all the forfeited Estates and Interests in *Ireland*, and all Grants thereof, and of the Rents and Revenues belonging to the Crown within that Kingdom, since the Year 1688. to the Use of the Publick. They also resolved to admit of no Petition from any Person whatever touching those Grants, or forfeited Estates. When the Bill was read a second Time, a Motion was made, that a Portion of those Estates might be reserved to his Majesty's Disposal. But it passed in the Negative; and the House added a Resolve, that the advising, procuring and passing those Grants, had been the Occasion of great Pressures on the Nation, and highly reflected on the King's Honour. And that the Officers concerned in passing those Grants had highly failed in their Duty.

A.D.1700. Other Proceedings.

After this they proceeded to the Business of the Supply. They appointed seven Thousand Men to be the Complement for Sea-Service for the Year 1700. and having fixed the Sums for that Service, and for Guards and Garrisons, they resolved to raise the

Supply by a Land-Tax of two Shillings in A.D.1700. the Pound.

The Bill for the Land-Tax being read, the House ordered, the Bill for resuming the Forfeited Estates to be joined to it. And soon after the House resolved to present an Address to the King, to represent to him the Resolutions just mentioned relating to the advising, procuring and passing the Grants of the Forfeited Estates; and in six Days after waited upon the King with the same in a Body.

They address the King about the forfeited Estates.

The King was not well pleased with their Proceedings hitherto, as may be easily imagined; and he answered their Address with some Resentment; telling them, "That he was not only led by Inclination, but thought himself obliged in Justice to reward those who had served him well, and particularly in the Reduction of *Ireland*, out of the Estates forfeited to him by the Rebellion there. He added, that as the long War had occasioned great Taxes, and left the Nation much in Debt, the taking just and effectual Ways for lessening that Debt, and supporting Publick Credit, would, in his Opinion, best contribute to the Honour, Safety and Interest of the Kingdom". This Answer

Who gives them an angry Answer.

being reported by the Speaker, the Commons were so provoked at it, that they resolved that whoever advised it, had used his utmost Endeavour to create a Misunderstanding and Jealousie between the King and his People. And to justify their Proceedings, they ordered the Report to be published, which shewed the Reasonableness and Fitness of the Enquiry they made, both on Account of the Value of the forfeited Lands, and the indirect Practices relating to them; both which, without Doubt, highly deserved the Animadversion of an House of Commons. To this they added several Resolutions and Addresses of theirs, with the King's Answers; and a Speech from the Throne in 1691. from which it appeared, that the King had not kept his Word with his Parliaments; he having promised them in express Words not to dispose of the *Irish* Forfeitures, till that Affair was settled in Parliament.

The Commons incensed.

The complicated Bill having passed the House of Commons, did not go so easily through that of the Peers. This was partly occasioned by the Complaisance of some in that House for the King, but many others were drawn in to follow their Example, to prevent a Precedent of tacking a foreign Bill or Clause to a Money-Bill; a Proceeding justly looked on with an evil Eye by the Upper House. However the Commons got the better this Time, and the Lords, instead of rejecting the whole Bill, only offered some Amendments in that Part which related to the *Irish* Forfeitures. The Commons unanimously disapproved those Amendments, and desired a Conference; which was held to no Purpose, both Parties being stiff. Next Day two others were held with

The Bill about the forfeited Estates passes the House of Peers with Difficulty.



A.D. 1700. with as little Success; which put the Commons into such a Ferment, that the King, to appease them, sent a private Message to the Lords to desire them to pass the Bill without any Amendments; which they did. The Commons, either provoked by Resistance, or encouraged to go farther by the King's yielding, resolved soon after to address the King to remove from his Council all who were not Natives of *England*, except Prince *George of Denmark*. But the King would not give them Time to present this unpalatable Address; and therefore coming the next Day to pass the Bills ready for his Assent, he prorogued the Parliament.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Complaints of the Scots about the Affair of *Darien*.

During this Session of Parliament the King had a great deal of Trouble, on Account of the *Scots India Company*. The Council General of that Company wrote to the Secretary of State for *Scotland*, to intreat the King's Favour in Behalf of some of their Countrymen, who were taken Prisoners by the *Spaniards* on Account of the Settlement at *Caledonia*, and lay detained at *Carthagena*. This Letter being sent by the Lord *Basil Hamilton*, the King, on Account of some Disrespect he either had, or pretended to have, received from that Lord, refused to admit him to his Presence. However he was content to receive the Lord *Hamilton's* Instructions in Writing; and in Answer to them promised his Interposition for the Enlargement of those Prisoners. But this did not satisfy the *Scots*; who were not to be persuaded, but that the Business that Lord came on, was the true Reason that kept him from the Royal Presence. The King's Conduct on this Occasion was supported by an Address from the House of Lords against any Settlement of the *Scots* in the *West-Indies*, as detrimental to our own Plantations. The presenting this Address to the King gave him Occasion in his Answer to renew a former Motion he had made to his Parliament for an Union between the two Kingdoms. This Motion was so well received, that the Lords passed an Act to authorize Commissioners to treat thereon, but the Commons refused their Concurrence. The *Scots* were still discontented, and made another Effort in Behalf of their Trade, by sending up a National Address; in which they desired the King to cause their Parliament to meet as soon as possible, who they knew would espouse the Cause of their *India Company* very heartily. This Address was presented in *March*; but the King answered them, that the Parliament could not sit before *May*, but promised them it should do so then.

The Partition-Treaty altered.

While these Things passed, the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* dying, on whom the *Spanish Monarchy* was to devolve by the Partition-Treaty, a new Treaty was concluded of the same Kind. The Arch-Duke *Charles of Austria* was to have all the *Spanish Dominions* within and without *Europe*, except what by the former Treaty had been assigned to the Dauphin and *France*. The Duke

of *Lorraine*, instead of his own Countrey, A.D. 1700. which was to be given to *France*, was to have the Duchy of *Milan*; and Prince *Vaudemont* the County of *Bitsche*.

The Time now came on for the Meeting of the *Scotch Parliament*. The King sent them a Letter, in which he professed a great Concern for the Misfortunes and Losses the Nation had met with in their Trade, and his Readiness to concur in any Measures for promoting and encouraging it. The Parliament adjourned for two or three Days after they first met; but were scarce set again before they received a sharp Representation from the *India Company*, complaining of their many Losses, Disappointments and Grievances. This was attended with so many Petitions and Addresses of the same kind, which were seconded by the Disposition of the Parliament itself, that the High Commissioner, the Duke of *Queensbury*, was afraid to let them sit any longer. And a Motion having been made, that the Colony of *Caledonia* was a rightful Settlement, and that the Parliament would maintain and support it, the Duke thought proper to adjourn them before the Question was put to the Vote. This Step, which was extraordinary enough, was so resented, that a Majority of the Members agreed upon an Address to the King; in which they complained of this Proceeding, as an Infringement of the Declaration of Rights made at the Revolution. The King when he received this Address, only said, he would consider of it. But when upon a second Application the Commissioners desired his Answer, he told them he could not let them have it at that Time, but they should know his Mind in *Scotland*. This Application being thus eluded, a second national Address was framed, and carried about to be signed by the several Shires and Burroughs in the Kingdom. But while this was doing, the King sent a Letter to the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the Privy-Council, which was published in the Manner of a Proclamation. He there declared his Readiness to have asserted the Right of the Colony at *Darien*, if the State of Things had permitted it; but since that could not be done, he was ready to concur in any Counsels that might shew his Concern for the Prosperity and Welfare of that his ancient Kingdom, being heartily grieved for the Losses it had sustained. That he was confident that Declaration would be satisfactory to all good Men; and would keep them from being misled by Enemies into Measures contrary to their own Security. That his necessary Absence had occasioned the late Adjournment; but that as soon as he could return, the Parliament should meet.

Proceedings of the Scotch Parliament.

July 29. the Nation had an inconceivable Loss in the unexpected Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, Son of the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*, at ten Years old; who was the only Child of their numerous Offspring that reached even that scanty Measure of Life. His Death was occasioned by his over-

The Death of the Duke of *Glocester*.



A.D. 1700. over-heating himself at the Entertainment and Rejoicing made upon account of his Birth-day five Days before; which ended in a Fever. He was a young Prince of great Hopes; having a natural Aptitude and Disposition for those Accomplishments that become those who are born to rule. He was scarce seven Years old when he understood all the Terms of Fortification and Navigation, knew all the different Parts of a strong Place, and of a Man of War; and could marshal a Company of Boys, who listed themselves to attend him. He had sucked in his Mother's Piety, and was always attentive to Prayers; to which excellent Turn of Mind he added a quick and lively Wit. But the Strength of his Constitution was not answerable to that of his Mind; so that he was taken away on the sudden, to the great Loss of the Nation; though with a less Degree of publick Concern than the Occasion deserved. For at that Time two numerous Parties of *Jacobites* and *Republicans* prevailed; to whose several Designs the Life of that young Prince was equally an Obstacle. So that the Grief for this invaluable Loss was confined to the Palace of St. James's, the Abode of his Royal Father and Mother, and to the Hearts of those Persons, who in such a divided Nation could retain Temper and Discernment enough to see and lament the Madness of the wild Extremes to which both Sides were hurried.

The War  
kindled in  
the North.

A Fire was kindled this Summer in the Northern Parts of *Europe*, by an Alliance contracted between the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, and the Czar of *Muscovy*, against the King of *Sweden*. The Pretences they gave for this League were various; but the true Reason was, that the King of *Sweden* being young and unfixed in his Throne, they hoped so powerful a Confederacy might be able to share his Dominions amongst them, at such a Juncture. King *William* could not be unconcerned at a War that was so unjust in it self, and might have such fatal Consequences on the Repose of *Europe*.

The King and  
States of  
*Holland* in-  
terpose.

So that *England* and *Holland* very soon interposed their friendly Mediation to heal this Breach. But this proving ineffectual, the King sent a Squadron of thirty *English* and *Dutch* Men of War into the *Sound*; which joined with the *Swedes*, and both together came before *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* was at that Time in the Territories of the Duke of *Holstein*, the Brother-in-law and Confederate of the King of *Sweden*, which that Prince had unjustly invaded. When the News was brought him of the Danger his Capital City was in, and that besides, the *Swedes* were landed in the Isle of *Zeeland*; finding himself unable to relieve his Country otherwise than by a Treaty, he being cooped up with his Army in *Holstein* by some *Swedish* Frigates that cruised upon the Coast, he at last consented to enter into Negotiations of Peace. After a Debate of but six Days, the Affairs of his *Danish* Majesty requiring Dispatch, the Peace was signed Aug. 18, N. S. at *Travendale* in *Holstein*, between

The Treaty  
of *Traven-*  
*dale*.

*Denmark*, *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holstein*, with the Exclusion of *Muscovy* and *Poland*, with whom the War went on to the Advantage of the *Swedes*. A.D. 1700.

The King being willing to remove, if possible, the ill Humour *Scotland* was in on Account of their late Disappointments, summoned the Parliament before he returned to *England*. He sent them a Letter full of his Concern for their Prosperity and Welfare; with Promises to give his Assent to any Acts they would pass to promote and increase it. He then told them how heartily grieved he was, that he could not assert their Right to the Colony at *Darien*, without disturbing the Peace of Christendom, and drawing a dangerous War upon that his ancient Kingdom; and desired them to be satisfied with those plain Reasons for not engaging farther in their Quarrel. But notwithstanding this, the Parliament no sooner met, than the *India* Company presented a Representation of their Grievances to them. This was followed by a National Address to the King, wherein they enumerated many Grievances they were and had been labouring under, and desired they might be redressed. But the King avoided a direct Answer, by telling them that the Parliament being met, he hoped all his faithful Subjects would be satisfied with the Declaration he had made to them. And in effect such Care was taken to soften the Minds of the Members there, that after some Heats about the Affair of *Darien*, the Storm blew over, and they consented, as the Court desired, to keep on foot a Force of three thousand Men, and to maintain them by a Land-Tax; after which they were prorogued.

The Projects of *France* for an universal Empire, had been the Scourge of Christendom for the last thirty Years; having been so judiciously laid, and so dextrously executed, that they went on with all imaginable Success till they were on the very Point of Completion, and no humane Succour or Deliverance appeared; when the Divine Providence interposed from above, and scattered them into Air and Smoke. That haughty Prince might have learned from thence to know and acknowledge that just and resistless Power by which he was thus controuled; and no longer to provoke him by such Schemes of immoderate Greatness, as are above the Condition of Mortals, and can neither be framed nor executed without the utmost Guilt. But these Warnings proved insufficient, and he now laid the Plan of another Design more important than any before. And it pleased God to continue the same Method of Providence towards him; granting him Success that rendered him for a Time greater and more formidable than ever; but lifting him so high, only to make his Fall the more ruinous, and his Punishment the more exemplary.

The Designs  
of *France* at  
this Time.

The Marquis de *Harcourt*, Ambassador of *France* at the Court of *Spain*, followed his Instructions so well, that by laying before the *Spaniards* the Dishonour and Damage that



A.D. 1700. that would accrue to their Nation from the Partition Treaty, disposed them to receive a King from *France*, though their old Enemy, rather than suffer such an Alienation of their Dominions. He applied himself in particular to Cardinal *Portocarrero* with so much

The King of Spain bequeaths his Crown to the Duke of Anjou. Success, that he prevailed upon him to get the King of *Spain* to sign a Will, by which he bequeathed his Crown to the Duke of *Anjou*, second Son to the Dauphin. This Will was signed Oct. 2, N.S. of this Year, and in about a Month after the King of *Spain* died. The Will being opened after the King's Death, a Copy of it was sent into *France*. The Earl of *Manchester*, Ambassador at the Court of *France*, being informed of this, asked the *French* King what he intended to do in this Conjunction; putting him in Mind withal, of the Engagement he was under to the King his Master. But that Tie was like to be of very little Force now; and though the *French* King told him he would not take a final Resolution till the Earl should receive an Answer to his Dispatches into *England*, yet before that Answer came he caused the Duke of *Anjou* to be declared and saluted King of *Spain*. And what was of yet more Effect, he sent his Troops to take Possession of all the *Spanish Netherlands* in his Behalf, which they easily became Masters of, there being no Forces there in a Condition to oppose them.

The dangerous State of Christendom. This unexpected Event threw a dark Cloud over the Face of Affairs in *Europe*. The Evil that had long been feared, was come to pass so suddenly and so fatally, as admitted no Prevention, and seemed capable of no Remedy. *France* was not only possessed of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which it had so long been struggling for, but of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy too; that the Riches of *America* might recruit the Wealth that Kingdom had been drained of by the expensive Wars of almost thirty Years. *England* was disarmed, and what is worse, divided; *Holland* was encompassed by the *French* Power, which hung threatening over it; the Empire made a fair Appearance, but was weak because disjointed. So that the Affairs of Christendom were brought to as dangerous a Crisis as could easily be imagined.

King William's Conduct. King *William* saw that, even though the Powers of *Europe* could be content to acquiesce in this perillous State of Things, the *French* Ambition, puffed up by their signal and unexpected Success, would not suffer them to be quiet long. So that a War with *France* appearing unavoidable, he began to consider of the fit Preparations for it. And in the first Place, because the present House of Commons had not been so complaisant as he desired, he thought fit to dissolve the Parliament Dec. 19. and call another to meet in the *February* following.

A.D. 1701. When the Parliament met, the King laid before them, in his Speech, the Necessity of making Provision for a Succession in the Protestant Line, the Duke of *Glocester* being dead, and of providing against any ill Con-

sequences from the King of *Spain's* Death, A.D. 1701. and the Declaration of his Successor. And lastly he recommended to the Commons the Consideration of an Aid, and to supply Deficiencies. The King's Speech being reported to the Commons, they unanimously resolved, that they would support his Majesty's Government. They presented an Address to this Purpose in a Body; which the King having thanked them for, left with them a Memorial he had received from the States-General, concerning which he desired their Advice and Assistance. This being read in the House, and the Commons having considered the Treaties subsisting between *England* and *Holland*, and the State of *Europe*, addressed the King to enter into such Negotiations with Foreign Powers, as might conduce to the publick Safety, promising to support and assist him in maintaining the Treaties made with the States-General. This dutiful Address was answered by the King with all Returns of Kindness and Affection. And soon after he concluded an Alliance with the Emperor and the States, to maintain the Pretensions of the former to the *Spanish* Monarchy.

The Commons took into their Consideration, the Motion made by the King for settling the Succession in a Protestant Line, and passed a Vote to that Purpose. This was soon carried to other Countries, and alarmed those Foreign Courts whose Princes were related to the Royal Family of *England*. The Duchess of *Savoy*, Daughter to the Duchess of *Orleans*, and Granddaughter to King *Charles* the First, and as such nearer in Blood than the House of *Hanover*, ordered her Minister to protest against any Thing that should be done in prejudice of her Right. But though that Minister used a great deal of Art in behalf of his Mistress, he was not much minded; the Proximity of Blood being overweighed by the Profession of a Religion destructive of our own.

The Convocation being assembled with the Parliament, a famous Controversy arose between the two Houses, whether the Power of adjourning lies in the Archbishop, or whether the Lower House have Power to adjourn themselves; the Upper House maintaining the first, and the Lower the second. The Dispute was carried on with a Warmth and Passion that gave too great a Handle to Libertines to slander and ridicule that Reverend Body that was concerned in it; and made pious Men silently wish that Divines would be very cautious to avoid Contention, since their Behaviour upon those Occasions is sometimes so little to their Advantage.

The King was no doubt sufficiently vexed, to find how *France* had over-reached him by the Partition-Treaty; but he had not yet seen the End of his Trouble upon that Account. The Earl of *Portland* was generally looked on as the Author of that Treaty, and probably too of some other unpopular Steps (which were not very many) taken during this Reign. The ill Consequences

Proceedings of the Convocation.

The Partition-Treaty considered by the Parliament.



A.D. 1701. quences of the Treaty of Partition were notorious; and its being concluded during the Sitting, but without the Advice of Parliament, made it still more exceptionable. So that a fair Opportunity was given the Parliament (with whom that Lord was not gracious) of calling him to Account; and of punishing not only the Faults alledged against him, but others too, only remembered and not mentioned.

The King expected a Storm to blow from that Point of the Compass against his Favourite, which he had Reason to believe would not shew a great deal of Respect to himself. To moderate its Fury when it should rise, and to prevent a second, he resolved to communicate to the Parliament all his Steps in the succeeding Negotiations. And a Treaty being begun with *France*, for the Preservation of the Peace of *Europe*, he communicated to the House of Commons the Progress made in it. The Commons having read the Papers, which contained the King's Proposals to *France*, and the Resolutions of the States for treating, called out to read the Treaty of Partition. This first stirred the ill Humours, and an Address was voted to thank the King for his Condescension in communicating those Papers; and at the same Time to lay before him the ill Consequences of the Treaty of Partition. The Lords were as much dissatisfied upon the same Account; and the Earl of *Portland* was fallen upon very warmly. He endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying that several other Peers were as much concerned in it as he was. But those Lords all denied that they had given their Consent to it; so that the Earl was left to stand the Brunt by himself. The Peers then sent to the Commons, to desire them to enter into a joint Consultation with their House to prevent such irregular Proceedings for the future, as had been used in the Partition-Treaty. Some Time after they presented an Address to the King, in which they laid before him their Apprehensions from that Treaty, and besought his Majesty to rely only on the Counsels of his natural-born Subjects, and not to trust to Foreigners. While this passed in the upper House, the Commons were examining the Partition-Treaty, which they did with so much Heat, that several very gross Reflections were passed upon the King himself. At last they presented an Address according to their Vote abovementioned; to which, though very little acceptable, the King returned a soft and moderate Answer.

The Negotiations Abroad.

In the mean Time, the Negotiations abroad went on. The *French* King, though in his present Greatness he little feared the united Power of the Confederates, was yet too politick to neglect the Advantage that might arise from dividing them. He ordered his Minister to persuade, if possible, the States to enter into separate Measures with him, without consulting King *William*. But the States knew their Interest too well to be so grossly deceived. So that the Minister of

*England* and the States of *Holland* delivered A.D. 1701. together Memorials to the Count d'*Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, the first insisting in general on a Security for the King and his Allies; and the other particularly demanding the Places and Fortresses of *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Stevenswaert*, *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermond*, *Damme*, and *St. Donas*, with all their Appurtenances. This Demand was made, not so much in hopes that it would be complied with, as to found the Intentions of the *French* Court. But they were so lifted up with Pride, that their Minister made answer to these Memorials, that as to the first he had no Orders to make any Reply to it, for that if the King of *England* had any Thing to demand, he might do it by his Ambassador at *Paris*, or the *French* Minister at *London*. As to the other, he said his Master could give the States no other Security than the confirming the Treaty of *Ryswick*.

All this the King acquainted the Commons with; who in return advised him to go on with his Measures; and desired that he would pursue the Treaty of 1677. promising that they would effectually enable him to support the same.

But all this was only Words, and not followed by suitable Effects. So that the King seeing their Unwillingness to enter into a War, endeavoured to keep the *French* at a Bay by a faint Negotiation; and to forward it the more, acknowledged the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, and sent him a congratulatory Letter. The *French* on the other hand, were as willing to take the same Measures for different Reasons. For the Emperor, who claimed the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, had begun the War against *France*, in support of that Claim; and had sent an Army into *Italy*, under Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, to possess themselves of the Provinces there which used to be under the Dominion of *Spain*. And the *French*, who did not question to drive him out if their Arms were not diverted, were willing to keep up a fair Appearance with *England* and *Holland*.

Both Parties being thus agreed, the Negotiations at the *Hague* went on all the Summer with much Form, but little Effect. In the mean Time the House of Commons seconded their Address against the Treaty of Partition with an Impeachment of the Earl of *Portland*, the chief Manager therein; which was followed by Impeachments of the Lord *Somers*, the Earl of *Orford*, and the Lord *Hallifax*; all for High Crimes and Misdemeanors. They afterwards addressed the King to remove them from his Councils and Presence for ever; to which the King returned an ambiguous Answer. Yet the Commons either were, or for some Reasons pretended to be, so well pleased with it, that they returned the King their Thanks for it.

On the other hand the Lords disliked this Proceeding of the Commons. They thought it an Anticipation of their Sentence, if upon the Presentation alone of an Impeachment,

The Lords of *Portland*, *Orford*, *Somers* and *Hallifax* impeached.

Differences between the two Houses.



A.D. 1701. ment, the Commons should get so heavy a Censure laid on an impeached Peer, when the Charge against him was not yet exhibited, and much less made out. And the Address of the House of Commons being voted eight Days before it was presented, the Lords in that Interval presented another, in which they desired the King to pass no Censure on the impeached Lords till they had received a Tryal. The King was inclined enough to favour the impeached Lords; and did comply in Effect with this Address. But he stood so much in need of the House of Commons, that he thought fit to countenance them so far as to give no Manner of Answer to the Address of the Lords; which somewhat piqued them.

The Danger  
Holland was  
in.

Mean while the Republick of *Holland* was in a perillous Condition. The *French* Feet were upon their Throats, and they had no means to make any effectual Resistance in case of an Attack. They sent over to the King an Account of the great Danger they were in, and their Inability to defend themselves against the formidable Power that almost surrounded them. The King was desirous to assist them, and laid their Representation before the two Houses. The Commons having deliberated thereon, unanimously resolved, that they would effectually assist his Majesty to support his Allies, in maintaining the Liberties of *Europe*, and that they would immediately provide Succours for the States-General; and ordered that Resolution to be presented to the King by the whole House. The King received them with great Kindness, and thanked them for the Zeal they expressed for the Common Cause. The Lords also returned their Thanks to the King for having communicated the King's Letter to them.

States.

The Parliament had now sat above three Months, and though they had promised at the Beginning of the Session to support and assist the King to perform the Treaty of 1677. with the *Dutch*, no Bills of Supply were mentioned, nor was any Thing done to succour that Republick, but passing Votes in their Behalf. This bred great Murmurs among some without Doors, who thought the Danger of that State too great, and too imminent, and too much our own Concern, to be treated so remissly. But the Commons went on in their own Way, and exhibited their Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of *Orford* first, and then against the Lord *Somers*; the chief Matter against both whom was the Part they were said to have in the Treaty of Partition. This Impeachment produced a Breach between the two Houses. The Lords pressed the Commons to make good their Impeachment against those Lords, and to exhibit their Articles against the Lord *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Portland*. The Commons on the other Hand, either finding their Proofs defective, or for other Reasons, were very backward. So that many Messages and Conferences passed between the two Houses with little Effect, but to produce

The Articles  
of Impeach-  
ment exhibi-  
ted.

A Breach be-  
tween the  
two Houses.

and increase a Misunderstanding. The King A.D. 1701. on his Part forbore to intermeddle either Way, which Conduct was much applauded. At last the Lords appointed a Day for the Trial of the two impeached Lords, and sent Notice of it to the Commons; who alledging they could not be ready on that Day, the House of Peers proceeded to the Trial without them, and acquitted the two Lords. The Commons were inflamed at this, and made a Protestation against these Proceedings of the House of Peers; wherein they charged all the ill Consequences that might attend the Delay in supplying the King, on those, who to cover their enormous Crimes, endeavoured to make a Breach between the two Houses. On the other Hand the Lords declared, that this and other Resolves of the House of Commons, contained unjust Reflections on the Honour and Justice of the Peers; and attributed the ill Consequences of deferring the Supplies to the unnecessary Delays of the Commons.

In the mean Time the Articles against the Lord *Hallifax* were sent up to the Lords, in which he was charged with having procured unreasonable Grants to himself, and advised the Treaty of Partition. In his Answer he defended himself by alledging the Smallness of the Grants; and that he had made several Objections to the Partition-Treaty in General, but was never advised with upon any particular Clause or Article.

Another Dispute also arose between the two Houses upon these Impeachments. The Commons insisted that the impeached Lords should not vote in each other's Cases; and that a Committee of Lords should be appointed to adjust with a Committee of the House of Commons, the Time and Manner of the Proceeding, in order to the Trial of the Lords. To the first Demand the Lords answered, that if the Peers, in whom the Right of Judicature inherently is, should be deprived of the Exercise of it before Conviction, the Innocent might be wronged. To the second they said, that the Right of Judicature being solely in themselves, the Appointment of Time and Place belonged entirely to them also. This Difference produced very great Heats, which ended in the Lords dismissing the Impeachments against the Lord *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Portland*; with one of an old standing against the Duke of *Leeds*, mentioned above in the Year 1695.

The Im-  
peachments  
dismissed by  
the Lords.

The Houses had another Difference about a Bill for stating the Publick Accounts; so that there being no Hopes of any good Intelligence between them, the King came and put an End to the Session. During the Heats between the two Houses, the Vote for settling the Succession in the House of *Hanover* was turned into a Bill, and received the Royal Assent.

The Act pas-  
sed for set-  
tling the Suc-  
cession in the  
House of *Ha-  
nover*.

Not long after the Parliament was dismissed, the King went to *Holland*, where he employed much of his Time in viewing the Fortifications of *Berghen-op-zoom*, Fort *Philip*.



A.D. 1701. *Philippina*, and other Places; formerly Frontiers towards *Spain*, but now towards the more formidable Power of *France*. While he was there, the *French* Court, seeing the Firmness of the States in doing nothing but in Concert with the King of *England*, broke off the Conferences, and recalled their Ambassador; who at parting left a Memorial with the States, penned in so haughty and menacing a Style, as plainly shewed that the Court of *France* thought themselves above keeping Terms with their Neighbours any longer.

King James dies in France, and the pretended Prince of Wales proclaimed there King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

This appeared still more evidently by what happened soon after. On the twenty sixth of September, N. S. the abdicated King James died at *St. Germain's en Laye*; and though there was no open Rupture between himself and King William, the *French* King caused the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be proclaimed with great Solemnity, King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Had this Proclamation only affected King William in particular, the Insult on our Countrey had been very great; and we have seen by a late Instance, that *Englishmen*, however divided, will agree in resenting a personal Indignity offered to their Prince. But as the Parliament had at their very last Meeting settled the Succession in a Protestant House, it was become a National Affront too, and shewed how secure the Court of *France* was of provoking the neighbouring Powers.

The Resentment expressed by the King and Nation.

This impolitick Contempt shewn for our King and Countrey, was accordingly resented. The King sent Orders to his Ambassador in *France*, the Earl of *Manchester*, to come away immediately without taking his Audience of Leave; and ordered Monsieur *Poussin*, the *French* Secretary in *England*, to leave the Kingdom by a certain Day. The Parliament was not sitting, but Addresses came from every Part of the Nation, filled with all the Indignation that could be expressed for so great an Insolence. And perhaps nothing more effectually roused the Spirits of the *English*, and engaged them to a vigorous Prosecution of the future War, by which the *French* Greatness was afterwards brought so low, than the needless Pride of that Court, which induced them to provoke our Countrey so unreasonably. So true is that Saying of the Wise Man, that *Before Destruction the Heart of Man is haughty*.

King William in the mean Time was busie in perfecting an Alliance between the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*, which was concluded in September. This Treaty was framed in the Nature of Proposals upon which *France* might come in; and accordingly the same was communicated to the *Spanish* Ambassador, otherwise it was agreed to have Satisfaction given to the House of *Austria*, in Relation to the *Spanish* Succession, to recover *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*; and that the *English* and *Dutch* should keep whatever they could conquer in the *West-Indies*. But the Court of *France* was so far from making the least Step to-

wards an Accommodation, that they prohibited all Sorts of Goods and Merchandizes of the Growth and Manufacture of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, some few excepted, upon which they laid excessive Duties. So that all Things tended to an open Rupture.

The King embarked for *England* at the Beginning of November, and landed there on his Birth-Day, November 4. But he found his Health declining apace, and his Strength almost exhausted by the long and constant Fatigues he had gone through for thirty Years; and not long after his Arrival he told the Earl of *Portland* in his Garden at *Hampton-Court*, that he found himself so weak that he did not expect to outlive another Summer. Nevertheless he applied himself to Business with as much Diligence as his Weakness would let him. The first Thing that came before him was, to consider whether he should not dissolve the present Parliament, the Commons having treated the impending Dangers from *France* with so much Negligence. The King was at first against it, on Account of some Expressions in the Speech he made to them at parting, which implied that he should meet them again. But this Scruple being got over, a Proclamation was at last issued for dissolving the Parliament, and summoning another to meet on the thirtieth of December, to the great Joy of one Part of the Nation, and the no less Mortification of another.

The King declines in his Health.

The Parliament dissolved.

The Elections were carried on with great Heats and Animosities; but the Dangers from *France* so wrought upon the Electors and Elected, that the Members proved of a Temper more complying with the King's Inclinations than the last. The Parliament met at the Time appointed, and the King made an excellent Speech to the two Houses, in which he mentioned to them the Indignity offered to himself by the King of *France*, in proclaiming the pretended Prince of *Wales*; and the Danger to which *Europe* lay exposed by his setting his Grandson on the Throne of *Spain*. He acquainted them with the Alliances he had concluded for the common Good, which he promised should be laid before them; adding a Motion for Supplies, and a pathetick Exhortation to Dispatch and Unanimity.

The new Parliament meets.

The two Houses were in a very good Humour; and sent agreeable Addresses to the King. But before any Business of Consequence could be perfected, the King's sudden Death quite changed the Face of Affairs.

A.D. 1702. The King dies soon after.

#### Works of Piety in his Reign.

THE noble Hospital of *Greenwich* was begun in this King's Time, for the Reception of Seamen who have been employed in their Countrey's Service, and are disabled by Age or Wounds; and for the Relief of their Widows, and Education of their Children. A Design worthy a Christian and a British King, and a trading Nation



on like ours; and which would be still more highly laudable, were it not that in the Management of that Royal Foundation, some Persons find Cause to regret the usual Unthrif and bad Oeconomy that too often attends the Dispensation of Publick Money. This Hospital is designed to hold two Thousand Seamen, and the Revenue of it is reckoned to be fourteen Thousand Pounds *per Annum*. After so splendid and magnificent a Donation as this, it seems trifling to mention any of inferior Value; yet there was another of a private Man, which has proved of such extensive Usefulness, and has been attended with such happy Consequences, as claims a very particular Mention; namely, the Lecture instituted by *Robert Boyle Esq*; for the Defence and Confirmation of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion. That illustrious Gentleman made so happy an Use of his Searches into the Works of the Great Creator, that he was not only one of the most eminent Philosophers, but one of the most devout and exemplary Christians of his Time. This excellent Person, at his Death, bequeathed a Stipend of fifty Pounds *per Annum*, to maintain a Lecture of eight Sermons in the Year, to be preached at the Church of *St. Mary-le-Bow* in *London*; the Design of which Sermons was to be the Defence and Confirmation of the Truth of Natural and Revealed Religion, against the Objections of Atheists, Deists, and other Enemies of Christianity. The great Fame of the Donor, as well as the Generosity of the Stipend, has engaged many of the most eminent Persons among our Divines, to employ their Labours in that excellent Design; who have so happily answered the pious Intentions of the Founder, that it is much owing to the admirable Writings composed on this Occasion, that the Evidence of our Christian Belief is become so clear and demonstrative as we now, to our Comfort, find it; and that the Profession of our Faith is not as in other Times and Places, stayed only on the weak Props of Authority and Custom, ever flitting and changing; but rooted on the Adamantine Basis of immutable and eternal Reason.

*Of the Personage and Conditions of King William and Queen Mary.*

AS to the Person of the former, he was of a middle Size, but ill-shaped, and somewhat Round-shouldered; his Face of a light brown Complexion, and hard-featured; his Nose Aquiline; his Eyes exceeding good and piercing; his Hands very fine and white, and his Constitution always weak and infirm. He sat well on Horseback, which Posture best became him. It is universally acknowledged, that as to his Publick Character, he wanted no Qualification that goes to the making of a Wise and Great King; and the same appears sufficiently by what has been above related of him. His private Character had nothing in it very extraordinary. Hunting and Shoot-

ing were the Relaxations he used after the Fatigues of Business, and the Toils of War; for he had little Taste for Literature, Science, or the beautiful Arts. He loved the Company of Men of Wit, which seemed the only polite Entertainment he was delighted with; for as to Musick and Poetry, he had scarce any Relish for them; and though he would sometimes admire a fine Picture, it was only when it came in his Way; for he never encouraged Painters, or other Artists. He had some little Knowledge besides of Fortification and the Mathematicks. Besides *Dutch*, which was natural to him, he spoke *French* to a great Perfection; and *English* and *German* tolerably well. Though he had a wonderful Evenness and Steadiness of Temper on great Occasions, he would be peevish and passionate about small Matters; but it was soon over; and he would be then the best-natured Man in the World. He was parsimonious to a Fault, and did not at all understand how to reward; being a Niggard where he should have been Liberal, and Profuse where he should have been Thrifty; neither knew he much better how to punish, being sometimes too easie, and sometimes too severe. He had a Piece of Superstition in him; which shews that great Minds have their Weaknesses; and that was, that he avoided beginning a Journey, or any Enterprize, on a *Monday*. He was not insensible to the Fair Sex, it being known that he had two Mistresses; and he would sometimes drink freely. He had a Reservedness of Temper which was not agreeable, especially to the *English* Nation; and this, joined with some other Incidents, which created him Enemies, kept him from being so well beloved as he deserved. For there appears no just Reason to suspect him of any ill Design against his People; and if he did some unpopular Acts, it seems to have been only for want of right Information. But however it was, whether through Misfortune or wrong Management, he had the Unhappiness throughout his Reign, to be very little trusted by his Parliament and People, and this want of Confidence exposed him to many Mortifications. So that if his own Ambition had any Part in raising him to the Throne of *Great Britain*, we may safely say, his Fault did not pass without its Punishment.

Queen Mary was adorned with every Thing that is lovely and attractive in Woman-kind. Her Person was tall and well-proportioned; and while she was Princess of *Orange* her Shape was genteel and slender, though she afterwards grew somewhat more corpulent. Her Complexion was not fair, but the Features of her Face being regular and well set together, and her Eyes lively and piercing, she might be called a beautiful Woman. But her Mind was a Summary of every Princely Qualification, and Christian Virtue. She had all that Solidity of Judgment, Depth of Reflection, and Strength of Mind, that gives the Character of *Wise* to those of our Sex; which she had greatly



greatly improved by Reading; being conversant with the best and most useful Writers in the *English, French, and Dutch* Languages, which were almost equally familiar to her. She had Abilities equal to the highest Employments; as appeared when during the King's Absence, the Administration was twice put into her Hands; at both which Times the Nation was under dangerous Alarms from Abroad. But she supplied the King's Place on those difficult Occasions with that consummate Prudence, that neither her Subjects nor her Enemies could be sensible that he was away. But at the same Time, never was so great a Capacity, for Government joined with so little Appetite to it; and she laid aside her Authority with as much Indifference, as she had managed it with Dexterity. Her Piety was sincere, fervent and habitual; and withal set off and adorned with such a constant Sprightliness and Cheerfulness of Behaviour, as made that Virtue appear inviting and agreeable, even to those whom Experience had not made sensible of its Charms. She had a sublime Idea of the Christian Religion in general; and a particular Veneration and Affection for the Church of *England*. And she understood it as well as she loved it. The King her Father had endeavoured to bring her over to the Church of *Rome*, while he was driving on Matters with that Violence in *England*; and wrote her a Letter to propose to her those Arguments he thought might induce her; which no doubt were of the strongest his Priests could help him to. But without consulting any one Person, and with less than a Day's Time to think of it, she sent an Answer conceived with that Force and Solidity, as put a Stop to any Attempts of that kind for the Future. She read the Scriptures very much; and Books relating to them; and next to these she bestowed most of her Time on Books of History.

She delighted in Acts of Charity and Beneficence; and said she wondered that the true Pleasure that accompanies doing Good, did not engage Princes to pursue it more effectually. Besides her ordinary and extraordinary Charities among her own Subjects, she reached out her Compassion to the Exiles whom the Persecution had driven hither from *France*. Nor were her charitable Cares limited within these Bounds; but extended themselves to distant Countries; the poor *Vaudois* in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, and the scattered and harassed Remnants of the Churches in *Bobemia*, being refreshed by her Christian Bounty, though so far remote.

Her Conjugal Virtues, her Humility, her Candour, her Sincerity, were equal to her other Excellencies. In those Steps of her latter Years which seem capable of a hard Construction, she weighed the Reasons, she went on with great Caution and Exactness. And she was only determined to accept the Crown, because she was persuaded that no other visible means were left

to preserve the Protestant Religion, not only here, but every where else.

Her Behaviour at her Death was suitable to her Life. She found it approaching with Unconcern; and received the Intimations of it with perfect Resignation to the Will of God. She declared that she felt the Joys of a good Conscience, and the Power of Religion giving her Supports, which the last Agonies could not shake. She received the Blessed Sacrament with a Devotion that inflamed and melted all that saw it; and not long after ended her Life.

#### *The Death and Burial of King William.*

HE had been in a weak and decaying State of Body for a considerable Time before he died; but he would not be restrained by it from his favourite Diversion of Hunting. But on the twenty first of *February*, as he was riding from *Kensington*, to hunt near *Hampton-Court*, his Horse fell under him, as he was putting him to the Gallop, and threw him off so unluckily, that with the Fall his Right Collar-Bone was broke; upon which he was carried to *Hampton-Court*, where the broken Bone was set. In the Afternoon the King, contrary to every Body's Advice, would needs return to *Kensington*, finding himself pretty well, and slept most of the Way in his Coach. However there was for some Time a good Appearance of his Recovery; till on the fourth of *March*, after having taken some Turns in the Gallery at *Kensington*, he sat down on a Couch, and fell asleep, by which he got Cold, and was soon after taken with a shivering Fit; which turned to a Fever, accompanied with a Vomiting and Looseness. Upon this the Physicians were sent for, who administered several Remedies which gave him some Ease, but could not restore his Health. For from that Day forward his Strength and Spirits decayed, till on *Sunday* the eighth of *March*, he expired about eight o' Clock in the Morning. As soon as he was dead, the Lords *Lexington* and *Scarborough*, who were then in Waiting, spoke to the King's Surgeon, to take from his Left Arm a black Ribbon, which tied next his Skin a Gold Ring, in which was some of the Hair of the late Queen *Mary*; which shewed the tender Remembrance he preserved of that excellent Lady. He was buried on the twelfth of *April*, with as much Solemnity as was consistent with a private Funeral; and was deposited in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, in the same Vault where the Bodies of King *Charles* the Second and Queen *Mary* had been laid.

MAYORS and SHERIFFS of LONDON in this King's Reign.

In 1689.

SIR John Chapman, Mayor.  
Sir Humphry Edwin, Sir John Fleet,  
Sheriffs.

In



In 1690.

Sir Thomas Pilkington, Mayor.  
Christopher Letbulier, Sir John Houblon, Sheriffs.

In 1691.

Sir Thomas Pilkington, Mayor.  
Sir Edward Clarke, Sir Francis Child, Sheriffs.

In 1692.

Sir Thomas Stamp, Mayor.  
William Ashurst, Richard Levett, Sheriffs.

In 1693.

Sir John Fleet, Mayor.  
Sir Thomas Lane, Sir Thomas Cook, Sheriffs.

In 1694.

Sir William Ashurst, Mayor.  
Sir Thomas Abney, Sir William Hedges, Sheriffs.

In 1695.

Sir Thomas Lane, Mayor.  
Sir John Sweetapple, Sir William Cole, Sheriffs.

In 1696.

Sir John Houblon, Mayor.  
Sir Edward Wills, Sir Owen Buckingham, Sheriffs.

In 1697.

Sir Edward Clark, Mayor.  
Sir John Wolfe, Samuel Blewet, Sheriffs.

In 1698.

Sir Humphrey Edwin, Mayor.  
Sir Bartholomew Gracedieu, James Collet, Sheriffs.

In 1699.

Sir Francis Child, Mayor.  
Sir William Gore, Sir Joseph Smart, Sheriffs.

In 1700.

Sir Richard Levett, Mayor.  
Sir Charles Duncomb, Sir Jeffery Jefferies, Sheriffs.

In 1701.

Sir Thomas Abney, Mayor.  
Sir Robert Beachcroft, Sir Henry Furness, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF Queen Anne

A.D. 1702.

Queen Anne  
begins her  
Reign.

AS soon as the News of King William's Death could be made known, the two Houses of Parliament assembled, according to that most prudent Constitution in the Act declaring the Succession. The Lords then sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them with the King's Death; whereupon they unanimously voted to address the Queen, to condole with her, and congratulate her Accession to the Crown. Then the Lords acquainted the Commons that they had given Orders for proclaiming the Queen that Afternoon.

The Privy-Council assembling at the same Time, the Queen came to them and made the solemn Declaration usual on those Occasions. She then caused all those who had been Privy-Counsellors to the late King, to take the Oaths to her self in the same Quality. At the same Time she wrote to the Privy-Council of Scotland, to empower that Council to act as before, and to order them to issue out the same Power to all in Office in that Kingdom, to act in like Manner, till new Commissions should be sent. The two next Days were spent in receiving the Addresses and Congratulations of the two Houses of Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Bishops then in Town, and the City of London. On the third Day the Queen went to the House of Peers, and made her first Speech to the Parliament, in which she recommended to them the reducing the Power of France, and an Union of the two Kingdoms; and it was answered by Addresses from both Houses full of Duty and Loyalty.

These Forms being over, the Queen began to apply her self in earnest to the serious and weighty Cares of her high Station. But before we enter upon the History of this Reign, it will not be amiss first to take a View of the State of Affairs both at Home and Abroad, at the Beginning of it.

By settling the Duke of Anjou on the

Throne of Spain, and by seizing the Spanish Netherlands, the French King was become Master in Effect, though not in Name, of the Power of Spain as well as that of France; besides the immense Wealth of the Spanish West-Indies. Burgundy and Alsace had increased his Dominions towards Germany; and the Electors of Bavaria and Colen who were in Alliance with him, augmented his Strength on that Side. Thus he had France and Spain and Flanders, and a great Part of Germany, with the Gold and Silver of Peru and Mexico, all at his Devotion. So that his Power in the late Reigns, which even then filled all considering Men with very melancholy Apprehensions, was almost inconsiderable when compared with his present Greatness. To oppose this formidable and ambitious Prince, England, Holland, the Emperor and Empire of Germany had united themselves by the Management of the late King, and formed the Grand Alliance, to which the King of Portugal and Duke of Savoy soon after acceded. The Emperor of Germany on his Part laid his Claim to the whole Spanish Monarchy; and wanted the Assistance of the other Allies to make it good. Holland saw at their Gates, the same Power that had brought their Republick into so much Danger in 1672; so that it is needless to say what Alarms and Apprehensions that State must be under. The German Princes and Imperial Cities near the French Frontiers were in the same Condition, and under the same Fears as the Dutch. England was secure indeed, by its happy Situation and inward Strength, from any sudden Attempt; but had too much Interest in the Welfare of the neighbouring States, to be an idle Spectator of their Slavery and Ruin. And besides, the Affront offered to our Countrey by proclaiming the Pretended Prince of Wales, was too great to pass unresented. So that for these different Reasons, these Powers were easily engaged in that famous Confederacy. The War

A.D. 1702.

The State of  
Affairs A-  
broad.



A.D. 1702. War indeed was not yet proclaimed; but every one saw that an open Rupture could not be far off.

And at home.

This was the State of Affairs abroad. At home our Countrey was happy in a Queen, who had no Views but for the Prosperity and Welfare of her People, and whose Inclinations and Aims could not be better expressed, than in her own Words in her Speech to the Parliament, when she told them that she knew her Heart to be *entirely English*. And her Love and Care of her Subjects was answered on their Parts, by the most entire Confidence, and the most ardent Affection. She was attended by many great and wise Counsellors; only infected with the Disease of Courts, Envy and Emulation of each other. As Princes are seldom without Favourites, the Queen had a particular Affection for *Sarah* the Countess of *Marlborough*, who enjoyed an uncommon Degree of Favour with her. The Earl of *Marlborough*, this Lady's Husband, was both a Soldier and Statesman of acknowledged Sufficiency; though his Merit did not now appear with that dazzling Lustre that it did afterwards. This Nobleman had married a Daughter of his to the Son of the Lord *Godolphin*, an experienced Courtier, and a wise and able Minister; and this Alliance uniting the Interests of those two great Men, they found Means to supplant their Competitors by the Countess of *Marlborough's* Credit with the Queen, and to procure the Staff of Lord Treasurer for the Lord *Godolphin*, and the Commission of General for the Earl of *Marlborough*. These two Offices they discharged with much Glory to themselves, Success abroad, and Applause at Home; and thus by a Felicity that rarely attends those Royal Intimacies, the Influence of the Favourite, and the Publick Interest pointed the same Way.

But the Nation was not more strengthen'd by this perfect Harmony between the Queen and the People, than it was weakened by its intestine Divisions. The Beginning, or rather the Revival of these unhappy Differences, happened about the Time of the Popish Plot; and they continued with very ill Consequences, and worse Prospects, till the End of King *Charles* the Second's Reign. But after King *James* had ascended the Throne, and began to drive on so violently in favour of Popery, the imminent Danger frightened both Parties into Agreement, when Reason could not bring them to it, and they joined heartily against the common Enemy. But the Revolution bringing Quiet and Security with it, the Remembrance of past Dangers gradually vanished, and the old Animosities, as is the Nature of Mankind, began to sprout again; the *Jacobite* Notions of some, and the *Republican* Principles of others heightening and inflaming those little Divisions, which Differences of Opinion about the Publick Management will unavoidably produce in free Countries. When the Nation was thus divided, the two Par-

ties did not want Heads. And the great A.D. 1702. Men on both Sides soon finding the Pleasure and Convenience of being obeyed and courted by numerous Bodies, were, to be sure, not very solicitous to quench those Feuds which increased their own Power, and the Number of their Dependants. But upon King *William's* Death, the universal Love which the Nation bore to the Queen, extinguishing the Hopes of the *Jacobites* and *Republicans*, there remained only the Interests of the Leaders on both Sides to keep up the Diffensions. And as a Fire once kindled is easily maintained, these latter found it no difficult Matter to continue the former Quarrels, and apply them to their own private Views and Interests. And thus the well-meaning Part of the Nation, who had now no real Ground of Contention, was so deluded as to be blown up into Madness and Fury for the Interests of a few private Men; and to think their Leaders and Favourites were contending for the Security of all that was near and dear to them, while the real Dispute was only who should enjoy the Authority and Revenue that waits upon Publick Offices. For without doubt, there were on one Side as well as on the other, many Persons of excellent Abilities; alike devoted to their Country's Interest, and alike too subject to those Errors and Passions that mislead great Men from pursuing the same; who were therefore equally to be trusted, and equally to be suspected.

The Queen in the first Place sent a Letter to the States-General, to assure them of her Friendship, and steady Adherence to the Measures lately taken with them. And soon after the Earl of *Marlborough* was sent over, to enter into a more strict Alliance with that State. These Steps encouraged the *Dutch* to look their present Dangers in the Face with Alacrity and Firmness.

The House of Commons settled the same Revenues on the Queen as had been granted to the late King. Upon this Occasion the Queen, when she went to pass the Act to that Purpose, promised to allow one hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* out of her own private Revenue to be applied to the Publick Service; which wonderfully delighted the People, and was acknowledged by Addresses of Thanks from both Houses of Parliament.

The War abroad appearing unavoidable, A Consultation was held in the Privy-Council thereupon. The Earl of *Rocheſter* proposed, that the *English* should engage therein only as Auxiliaries, which was opposed by the Earl of *Marlborough*; who alledged not only that the Honour of the Crown was concerned to make good the late King's Engagements, but that *France* could never be reduced within reasonable Bounds, unless *England* engaged as Principal in the Quarrel. This Opinion was agreed to by a Majority, and a Declaration of War was drawn up. This was communicated to the House of Commons for their Advice thereupon; who promised to assist her Majesty to the utmost



A.D. 1702. utmost in carrying on the War. And upon this Assurance War was soon after proclaimed against *France*.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

Little was done of Importance after this, during this Session of Parliament. Complaint was made to the House of Lords, of a Report raised and propagated by some violent Party-Men, both in Speech and Writing, (as there is nothing so extravagant which such Persons will not believe or invent,) of a Design carried on by a numerous Party to defeat the Queen's Succession, and to place the Elector of *Hanover* in her Throne. The House was sensible of the dangerous Tendency of such Reports, and having declared them false and scandalous, ordered the Attorney-General to prosecute some who had published the same in Writing. Another Complaint was made to the House of a Pamphlet, containing many Reflections on King *Charles* the First, and tending to the Subversion of Monarchy; which was voted malicious and villainous, and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. Another Censure was passed on a Sermon on the thirtieth of *January*, in which the Preacher was as extravagant in the opposite Extreme, and insinuated, that the *Jews* were less wicked in crucifying our Saviour, than the *English* Rebels in murdering King *Charles* the First. The Lords resolved, that there were many Things in that Sermon that gave just Scandal to all Christian People. The two Houses joined in an Address to the Queen to prohibit Commerce with *France*, with which she promised to comply. Soon after the Lords addressed her to encourage Privateers, and Attempts upon the *Spanish West-Indies*, of which she promised to take Care. Two Days after, the Queen went to the Parliament, and having pass'd the Bills that were ready, put an End to the Session by a Prorogation.

Affairs of  
Scotland.

The Affairs of *Scotland* proved very thorny and perplexed; and the Proceedings of many of that Nation gave no small Trouble here. The ill Humours there took their Rise from the following Causes. It was always the Custom before the Revolution, that the Parliament of that Nation was chosen annually; but King *William* broke into this Constitution, and continued the Convention-Parliament throughout his whole Reign. This Innovation bred ill Blood there; which was mightily increased by the Opposition *England* had made to all the Endeavours of the *Scots* to extend and improve their Commerce; and especially by their ill Treatment about their Settlement at *Darien*. The *Scotch* Nation so universally resented these Things, that the Queen was advised to continue that Parliament, to prevent the Consequences of a new Election, while the People were in such a Temper. This was arbitrary enough, so that it is no Wonder if it raised very furious and dangerous Heats. Several of the *Scots* Nobility came to *London*, to lay before the Queen the Illegality and Unreasonableness of such a Project; but the Advice of

The Parlia-  
ment there  
continued.

those who preferred Convenience to Equity A.D. 1702, prevailed; and the Queen remained inflexible. A Proclamation was issued out appointing that Parliament to meet on the ninth of *June*; and *James* Duke of *Queensberry* was named to be the Queen's High Commissioner. The Queen wrote a Letter to the Parliament, with Professions of Kindness and Affection to that her ancient Kingdom, her Concern for their Loss at *Darien*, and Proposals for an Union.

When the Parliament met, Duke *Hamilton*, before the Queen's Commission was read, stood up. He then made a Speech, in which, after many Professions of Loyalty to the Queen, he said that he deemed their Sitting as a Parliament, not to be warranted by Law; and having read a Protestation to that Purpose, took Instruments of what he had done, and went out of the House. His Example was followed by Eighty of the other Members. And this Act was so pleasing to the People, that as they came out they were saluted with loud Acclamations from Persons of all Ranks and Degrees. Nevertheless the other Members continued sitting, and passed an Act for recognizing her present Majesty; and an Act to declare the Sitting of the Parliament legal, and all Opposition thereto High-Treason.

Some Mem-  
bers refuse to  
acknowledge  
it.

The Dissenting Members went on, and sent an Address to the Queen to justify themselves. But it was not accepted, and the Queen resolved to maintain this Session of Parliament, and signified the same by a Letter to them. The Parliament proceeded to pass an Act for a Land Tax; and another to appoint Commissioners for an Union. After this it was proposed to settle the Succession in *Scotland* upon the House of *Hanover*; but this was so vigorously opposed, that the High Commissioner dared not hazard the Vote; and therefore broke up the Session. The Commissioners for the Union met soon after; but a Difference between them about the Interests of the *Scotch India* and *African* Company, put a Stop to all farther Progress for this Time.

The Parlia-  
ment breaks  
up.

But the great Scene of Affairs lay in the Military Operations by Sea and Land. Before King *William's* Death, he was informed that the Princes and Dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* were raising Men for the *French* Service with *French* Money, in the very Bowels of the Empire. To repress this Attempt, so dangerous both in its Example and Consequences, that great Prince had concerted Measures with the Dukes of *Hanover* and *Zell*, to fall upon those Princes and disarm them. The King died, but the Design went on successfully; and the Elector of *Hanover* with his Troops made an Irruption into that Principality, and blocked up *Wolfenbuttle*, the Capital City. The Princes being so hard pressed were obliged to submit; and the Troops they had raised for the *French* Service, were taken into the Pay of the Elector of *Hanover*.

The Actions  
Abroad.

The Elector of *Cologne* had admitted *French* Garrisons into all his strong Places;



A.D. 1702. so that the Republick of *Holland* was surrounded almost on every Side by the Troops of that Nation. To remove this Thorn from their Side, the Siege of *Keyserfwaert*, a strong Post in that Electorate, had been concerted by King *William*. This Enterprize had been carried on; but slowly and with Difficulty, on account of the bad Weather. This was the State of Things on that Side, when the Earl of *Marlborough* came to the *Hague*, on his Way to the Army. He was ordered to use his Endeavours with the States to engage them to prohibit all Commerce with *France*: But it seems they found it turn so much to account, that his Representations proved ineffectual. During this Negotiation, News was brought that *Keyserfwaert* was surrendered to the *Prussian* and *Dutch* Troops.

An Attempt had been made by the *French* upon *Nimeguen*, which was near succeeding. But the *English* and *Dutch* Troops, who were at a great Distance, having Notice of the Danger that Town was in, marched to secure it with such critical Expedition, that they came up to it half an Hour before the *French*, and saved it. While the Army was near this Town, the Earl of *Marlborough* arrived there. The *Mareschal Boufflers* who commanded the *French* Army, made it his great Care throughout this Campaign to avoid an Engagement. The Earl of *Marlborough* finding it impossible to draw him out of this cautious Conduct, made use of the Opportunity to besiege and take first *Venlo*, then *Roermonde*, and lastly *Stevenswaert*, three strong Places upon the *Maeſe*; by which the Navigation of that River was opened, and *Maestricht*, almost blocked up, was freed and secured. And following the Tide of his Success, the Earl afterwards besieged the City and Citadel of *Liege*, and made himself Master of them. This last Action put an End to the Campaign, the Season of the Year not permitting the Soldiers to continue in the Field any longer.

Thus on the Side of *Holland*, the Event of Affairs appeared favourable to the Confederates. On the Side of *Germany* the Elector of *Bavaria* threw off the Mask, declared for the *French*, and surprized *Ulm*, the Capital for the *Suabia*, and an Imperial City. Upon this Act of Hostility, the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbon* resolved to declare War against *France* and *Spain*; and requested the Emperor to proceed against the Elector of *Bavaria*, according to the Constitution of the Empire. On the other Hand, the Elector sent a kind of Manifesto to the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, requiring them to accept a Neutrality, and not to meddle with Foreign Affairs. But these Orders were little regarded. Soon after some Letters between the Elector, and *Mareschal Catinat*, the *French* General, were intercepted, by which the Practices of the Elector to disturb *Germany*, in Conjunction with the *French*, plainly appeared. Upon this the two Ministers of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* were forbid to come any more to the Imperial

Diet; and on the thirtieth of September N. S. A.D. 1702. the Declaration of War was published. Though this happened so late in the Year, the Season did not pass over without an Encounter. For Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who commanded the *German* Army, having weakened his Forces by great Detachments sent to hinder the Conjunction of the *French* and *Bavarians*, was attacked unexpectedly in his Camp by the former, who were very much superior in Number. The *German* Horse were at first put into such Disorder, that the Battle seemed utterly lost. But the Foot behaved themselves so well that they turned the Scale, and obliged the *French* to fly in their Turn. The Court of *France* to keep up the Spirits of their People at the Entrance of the War, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung as for a Victory; and made the Commander, *Monsieur Villars*, a *Mareschal* of *France*. But the Advantage appeared to be on the Side of the *Germans*, who not only prevented the joining of the *French* and *Bavarian* Forces, but soon after obliged the *French* to repass the *Rhine*. And with that the Campaign ended.

In *Italy* the Success was as doubtful as on the Side of *Germany*. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who commanded the *German* Forces, was attacked by the *French* and *Spaniards* at *Luzzara*, who being very much superior in Numbers, thought to have surrounded him. But he made so brave a Stand, that he drove them from the Field, and opened his Way through them. But the Inequality of Numbers gave the others so great an Advantage, that tho' they had the worse in this Encounter, they gained several Posts from the *Germans* afterwards, and the Success of the Campaign seemed determined on their Side.

The Operations of War were as active in another Part of the World. King *William* had laid the Plan of a Design to invade *Spain*; having Intelligence that many of the *Spanish* *Grandeess* were ready and willing to declare for the House of *Austria*, if they could be supported by a Body of Forces. With this Intention great Preparations were begun, and after his Death carried on diligently both in *England* and *Holland*. Every Thing was now ready, and the Confederate Fleet sailed from *St. Hellens* July 1. It consisted of fifty Ships of the Line of Battle; thirty *English*, and twenty *Dutch*, commanded in chief by Sir *George Rooke*; which convoyed a great Fleet of Transports, carrying near fourteen Thousand Land-Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond*. They steered their Course towards *Cadiz*, but were so long detained by Calms and contrary Winds, that it was the twelfth of *August* before they came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Bulls*, about two Leagues from that City. Advice being brought that there were two very convenient Bays to make a Descent, a Council of War was called. The Duke of *Ormond* vehemently pressed to land the Soldiers there, and make a sudden and vigorous Attack upon the Town; which was filled with so much Consternation at this unexpected

The Campaign in the Netherlands.

The Empire declares War against France. An Action in Germany.

The Earl of Marlborough's Success.

The Campaign in Italy.

An Expedition to Cadiz.

The Elector of Bavaria declares for the French.



A.D. 1702. peated Visit, that they seemed not at all likely to make any Resistance. But this was opposed by others, especially the Sea-Officers; so that it was at last resolved to attack first the Fort of St. Katherine, and Port St. Mary, to make their Approach to Cadiz the more secure. Accordingly the Land-Forces were set on Shore in the Bay of Bulls, and made themselves Masters of Rota, Fort St. Katherine, and Port St. Mary's. But when the Soldiers had possessed themselves of Port St. Mary's, and found the Houses forsaken by the Inhabitants, but replenished with Stores of good Wine, they drank of it so greedily, that the Discipline of War could no longer restrain them. So that though they were forbid to offer any Injury to the People, (our Army coming as Deliverers and not as Invaders) they fell to plundering and doing all the Mischief that the usual Licence of Soldiers, inflamed by Drunkenness, and what was worse, encouraged by the Example of their Officers, could put into their Heads. This was one great Cause of the ill Success of this Enterprize. For the News of these Disorders being propagated among the Spaniards, gave them such an Aversion to our Troops, that none of Note came to join them during their Stay there. In the mean Time the Garrison of Cadiz recovered their Surprise, and were considerably reinforced. They secured the Passage into the Harbour by a strong Boom, and sinking of Ships at the Entrance; so that it was judged impracticable to force it till the two Forts of Puntal and Matagorda were reduced. The Fort of Matagorda was attempted by a Body of six Thousand Soldiers under the Command of Baron Spaar the Dutch General. But the Ground proved so boggy, that the Besiegers could neither erect Batteries upon so yielding a Foundation, nor dig Trenches deep enough to cover the Men. So that after some fruitless Efforts, it was at last resolved to abandon the Design; and the Troops being all re-imbarked, the Fleet set Sail for England.

Which proves  
unsuccessful.

The Fleet  
fails back for  
England.

They receive  
Advice of a  
Plate-Fleet  
arrived at Vi-  
go.

As they were pursuing their Voyage Homewards, full of Discontent, and Shame, and Murmuring, and mutual Complaints, and Accusations, which ever accompany disappointed Enterprizes, it happened that Sir George Rooke sent three of his Ships into Lagos-Bay upon the Coasts of Portugal, to water there. Mr. Beauvoir, Chaplain of the Pembroke, out of Curiosity went ashore, and chancing to meet the French Consul, the latter upon Mr. Beauvoir's speaking to him in French, commenced an Acquaintance with him, and entertained him two Days at his House. During the Conversation that passed between them, the French Consul in boasting of his Master's Strength, let slip a Hint, that he had a great Fleet just arrived from the West-Indies, at Vigo upon the Coasts of Galicia. It happened too, that before Mr. Beauvoir went aboard again, he met another Gentleman, who was sent Express by the Imperial Minister to the Fleet with an Account of the same Thing. Upon

these Advices the Fleet was a little comforted, and hoped by some notable Action at Vigo, to make amends for the Disappointment at Cadiz.

The Fleet came to an Anchor before Vigo, October 11. They found in that Port thirty Men of War, and two and twenty Galleons, under the Command of Monsieur Chateau-Renault. There was a narrow Streight at the Entrance of the Harbour, guarded by a Fort, and also by several Batteries erected upon the Shore; besides a strong Boom laid across it. Within the Harbour the Enemies Men of War were ranged in the Form of an Half-Moon, with their Broadfides towards the Streight that gave Entrance into it. When the Confederates saw this formidable Preparation made for their Reception, they judged that it would be impossible for the Ships to make Way into the Harbour, through the Fire of so many Cannon as were planted along the Streight they were to pass through. It was therefore resolved to set some of the Land-Forces ashore, who should attack the Fort, and possess themselves of the Batteries, before the Ships came up. This was accordingly done, and two thousand five hundred Men were landed under the Command of the Duke of Ormond. The Spaniards attacked them, after they were set on Shore; but the English bravely repulsed them, and marched on to the Fort; which they took, and possessed themselves of a great Battery of thirty eight Pieces of Cannon. Then Vice-Admiral Hopson came up, and went with all the Sail he could make against the Boom, and broke it, and got into the Harbour. But his Entrance there had like to have cost him dear; for the other Ships that followed him stuck in the Boom, and were forced to cut their Way through it; while the Vice-Admiral's Ship stood alone exposed to all the Enemies Cannon. A Fire-ship also laid him Aboard, and set his Ship on Fire, upon which many of the Sailors leapt into the Sea. But it happened that the Fire-ship blew up; and having a great Quantity of Snuff aboard (it being only a Merchant Man made Use of upon that sudden Exigency) the Snuff almost put out the Fire. So that by the Endeavours of those who remained aboard, the Ship was preserved. Mean while the Boom was cut to Pieces by the English and Dutch Ships, who making their Way through it, came one after another into the Harbour. The French Admiral seeing the whole Fleet ready to fall upon him, and the Fort and Batteries ashore possessed by the English, ordered his own Ship to be set on Fire; and the same Thing was done by the other Ships of his Fleet; so that fifteen Men of War were seen flaming at once; the Men making their Escape to Land. The Galleons had been carried up the River; but Orders were given to set these also on Fire, lest they should be seized by the Conquerors. The English and Dutch were now busily employed in saving what they could from

A.D. 1702. They fail to  
Vigo, and  
take and de-  
stroy the  
whole Fleet.



A.D. 1702. from the general Destruction, and they preserved ten Men of War, and nine of the Gallies; the rest being either sunk or burnt. The Booty was very considerable, though the Enemy did their utmost to destroy what they could not carry away. It was computed that about fourteen Millions of Pieces of Eight were saved out of the Gallies by the *French*, before the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet came up; and that about six Millions were either taken or destroyed. But there were rich Goods also aboard them, valued at as much more, of which about a fourth Part was saved by the Enemy, another fourth Part taken, and the rest destroyed. This Service performed, the Fleet sailed away for *England*, leaving Sir *Cloudesley Shovel* to refit as many of the Enemies Ships as could bear the Sea, and destroy the rest. The Success at *Vigo* silenced the Murmurings about the Miscarriage at *Cadiz*. Some Officers were questioned about their Misbehaviour there which had so fatal Consequences; and Sir *Henry Bellasis*, who was found faulty, was dismissed from the Queen's Service.

While these Things passed abroad, the Queen dissolved the Parliament. She spent some Part of the Summer in a Progress through *Oxford* to *Bath*, and in *October* met the new Parliament. After the usual Forms of Addresses were over, the News came of the Success at *Vigo*, upon which the Queen ordered a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, to be solemnized for the Blessings of Providence on the Arms of the Confederates at *Vigo*, and in *Flanders*. And the Queen came in Person to *St. Paul's Cathedral*, followed by both Houses of Parliament, and the great Officers of State.

The Proceedings of Parliament.

The Commons having voted a Supply for maintaining the Land-Forces for the present Year, the next Thing that came before them was a Complaint made by Sir *John Packington* against the Bishop of *Worcester*, who it seems had stickled warmly in Opposition to Sir *John* at the Election of Members for the County of *Worcester*. The Commons, after hearing Witnesses, resolved, that the Complaint was well-grounded, and that the Bishop had acted contrary to the Privileges and Liberties of the Commons of *England*; and voted to address the Queen to remove him from the Place of Lord Almoner, which he then held. The Lords hearing of this, thought the Privileges of their Order invaded, if a Peer was to suffer a Penalty without the Judgment of their House. So that they presented an Address before that of the Commons, in which they requested the Queen not to shew any Mark of her Displeasure to the Bishop, till he were found guilty of some Crime by due Course of Law. But the Influence of the House of Commons, or some other Cause was so forcible, that when the Address of the Lower House was presented, the Queen promised them to do as they requested. Shortly after, the Queen having represented to the House, that there was little or no Provision made

for Prince *George* of *Denmark* in Case he should survive her, the Commons resolved to settle one hundred thousand Pounds yearly upon him.

The Earl of *Marlborough* about this Time arrived from *Holland*; and it was not long before Sir *Edward Seymour* waited upon him with the Thanks of the House of Commons for his Services the last Campaign. Those Services were certainly very great and eminent; and though his present Successes were but faint Glimmerings of the glorious Actions he afterwards performed, yet none could have believed that King *William's* Place could have been so happily supplied. But his noble Talents were sullied and diminished by a mean Fault, and the most unworthy of an heroic Mind, an inordinate Love of Money; a Disposition which his Circumstances (which were low at his first setting out in the World) had made formerly excusable, but ought certainly to have been left in his Ascent to the high Advancement he was arrived to. He had not been long in *England*, before his Lady persuaded the Queen to add to the Title of Duke, which was a Remuneration worthy his Services, an additional Pension of five thousand Pounds a Year out of the Post-Office, under Pretence of supporting the Honour. But because this could be granted only during the Queen's Life, she was prevailed on to send a Message to the House of Commons, to desire them to make his Pension perpetual. The Duke's Friends were angry, and his Enemies delighted, with such a Meanness in his great Character; so that when the Queen's Message came to be considered, there was so much said against it, and so little for it, that the House resolved upon an Address, in which they represented to her Majesty the evil Consequences such a Precedent of alienating the Crown Revenues might have; concluding with a short and grateful Mention of the Duke's Merits, which by a noble Mind ought to have been prized above a Pension. The two Favourites were nettled at this Disappointment; and it gave Occasion for many severe Reflections upon them.

The Commons oppose a Grant of five Thousand Pounds per Annum made to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The Earl of *Ranelagh*, who had been Paymaster-General of the Army, underwent a Censure from the House of Commons, for having misapplied the Publick Money. He endeavoured to divert the Storm by laying down his Place, which was divided between *John How Esq*; and Sir *Stephen Fox*; but nevertheless he was soon after expelled the House. A Bill was ordered to be brought in to resume all Grants made by the late King *William*, and apply them to the Use of the Publick; but it was dropped before it passed the House. A Motion was made for a Bill to hinder any from sitting in Parliament who enjoyed Office or Employment, which was rejected. But it gave Occasion to order another Bill, enacting, that no Person should be chosen a Member of the House of Commons, who had not a sufficient real Estate; but this was thrown out in the Upper House.

Other Proceedings of Parliament.



A.D. 1702. Soon after the Commons, upon a Message from the Queen, agreed to augment the Forces with ten Thousand Men, but upon Condition that the States should prohibit all Commerce and Correspondence with France. The Lords also addressed the Queen to the same Purpose. The Reason why the House insisted on this Prohibition was, that the French found it difficult to remit Money to Italy or Germany, without the Help of the English, Dutch, and Geneva Merchants. And a Discovery was made about this Time of an Intercourse of Bills of Exchange, between some French Bankers at Paris, and some Merchants at London.

The unhappy Diffensions of our Countrey had now taken a new Turn; the Fears of Popery, which had once occasioned them, being taken away by the Revolution in 1688. and the Laws made since that Time. It might then have been hoped that all Differences would have been for ever buried, when the old Enemy, Popery, was entirely reduced; and a perfect Concord among Protestants seemed to be ratified by the Act of Toleration. But the peevish Humours of some Persons on both Sides, infected the others; and from a few particular Instances, the zealous Members of the Church of England on one Side, and the warm and inconsiderate Part of the Dissenters on the other, were scared with mutual panic Fears. The Churchmen were made to fear the Ruine and Subversion of the Church from imaginary Contrivances and Attempts of the Dissenters. And these in Return grew as jealous of a persecuting Spirit in the Church of England, which their own Fancies had raised to fright themselves with. And because no present Grounds appeared for such Surmises on either Side, they raised them from the Remembrance of past Transactions, which having no Relation to the present State of Things, ought to have been eternally forgot.

A Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity brought into the House of Commons.

This Temper of Mens Minds brought in this Session a famous Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity. Of this Occasional Conformity there were two Kinds. One was introduced by some moderate Persons among the Dissenters, who though they forbore to communicate with the Church constantly, yet thought proper to do so some Times, to shew their Charity, and that they looked upon those of both Persuasions to be equally the Flock and Servants of our Saviour Jesus Christ. But there was another Occasional Conformity of a less commendable Nature. For, because the Test Act made it necessary that all Persons in Office of Trust or Power should receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England, many of the Dissenters, who pretended at other Times to be with-held from joining themselves to the Church by Scruples of Conscience, would yet venture to communicate with her, in order to qualify themselves for such Places. This was without doubt a very unjustifiable Practice, and had given great Offence to many conscientious Per-

sons among the Dissenters, as well as of the Church of England. To put a Stop to this, a Motion was made in the House of Commons for a Bill to prevent the like for the future. The Motion was received, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; which passed the Lower House with great Ease, being set forward by Persons of different Characters, for different Reasons. Some who were hearty Lovers of the Church, and of strict and regular Lives, concurred in it to remove what they thought a Scandal to Religion in general, and of dangerous Consequence to the Church of England in particular; and others who were no Ways concerned about Religion, because a Zeal for the Church seemed a proper Method to increase and promote their Interest. And thus Mr. Bromley, who made the Motion, and was a Gentleman of real Seriousness and Piety, was joined in preparing the Bill with Mr. Saint-John, (since Lord Bolingbroke) whose Severity and Strictness of Life has never been much commended. When this Bill was carried up to the House of Lords, it was not so well received. Some thought it better to leave the Matter a little more loose, lest by excluding the Occasional Conformists of the second Kind, they should also make a Breach with those of the first Kind. And others affected to shew their Zeal against it, because their Interest and Credit lay among the Dissenters, and those who favoured them. The Lords however did not reject the Bill, but made several Amendments to it, which the Commons disagreed to. A free Conference was held about them between a Committee of both Houses, but with little Success. So that both Parties being stiff, the Bill was dropped between them.

The Bill dropped.

A Division happened between the two Houses upon another Occasion. The Commons had appointed Commissioners to inspect the Publick Accounts; upon whose Report the House resolved that the Lord Hallifax, Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, had been guilty of great Mismanagements. The Lords also examined some of the Proceedings of the said Commissioners, but came to a Resolution opposite to that of the Commons, namely, that the Lord Hallifax had rightly performed the Duty of his Office. In the Course of the Lords Enquiry they had sent a Message to the Commons, to desire that the Commissioners might attend upon their Committee. This Message was not answered when the above Resolution was passed; but soon after the Commons at a Conference represented to the Lords, that they could not comply with their Lordships Desires; because they could not see what End the Lords could propose to themselves in this Examination; since they could neither supply any Deficiencies, the Grant of all Aids being in the Commons, nor yet apply any Surplusage, if any such should appear; nor could they, if any Mismanagement should be discovered, take Notice of it, even in their judicial Capacity,

A Difference between the two Houses.



A.D. 1702. pacity, otherwise than at the Complaint of the Commons; nor could any Information the Commissioners might give, entitle the Lords either to acquit or condemn. For these Reasons they observed that the above Resolution was irregular, and the more so, because it tended to prejudge a Cause that might regularly have come before them, either by Complaint of the Commons, or by Writ of Error from the Courts below. The Lords were provoked with these Representations; and resolved, that the Lords have an undoubted Right to take Cognizance of all Publick Accounts, that their Proceedings, in Relation to the Lord *Hallifax*, were regular; and that the Commons at the Conference, had used reflecting and unparliamentary Expressions and Arguments.

The Lords then desired a Conference with the Commons, at which they presented them with these Resolutions. The Commons were as warm on the other Side, and desired another Conference with the Lords; in which the House gave to their Committee the following Heads to go upon at the Conference. "I. That no Cognizance the Lords can take of Publick Accounts can enable them to supply any Deficiency, or apply any Surplusage of the Publick Money. II. That the Lords can neither acquit nor condemn any Man, upon any Enquiry arising originally in their own House. III. That their Attempt to acquit the Lord *Hallifax* was unparliamentary, and unprecedented. IV. That the Expressions used by the Commons were neither Reflecting nor Unparliamentary. V. That the Lords delivering their Resolutions, instead of Reasons, in Answer to the Reasons of the Commons, was not agreeable to ancient Methods". When the Managers on both Sides met, those of the Commons opened the several Particulars they were charged with; and said, that if the Lords did controvert any of those Points, they were ready to maintain them. But the Lords made no Answer to any of the Particulars, excepting that which related to the Resolution concerning the Lord *Hallifax*; upon which they acknowledged, that they were no Court of Enquiry to form an Accusation; that their Proceedings, in Relation to that Lord, were no Trial; nor was their Resolution any Judgment or Acquittal; but that he might still be prosecuted as before. But that which gave Occasion to that Proceeding was, they said, the Resolution of the House of Commons reflecting upon a Member of their House. The Managers of the House of Commons having replied to this, and the Lord *Hallifax* having spoken for himself, the Conference broke up; as did the Session it self by a Prorogation not long after, this Dispute having no farther Consequences.

During the last Summer there happened an Action in the *West-Indies*, between a *French* Squadron under Monsieur *du Casse*, and a Squadron of *English* Ships, under Admiral *Bembow*. But the Captains of the *English*

Admiral not seconding his Endeavours, the *A.D. 1702.* *French* Squadron escaped; Admiral *Bembow* losing his Leg by a Cannon-Shot, of which Wound he afterwards died. Three of the Captains, *Kirkby*, *Wade*, and *Constable*, were tried at a Court-Martial for Cowardice, and Neglect of Duty; and *Kirkby* and *Wade* were shot to Death at *Plymouth*. Some little Actions also passed by Land in *America*, but without any remarkable Consequences.

The Distempers of *Scotland* were not at all lessened by what passed in the last Session of Parliament. The Queen's Council finding it impracticable or unsafe to continue that Assembly any longer, had summoned a new one; in the Choice of which the Stream ran strongly in Favour of those who were like to oppose the Measures from the Throne. When the Parliament met, and the usual Forms were past, Duke *Hamilton* proposed an Act for recognizing the Queen's Authority, and her Right and Title to the Crown of *Scotland*. This was easily received: But the Ministry there, knowing how obnoxious they were on account of the continuing the last Parliament, endeavoured to slide in a Clause, by which it should be made High-Treason to impugn or quarrel her Majesty's Right and Title to the Crown; or her Exercise of the Government from her actual Entry to the same. The Meaning of the latter Part of this Clause was well understood; and vigorously opposed by those who were dissatisfied with the Proceedings in the last Parliament, which this Clause might have been interpreted as a Confirmation of. It produced a warm Debate, in which the Party that opposed the Ministers had a great Advantage, being at full Liberty to explain themselves; whereas the other Side dared not give their true Reasons. But what Argument could not do, some secret Intrigues brought about; for though the discontented Members had a Majority, they were prevailed on to let the Clause pass upon some private Motives; it being, however expressly declared at passing it, that the Meaning of that Clause should not extend to justify the Actings in the late Parliament, if they should be thereafter questioned. Four Days after the Act received the Royal Assent.

In the next Place an Act for a Supply was presented. But this was interrupted by an Overture, that the Parliament should in the first Place, and before all Things, proceed to make such Constitutions and Regulations in the Government, as might secure Religion and Liberty after the Queen's Decease. It brought on a long and warm Debate which of these Overtures should be first received; and at last it was determined in favour of the latter. But before this Affair was entered into, an Act for Toleration of all Protestants in the Exercise of their religious Worship was presented and read. One would scarce have thought that a Law so equitable, so humane, so solid a Foundation of National Happiness and Security, in-

Admiral *Bembow* killed.

A.D. 1703: The Parliament of *Scotland* meets.

Their Proceedings.

The Parliament prorogued.

A Fight at Sea in the *West-Indies*.

An Act for Toleration opposed by the *Scotch* Kirk.

forced



A.D. 1703. forced too by the amiable and christian Moderation and Tenderness shewn by the Established Church in *England*, could ever miscarry, when recommended by such weighty Arguments, and so winning and attractive an Example. But such was the Temper of the *Scotch* Kirk, that neither the Interest and Welfare of their Countrey, nor Christian Charity and Brotherly Love, nor that beautiful and inviting Pattern set them in the neighbouring Kingdom, could either persuade, or melt, or shame them into Reason. They did not blush to present to the Parliament a Representation against this Act, in which they adopted some of those trite and exploded Arguments that were used formerly in *England* against a Toleration of the Dissenters; concluding with these extraordinary Words: "That to enact a Toleration for those of that Way (which God of his infinite Mercy avert) would be to establish Iniquity by a Law, and would bring upon the Promoters thereof and their Families, the dreadful Guilt of all those Sins, and pernicious Effects that might arise thereupon." This Representation put a Period to all farther Hopes in that Matter.

Farther Proceedings of the *Scotch* Parliament.

The Parliament of *Scotland* consisted of two different Parties, as usual, called the Court and Countrey Party. The latter of these took its Rise, or at least received a great Increase from several ungracious Steps that were taken in the last Reign; the Continuation of the Parliament, and the rough Treatment the *Scots* had received from *England* about their Settlement in *America*, and the Interests of their *African* and *Indian* Company. These Things were deeply resented by many there, who thinking the *English* Nation, on account of their superior Wealth and Power, despised the *Scots*, thought to make their Nation more considerable by thwarting all Measures agreeable to the *English* Government. This Party was increased by all those who were devoted to the Interests of the late King *James*, or the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, who though not numerous by themselves, carried a considerable Weight into either Scale. This it was that gave Occasion for the Overture abovementioned, to secure the Religion and Liberties of *Scotland* after the Queen's Decease. This Overture being received, the Marquis of *Arbol*, who made it, offered an Act for the Security of the Kingdom in Case of the Queen's Decease. This Act was now read, and the Parliament proceeded to debate on it; and it was agreed to consider the same, Paragraph by Paragraph.

An Act for Security of the Kingdom proposed.

It is examined Paragraph by Paragraph.

The first Clause mentioned was, that upon the twentieth Day after the Queen's Decease, the Estates of the Nation should meet, and that the Government of the Nation should be in their Hands. This was easily agreed to. The next was, that no *Papists* should be Members of the Estates; which was also carried without Difficulty. After this, another Clause was offered, that no Englishman or Foreigner, having a *Scots* Title, and

not having an Estate of 1000 *l.* Sterling yearly Rent in *Scotland*, should be capable of sitting and voting there. This also passed; but not without a Debate, and a Protest against it. It was afterwards proposed to consider of Limitations to be laid on the Successor after the Queen. This produced violent Heats. For a Member urging that the Queen's Letter to the Parliament empowered them to expect her Concurrence in any Thing that might secure the Liberty and Welfare of the Kingdom, the Lord Commissioner answered him, that he did not expect to hear such Comments made upon the Queen's Letter, and that he did not think he meant that any Limitations should be laid on her self or her Successors. The Member answered, that no Limitations were offered to the Queen, or to the Heirs of her Body, but that some designing Statesmen among Foreigners, had influenced and overawed the *Scots* Government and Ministry to abandon the *Scots* Interest. He was backed by another, who said, that he was now convinced that whatever came from the Throne proceeded from the Influence of *English* Councils. This was taken Notice of by some Members about the Throne, who interrupted the other, insinuating that such Expressions were not to be suffered. But this set the House in a Flame, who cried out upon Breach of Privilege, and demanded that the Member might speak without Interruption, and explain himself. At last Silence being made, the Member added, that he could easily explain himself, that he spoke not as a Slave, but as a Free-man. That he knew the Truth of what he said, and that nothing could save *Scotland* from Slavery, but withdrawing themselves from under the Dominion of an *English* Prince, after the Queen's Decease, without Heirs of her Body. However, at last it was carried by twenty six Voices not to proceed to Limitations. It was proposed afterwards to consider of a Regency, in case the Successor to be nominated were under Age; but it was resolved to leave this to the Meeting of the Estates. A Clause to empower the Estates to nominate a Successor of the Royal Line, and of the Protestant Religion, being next taken into Consideration, it was moved that these Words should be added, "of the true Protestant Religion, as by Law established in this Kingdom." This was offered in order to exclude the House of *Hanover*; which was not only unacceptable to the *Jacobites* there, but to many others of different Sentiments, because that Family was named to succeed in *England*; and the popular Stream in *Scotland* ran much towards a distinct Government from ours. But this Addition, when put to the Vote, was rejected.

The following Clause was afterwards offered, "providing the Successor to be named by the Estates, be not the Successor to the Crown of *England*; unless in this Session of Parliament, such Conditions of Government be settled, as may secure the Honour and Independency of the Crown of this Kingdom,



A.D. 1703. "dom, the Freedom, Frequency and Power of Parliaments, and the Religion, Liberty and Trade of the Nation from *English* or Foreign Influence." This Clause also produced a strenuous Debate; when the House being in great Heats and Confusion, some Members moved for a Delay. This was seconded by the Chancellor, who without staying for a Vote, or asking the Opinion of the House, adjourned the Parliament by the Commissioner's Order for four Days. This Adjournment threw the House into a furious Uproar; and a great many Members protested against it as illegal, and took Instruments of it. And that very Night an Address to the Queen was signed by sixty Members, and by fifteen or twenty the next Morning. It raised great Heats also at the next Meeting; but the Difference being at last compromised, they proceeded on the Clause before them. The Queen's Advocate offered another, importing, "That no Person should be King or Queen of both Kingdoms, unless a free Communication of Trade, Freedom of Navigation, and the Liberty of the Plantations be fully agreed to, and established by the Parliament and Kingdom of *England* in favour of *Scotland*, to the Satisfaction of the present, or any future *Scots* Parliament, or Meeting of Estates". It caused a long Debate, which of these two Clauses should be admitted; the Court Party standing for the latter, and the Country Party for the former. At last a Member stood up and moved, since both Sides were so tenacious of the several Clauses, that they might both be added to the Act of Security; which was agreed to. Some other Clauses of less Importance were added, and the Act passed by a Majority of fifty nine Voices.

The Act passed the House

An Act proposed to settle the Succession on the House of Hanover.

Which is fiercely rejected.

This important Act being carried, some were for proceeding to farther Securities for the Liberty of the Nation: But this with much ado was diverted, and the House went upon the Consideration of Trade. An Act was then offered for the importing *French* Wines, which raised very great Heats; but at last, after a long and angry Debate, was marked a first Reading. When this was over, the Earl of *Marchmont* presented an Act to settle the Succession on the House of *Hanover*. This Motion was received at first quietly enough; and the Clerk began to read the Act. But when he came to that Paragraph where the Princess *Sophia*, &c. were mentioned by Name, the Words were no sooner out of his Mouth, but the whole House was in a Flame. Some moved to have the Overture burnt; others to have the Lord that offered it called to the Bar, and others to have him sent to the Castle. But with much ado the Chancellor procured Silence, and the Clerk was ordered to read it through. But when that was done, and a Motion was made that it should be marked a first Reading, so fierce an Opposition was made, that the Promoters of the Act dar'd not put it to the Vote; but only desired that it might be marked in the Minutes that such a Thing had been presented,

as was customary. But this also was opposed with great Warmth; and it was said, that though it was both customary and proper, that every Thing which was moved in the House should be marked in the Minutes; yet that such an Act as this of the Earl of *Marchmont* ought to have some particular Mark of Indignation set upon it. At length the Question being proposed, whether this Overture should be marked or no, it was carried in the Negative by fifty seven Voices.

The Act of Security had indeed passed the House, but it was only a dead Letter till the Royal Sanction should give it Life and Vigour. It was earnestly pressed by many of the Members, that the Lord Commissioner might be desired to give immediately the Royal Assent to the Act. While this Proposal was arguing and canvassing in the House, the Commissioner sat by with so much Indifference that some began to suspect they would find Difficulty in bringing him to it; and therefore moved, that the House might address the Queen for her Assent. But others who liked the Thing, moved however to defer it till they knew the Commissioner's Intentions. This Motion was approved and seconded by a great many; and the Commissioner was earnestly pressed to say whether he was instructed in that Matter. But he made them no Manner of Answer. This kindled the Flame with greater Fury than ever. A Member stood up, and in a warm Speech said, that their Nation being in a desperate Case, must make suitable Provisions. That if a Prince should succeed to the Crown of *Scotland* and *England* together, whoever it should be, or however it might happen, their Nation would become Slaves, unless they secured themselves by proper Conditions of Government; to which End he offered an Act. This was not accepted; the House being warm upon the Act of Security, and eagerly pressing the Commissioner to give the Royal Assent to it. But he continued so inflexibly silent, that the Members, weary of making fruitless Instances, left him, and went upon other Business.

But the next Day the Commissioner spoke to the House. He told them, that he was ready to give the Royal Assent to all the Acts they had passed this Session, the Act of Security only excepted, which he said required the Queen's farther Consideration. This raised as great a Fury as ever; but such Management had been used, that when it was put to the Vote, whether they should address the Queen, or proceed to other Business, the latter was carried by twelve Voices.

The Provisions made by the Act of Security being frustrated, it was moved to proceed to some others. An Act had been proposed by Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, tending to that End, which was now called for. The Purport of it was, that no Offices of Trust and Power should be disposed of by the Prince, without Recommendation

The Commissioner refuses his Assent to the Act of Security.

Other Acts proposed to that End.



A.D. 1703. of Parliament. But this Scheme was not only opposed by the Courtiers, but disliked by several of the Country Party, as approaching too near to the State of a Commonwealth. The Court Party seeing this, moved at the same Time for a Subsidy; and caused the Question to be put, Whether the House should proceed to Mr. Fletcher's Act, or to consider of a Subsidy? For they saw the first would hardly be carried. But the other Party avoided this Blow by offering another State of the Vote, Overtures for Liberty, or Overtures for Subsidy. The Courtiers saw that Overtures for Liberty would certainly be carried; and they had no Way to avoid it but by adhering to the former Question. Mr. Fletcher seeing this, frustrated their Design, by desiring Leave to withdraw the Act he had presented. This brought the Matter to a Crisis; the Members calling all round the House for a Vote upon the Question, Liberty or Subsidy; and severe Reflections upon the Ministry were heard on all Sides. The Commissioner at last stood up and moved, that an Act might be read for a Subsidy, promising that after a first Reading it should be no more heard of for three ensuing Sittings. This Motion, when the House was calling eagerly for a Vote of another kind, threw the Members into an outrageous Fury. Some said, it was now plain their Nation was to bow their Necks under the Yoke of Slavery, prepared for them from that Throne. Others said, if their Privileges and Liberties were to be thus torn from them, they would rather die Freemen, than live Slaves. Some pressing for the Vote said, that if there was no other Way of obtaining that undeniable Privilege, they would demand it with their Swords in their Hands. The Rage which transported the House was such, that the Commissioner grew apprehensive of the Safety of his Person. At last he ordered the Chancellor to acquaint the House, that they should go upon Overtures for Liberty next Session. Upon this Assurance the Members met, and prepared an Overture to be laid before the House. But the Commissioner not liking it, he called for the Bills that were ready for him, and gave the Royal Assent to them: After which he adjourned the Parliament.

The House  
in a violent  
Heat.

The Parli-  
ament ad-  
journed.

The Cam-  
paign in Ger-  
many.

The Transactions abroad this Year were very various and remarkable. On the Side of Germany the warlike Motions began earliest, and continued longest. The French began the Campaign betimes with the Siege of Fort Kehl; over against Strasbourg, upon the Rhine. The Elector of Bavaria appearing evidently to be in the Interest of France, the Emperor ordered his Forces to make an Irruption into his Countrey, which they did in two Places. But the Bavarians being in Arms, one of those Parties received a signal Defeat. The Elector also took Ratibon, where the Imperial Diets use to be held; and the French, after an unsuccessful Attempt, opened a Passage into Swabia, and joined the Bavarian Forces. The Emperor

and Empire were in the utmost Danger A.D. 1703. from so great a Body of Troops in the very Heart of their Countrey. There were indeed German Armies to make Head against them; but the utmost they could do was to keep the French at a Bay. But this was not long to be hoped for; for there appeared on the sudden a new and almost unthought of Danger from the Side of Italy. For the French King had ordered the Duke de Vendosme, who commanded his Army there, to pass the Mountains, and make his Way to join the French and Bavarian Forces. This appeared no difficult nor tedious Undertaking; the small Countrey of Tyrol being the only Interval between the Elector of Bavaria's Countrey, and the Alpine Mountains that separate Italy and Germany. And the Elector of Bavaria was to enter the Countrey of Tyrol, to facilitate the Passage of the Duke de Vendosme. This Enterprize, had it succeeded, would have proved in all Likelihood the Ruine of the Emperor, but it pleased Providence to disappoint it. For the Measures between the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendosme were so ill concerted, that the Elector invaded Tyrol at one End, before the French were ready on the other. And the Elector, being met by the German Forces, was obliged to retire to his own Frontiers. The Duke de Vendosme came afterwards; but when he had made a Shift to get over the Mountains, he found his Progress stopped by the Germans; and received Advice at the same Time of the Elector's Retreat. This obliged him to repass the Mountains, after doing some considerable Mischief in the Countrey; which saved the Empire from a most imminent Peril.

The Empire  
in great Dan-  
ger.

Which is  
happily esca-  
ped.

The Elector returning from his unsuccessful Expedition into Tyrol, joined the French Army again, and marched towards the great and wealthy City of Augsburg. They came within Sight of it; but, by the Conduct of Prince Lewis of Baden, were obliged to quit it. But soon after a Body of Imperial Troops was surprized and defeated by the French and Bavarians; and about the same Time the Fortrefs of Old Brisac was taken by the French. Not content with this Success, Marechal Tallard sat down before Landau, notwithstanding the Season of the Year, for it was now the Beginning of Winter. That Place being of very great Importance, the Confederate Powers were so much concerned for it, that after the Army in the Netherlands was put into Winter Quarters, they ordered a great Body of Forces to be detached from them, and to go to assist in the Relief of Landau. The French did the same from their Army; and this Detachment got to the Besiegers at Landau, before the Confederate Forces arrived there, or indeed had any Knowledge that the others were come. This engaged the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who commanded the Troops of the Allies, in an imprudent Attempt upon the French, in which he was defeated, and obliged to retire at a Distance. The Governor of Landau understanding this, and having

Landau be-  
sieged and ta-  
ken by the  
French.



A.D. 1703. ving no farther Hopes of any Relief, surrendered the Place. And the *French* and *Bavarians* making Use of the favourable Time, would not yet leave the Field, but came a second Time before *Augsburg*. The Governor defended it bravely a few Days. But the Affairs of the *Germans* were in so low a Condition, that a Letter was sent him to make the best Terms he could, there being no Possibility of relieving him. This Letter was intercepted by the Elector, who, upon reading it, sent it to the Governor by the Messenger that brought it. So that a Capitulation was soon agreed on; and the Garrison marched out, and left their Place to the *French* and *Bavarians*. The taking this Place ended the long Campaign.

An Insurrection in Hungary.

The Emperor was not only distressed by the unjust Invasion of the *French*, and the Defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, but also on the Side of *Hungary*; in which Kingdom the awkward Politicks of the Court of *Vienna*, by Persecutions and Oppressions of different Kinds, had raised a formidable Insurrection. The *Hungarians* gained so many Advantages over the Emperor's Troops, that there was no small Apprehension of a Siege at *Vienna* itself. At the same Time they published a Manifesto, in which they solemnly declared that they had not the least Intention of withdrawing themselves from the Emperor's Allegiance, desiring only to enjoy peaceably their Religion and Liberties under him. But neither the Reasonableness of the Complaints of these People, nor the dutiful Protestations they made, nor the imminent Danger the whole Empire was in, could work upon the untractable Councils at *Vienna*, so as to make them allow that poor Nation the just and cheap Redress they desired.

The Campaign in the Netherlands.

In the *Netherlands*, and on the Lower *Rhine*, the Confederate Arms, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*, were attended with Prosperity and Success. The Duke began this Campaign with the Siege of *Bonne*, in the Territories of the Elector of *Cologne*, which was taken in less than a Month, by the usual Forms in Sieges. The *French* stood upon the Defensive on this Side; but the Duke being employed in the Siege of this Place, they took the Opportunity to form a Design against the Confederates. A great Number of their Troops were dispersed about *Maestricht*, their Assistance not being necessary in the Siege of *Bonne*. These Forces the *French* Generals endeavoured to surprize; and by a March in the Night, arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Tongeren* where a great Body of those Forces lay, before any Alarm was given. Two Regiments were taken there, and the rest of the Troops that lay thereabouts, hastened away to *Maestricht*, to shelter themselves under the Cannon of its Ramparts. The *French* had intended to have pursued them, and to have bombarded the Town, but they lost so much Time at *Tongeren*, the Regiments that were made Prisoners there having defended themselves for eight and twenty Hours, that

before they could come up, the Confederate Forces had rallied, and were formed into Order of Battle, in a very advantageous Situation. This broke the *French* Measures; who after some Feints of attacking the Allies, marched back again.

*Bonne* being taken, the Duke of *Marlborough* came and rejoined the Confederate Army; which being superior to the *French* in Number, he endeavoured to draw them to a Battle, but in vain; they retiring continually before him till they were got within their Lines.

While every one was intent on the Motions of the two great Armies, the States received an unexpected Alarm on the Side of *Antwerp*. The *Dutch* maintained a Body of Forces on that Part of the Countrey, to guard their Frontiers against the *French* who were in Possession of all the Countrey to the Westward of the *Scheld*. These Troops were observed by a suitable Number of *French* Forces, defended by Intrenchments. These two Bodies had continued hitherto without any Motion, quietly watching each other. But the *French* found Means to get a Reinforcement sent them from the main Army, with so much Secrecy, that the Confederates had not timely Notice of it. With this Addition of Strength they came out of their Lines, and attacked the *Dutch* Troops. These defended themselves very bravely, and the Fight was sharp and obstinate. But the *French* had so much the Advantage of Numbers, that the *Dutch* were forced to give Way; and it was not without Difficulty that the whole Army escaped being cut off and destroyed. But the Courage and Prudence of the Commanders, assisted by the coming on of Night, enabled the *Dutch* Forces to draw off to a secure Distance; though not without leaving three Thousand of their Men behind them. But the Duke of *Marlborough* took such Care to reinforce them, that this Action had no farther Consequences.

The Duke after this formed a Design to force the *French* Lines, but was opposed by the Field Deputies of the States. These last, finding the *French* would not be drawn to a Battle, were willing to make Use of the Opportunity to drive them to a farther Distance from their own Countrey, by taking the strong Towns they were possessed of in its Neighbourhood. So that by their Management, the Design of attacking the *French* Lines was laid aside; and the Siege of *Huy* in the Bishoprick of *Liege* was resolved on. In seven Days the Garrison was brought to capitulate, and were made Prisoners of War, in order to be exchanged for those Troops of the Allies that were taken at *Tongeren*. After this Town was taken, it was again proposed to attempt the *French* Lines, but diverted by the *Dutch* Deputies a second Time for the same Reason. So that a Resolution was at last taken to besiege *Limburg*, which surrendered after a Siege of eighteen Days; and the taking of this Town concluded the Campaign.

A.D. 1703.

An Action between the French and Dutch.

*Huy* and *Limburg* taken.

A re-



A.D. 1703. A remarkable Accident happened in France about this Time. In the Province of *Languedoc*, there is a mountainous Countrey called the *Cevennes*; the Inhabitants of which were chiefly Protestants, till they yielded with the rest of their Brethren to the Rage of the Persecution in 1683. The Countrey being poor and remote, some Protestant Ministers had lately made a Shift to conceal themselves there, and to preach among them sometimes, with that Secrecy which the unrelenting Fury of the Persecution made necessary. This being at first unknown or neglected, the People turned by Degrees to their former Worship; and sometimes assembled secretly in the Woods, to perform their Religious Exercises after the Manner of the Protestants. But this came at last to be taken Notice of, and the Barbarities of the Persecution were again renewed. Troops were posted in several Places, with Orders to watch all such private Meetings, and to fire upon all those whom they should find at such Assemblies, without Pity or Distinction; and if any should escape, to burn their Houses. These Orders did not fail to be executed with Severity enough; and the Countrey soon became a Scene of Desolation and Misery. There was an Abbot who resided in this Countrey, who not content with the ordinary Cruelties, caused the Men who were found at those Meetings to be emasculated. But at last it happened, that in June 1702. some unhappy Protestant being committed to Prison by this wicked Wretch, who designed to treat him with his usual Barbarity; his Acquaintance had so great a Kindness for him, that notwithstanding the Danger of such an Attempt, forty young Men of them took up Arms, broke open the Prison, and set him at Liberty. And being now out of all Hope of Pardon, animated by Despair, and enraged by the Remembrance of past Injuries, they seized upon the Abbot, and used him as he designed to treat the other. They had now proceeded so far, that there was no Hope of Safety but in going farther. They went next into the neighbouring Villages and Towns, with their Swords drawn in their Hands, crying out, *Liberty, Liberty!* and persuading others to join with them. And they found some whose Resentments got the better of their Fears, so that in no long Time they made a Body of three or four Hundred Men. The Intendant hearing of this, sent Orders to seize them; but the Troops that came upon that Errand were repulsed. The Intendant at first was not much concerned at this; for looking upon this Insurrection as a tumultuary Enterprize that would easily be suppressed by a greater Number of Forces, he proposed to send a Body of Troops among them to live at Discretion, while he put the Soldiers Pay into his own Pocket. And to play this Game the better, he neglected to acquaint the Court of France with what had happened. But by this Negligence the Insurrection gathered Strength, and the Number of those

who were in Arms increased to two Thousand. A.D. 1703. who not only became the Masters in their own Countrey, but made frequent Excursions into the Plain, where they did Abundance of Mischief, burning Churches, and putting the Priests to the Sword. The French Court sent at first eight Regiments to suppress them, but the Strength and Numbers of the *Cevennois* were become too great to be suppressed with so small a Force. So that the Court was obliged to treat this Insurrection more seriously, and to send a formed Army of ten or twelve thousand disciplined Men thither, under the *Mareschal de Montrevel*. The *Cevennois*, at the Approach of this formidable Force, having before their Eyes all the Miseries and Cruelties they must expect to undergo from an exasperated and merciless Enemy, gathered Strength from Despair. Those who had not yet engaged, knew if the Soldiers got into the Countrey, little Distinction would be made between Guilty and Innocent; so that they now took up Arms, chusing rather to die in Battle, than live to be subject to a tormenting and intolerable Tyranny. Some barbarous Cruelties committed by the *Mareschal's* Troops confirmed them in these Resolutions. So that they boldly came out to meet the regular Forces, and defeated them once and again in the open Field, till they compelled them to take Shelter in the walled Towns.

The Successes of these brave Defenders of their Liberties and Religion, coming to the Knowledge of the Powers confederate against France, they grew more attentive to it. And several of the French Refugees here soliciting the Queen to interpose for their Assistance, it was agreed in Council to endeavour to supply them with Arms, Ammunition, and Money, by Means of our Fleet in the *Mediterranean*. To this End several French Refugees were sent by Land through France to the *Cevennes*, to acquaint the *Camisars* (which was a Name those People were known by) with the Queen's good Intentions to relieve them by her Fleet, and with the Signals the Ships would make, and the other Signals that were to be made at Land by the *Cevennois* to answer them. But the Passages to the *Cevennes* were so narrowly watched, that only one of those who were sent thither by Land had the good Fortune to succeed; the rest being taken at the Passage of *Pont St. Esprit*, and either broken alive upon the Wheel, or made Galley-Slaves. However, this Intelligence had been sufficient had the Assistance at Sea been able to do what was proposed. But when the Fleet came into the *Mediterranean*, the Season was so far advanced, that it was thought improper to hazard it upon a Coast both dangerous and unknown. However it was resolved to send two Men of War with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Money, who should make the Signals agreed on; and if they could speak with the *Camisars*, might consult on proper Methods for bringing them a greater Supply.

Assistance is sent to them from England, but in vain.

But



A.D. 1703. But these two Ships had scarcely parted from the Fleet, when they were informed by the Master of a small *French* Vessel which they took, that the *Mareschal de Montrevel* being informed of their Design, had taken the necessary Means to disappoint them. In Obedience to their Orders they however went on; and sailing into the Gulph of *Narbonne*, they made the Signals in the Manner and Place appointed; but receiving no Answer from the Shore, and thinking it unsafe to stay longer in that dangerous Sea, they failed away to join the Grand Fleet, which was then at *Leghorn*, and not long after returned home without making any other Attempt.

The Parliament meets.

Their Proceedings.

A Scotch Plot.

The warlike Operations being every where quiet, the Queen met the Parliament. After the usual Forms of Compliments and Supplies were over, the Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity was revived, and passed the House of Commons; but was again thrown out by the Lords. Soon after this, the Queen acquainted the Parliament, in a Speech made to the two Houses, that she had received Informations of dangerous Practices in *Scotland* by the Emissaries of *France*; promising to communicate the same to them. Upon this the House of Lords appointed a Committee to examine the same as soon as they should be imparted to the House. But this was resented by the Commons, who addressed the Queen against it, as a Violation of her Prerogative, which they intreated her not to suffer. This Address was answered by a Representation to the Queen from the Lords, that it is their undoubted Right to take Examinations of Persons charged with Criminal Matters; and that the Address of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundless, and highly injurious to the House of Peers. Afterwards they proceeded to the Examination of Papers and living Witnesses in Relation to the Plot; and resolved, "That it did appear to the House that there had been a dangerous Conspiracy carried on, for raising a Rebellion in *Scotland*, and invading that Kingdom with a *French* Power". But whether the Evidence, though sufficient to ground such a Resolution on, was not clear enough to charge any particular Persons, or whether there was some other Reason, it is certain that this Affair, though it made a great Noise at first, was afterwards dropped, and no more was heard of it.

A Difference between the two Houses about Elections of the Commons.

Another Difference between the two Houses happened this Session. One *Matthew Ashby* commenced an Action against *William White*, Mayor of *Ailesbury*, and others, for refusing to admit his Vote at the Election of Members to serve in Parliament. This Cause was brought up by Appeal before the Lords, who gave Judgment in Favour of *Ashby*. The Interposition of the Peers in an Affair relating to Elections in the House of Commons, was resented by the latter, who came thereupon to the following Resolutions. "That it is the sole Right of the Commons (except in Cases

otherwise provided for by Act of Parliament) A.D. 1703. "to examine and determine all Matters relating to the Right of Election of their own Members. That no Qualification of an Elector, nor Right of any Person elected, is cognizable elsewhere than before the House of Commons, except in special Cases as above; and that the contrary Practice would be attended with great Inconveniencies. That *Matthew Ashby*, for having entered an Action at Common Law on that Account, is guilty of a Breach of Privilege. And that all Persons concerned in Prosecutions tending to bring such Controversies to be determined by any other Jurisdiction, whether as Parties, Attornies, Solicitors, or Pleaders, are guilty of an high Breach of Privilege". These Votes of the House of Commons were answered by the Lords; who resolved, "That every Person having a Right to vote at Elections for Members to serve in Parliament, and being wilfully hindered by the Officer who ought to receive the same, may maintain an Action in the Queen's Courts against such Officer. That to assert that Persons receiving such Wrong have no Remedy by the ordinary Course of Law, is against the Freedom of Elections, and tends to encourage Corruption and Partiality in Officers. That the declaring *Ashby* guilty of a Breach of Privilege, was an unprecedented Attempt upon the Judicature of Parliament, and tended to subject the Law to the Votes of the House of Commons. That the terrifying Electors from prosecuting Actions at Law, when they are debarred of their Right of Voting, and the deterring Lawyers from acting in such Cases, by voting the same to be a high Breach of Privilege of the House of Commons, was assuming a Power to controul the Law, and subject the Property of *Englishmen* to the Votes of that House". These Differences increasing, and the Parliament having nothing of Importance left them to do, the Queen soon after thought fit to dismiss them by a Prorogation.

The Parliament prorogued.

About this Time the Queen revived the most Ancient and Noble Order of the Thistle in *Scotland*; and the Duke of *Argyle*, the Duke of *Athol*, the Marquis of *Annamdale*, the Earl of *Dalkeith*, the Earl of *Orkney*, and the Earl of *Seafield*, were made Knights; the Queen dispensing with the Ceremonies and Solemnities of their Installation. The Ensigns of the Order are, a green Ribbon, which the Knights wear in the same Manner as the Knights of the Garter wear a Blue; and a Star with the *St. Andrew's* Cross. Their Motto is, *Nemo me impune lacessit*.

The Order of the Thistle revived.

The Emperor had caused the Arch-Duke *Charles* to be proclaimed King of *Spain* at *Vienna*. But the Power of *England* and *Holland* being necessary to make good the Claim, that Titular Prince was obliged to make a Progress into those Countries. He arrived in *England* not long after the Session

The Arch-Duke comes into *England*.



A.D.1703. of Parliament was begun, and was received at Court with great Splendor; which Reception was answered on his Side by that Condescension and Obsequiousness which the State of his Affairs required. After a few Days Stay at *Windsor*, he set out for *Portsmouth*, and going aboard, the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet set Sail, to convoy him to *Portugal*. But after they had been about three Days out at Sea, there arose so furious a Storm from the South-West, that the Transports could bear the Sea no longer, and were forced to make the best of their Way into our own Harbours. The Men of War stayed out a little longer; but so many of them were damaged, that they found it necessary to put in, in order to refit. This was done with so much Expedition, that in a very short Time the whole Fleet got out to Sea again, and arrived safely in *Portugal*.

He sets sail for *Portugal*.

A.D.1704.

The Beginning of a glorious Year.

We are now entering upon the Transactions of a Year that shines among the brightest recorded in Story. The same wise and just Providence that had permitted the wicked Projects of the *French* Monarch to succeed and prevail, so as to infest and alarm all *Europe* for almost forty Years, had prepared in this Year a Day of Vengeance and Chastisement for him; that ambitious Princes in future Ages might remember him and fear; and to escape his Punishment, avoid his Crimes. And now, in one important Day, his vast Designs, the Labour of an Age, were dissipated, and brought to nothing; his Armies, that had been the Terror of *Europe* for half a Century, were disarmed and destroyed; and *Christendom* was delivered from the long Fears and Alarms which his Power and Ambition had raised; while the full Glory of this happy Success rested upon our Queen and Countrey. As if this Honour were given, and appropriated from above to the *English* Nation, to be in every Age the Scourge and Rod in the Hand of Heaven, to correct and chastise the proud Swellings of haughty and tyrannic Power.

The Emperor sues for Aid to the Queen.

The disconsolate State of the Emperor at the Close of the last long Campaign, has been above related. His Condition was so helpless, that he was obliged to seek Protection from *England* and *Holland*. Count *Wratislaw*, the Imperial Envoy in *England*, humbly represented to the Queen the imminent Danger of his Master's Countries by the *French* and *Bavarian* Forces on one Side, and those of *Hungary* on the other. That the Emperor of *Germany*, once the chief of Christian Princes, had now no Refuge to fly to from the utmost Ruine and Desolation, but her Majesty's Goodness and Compassion, and the Power of her Arms. He therefore besought her Majesty to give Orders to her General to consult with the States of the speediest Methods for saving *Germany* from a total Subversion; by which she would obtain immortal Honour to herself, and the Blessings and Thanks of a mighty Prince for an Obligation never to be forgot.

This Representation was favourably answered; the Duke of *Marlborough* having some Time before laid a Plan for the Relief of the distressed Emperor. He went over into *Holland* about the Middle of *April*, and laid before the States the Design he had formed. The Successes on the Side of the *Dutch* Frontiers during the two last Campaigns, having secured that State from any sudden Danger, they were, after some Difficulty, brought to concur in it, and to order a Part of their Forces to be assisting therein.

A.D.1704.

Which is granted him.

The Duke soon after took Leave of the States, and went to the Army. He ordered it to be assembled as soon as possible, and a Bridge to be laid over the *Maese* at *Ruremond*; which was done to blind the *French*. This Stratagem had its Effect; for the Enemy concluded that his Design was to march towards the *Moselle*, and make an Irruption into *France* by the Way of *Lorraine*. They were confirmed in this Error by the Way he took as soon as the Army began to move. For he advanced thro' the Duchy of *Juliers*, and the Electorate of *Cologne*, to *Coblentz*; a Place situated on the Conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*. A great Body of Troops, under the *Mareschal de Villeroy*, were ordered that Way to oppose him; but they were much disappointed, when instead of marching up the *Moselle* towards *Traerbach*, which they expected he would first attack, they found him advance along the *Rhine* through the Electorate of *Mentz*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt's* Countrey. They then supposed he intended to besiege *Landau*; and the *Mareschal de Tallard* crossed the *Rhine* in order to oppose the Duke's imagined Passage. But not long after he had made this Motion, he was informed that the Duke had turned to the Left, and was upon full March towards the *Danube* through the Duchy of *Wurtemberg*; which manifested his true Design, when the Enemy could not prevent it. When the Duke had entered the Duchy of *Wurtemberg*, he halted for some Time; and there it was that he first met Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*. A strict and intimate Friendship was soon contracted between them, which continued to the End of the War; undisturbed, either by Rivalships for Fame, or differing Sentiments, which so often divide Confederate Generals. Soon after Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came to meet him; and between these three great Commanders, the Motions of the Armies were concerted. It was not to be doubted that the *French* would come to the Assistance of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and therefore it was agreed that Prince *Eugene* should repair to the *German* Forces on the *Rhine*; either to prevent the Passage of the *French*, or to keep them from joining the Elector. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, were to force their Way into *Bavaria*.

The Duke of Marlborough's March to Germany.

He meets Prince Eugene and Prince Lewis of Baden.

The Elector who was encamped near *Ulm*, an Imperial City on the *Danube*, hearing



A.D. 1704. ing of the Motions of the Allies towards his Country, crossed that River to observe them; and sent to secure an advantageous Camp that lay on its Banks. On the Confluence of the *Danube* and the *Leck*, which last River divides *Bavaria* from *Swabia*, stands the Town of *Donawert*, where there is a Bridge over the *Danube*, which gives free Passage into the Elector's Country. This Place, besides its Garrison, was covered by a numerous Body of Forces, posted at *Schellenberg* hard by upon a rising Ground, and defended with strong Intrenchments. Thither the Confederates directed their March; upon which the Elector sent a strong Reinforcement to the Troops who were already posted there. The Duke of *Marlborough* went first with a great Body of Horse and Foot, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* following with the rest of the Army. The Duke found the Enemy very advantageously situated; but the Importance of the Place made him pass by the Difficulties in taking it. The Attack began by the *English* and *Dutch* Foot, who were at first so rudely repulsed, that they twice gave Way. But Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having the Fortune to light on that Part where the Intrenchments were weaker, forced them, and getting over, bore down all before him. The Enemy being made to yield in one Place, soon gave Way on all Sides; so that the *English* and *Dutch* forced the Intrenchments in a third Attack. The Enemy's Camp was then filled with Fear, and Flight, and Slaughter; the Confederates pursuing the *Bavarians* to the Banks of the *Danube*, and either killing or taking Prisoners those who did not escape by swimming over the River. The Fight was very bloody; and it was reckoned that no less than five Thousand Men were killed on each Side; the Confederates losing Abundance of Lives before they could enter those strong Intrenchments; and the *Danube* preventing the Escape of the *Bavarians* after the Allies had broke into their Camp. The Cannon, Ammunition, Tents, and all the Spoils of the Field fell into the Hands of the Confederates. The Elector, informed of this Defeat of his Forces at *Schellenberg*, sent Orders to his Garrison at *Donawert* to burn the Bridges and Magazines, and to leave the Town, to prevent their being taken by the Allies. But these pressed so closely upon them, that the Garrison was forced to leave the Town before those Orders could be fully executed. The Allies being possessed of *Donawert*, passed over with great Celerity into the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Country. And *Newburg* and *Rain*, two small Places near at hand, were taken two or three Days after.

The Allies pass into *Bavaria*.

In the mean Time, the Elector of *Bavaria* found himself in the utmost Distress and Perplexity. He saw his Country exposed to utter Ruine and Desolation, while himself was unable to afford it any Assistance. For not being in a Condition to meet the Allies in the Field, he was forced to retire from them, and shelter himself under the Cannon

of *Augsburg*; abandoning his Dominions A.D. 1704. that he might preserve his Army. But before the Confederate Generals proceeded farther, it was thought proper to offer him Terms of Accommodation. These being more favourable than the Elector had Reason to expect in his present Circumstances, were soon agreed on; and the Elector promised to come in Person to the Confederate Camp to sign them. And thus a general Calm and Tranquillity was upon the Point of being established again in *Germany*, after the violent Storms that had torn it so long.

But it happened unfortunately that before this was done, News came that the Mareschal de *Tallard* had made his Way through the *Black-Forest*, and was upon full March to join the Elector. This Advice dissipated all Hopes of Peace; and the Elector sent Word, that since the King of *France* made such great Efforts to assist him, he thought himself obliged in Honour to remain firm to his Alliance. This Message kindled the War again more fiercely than ever; and Word was sent the Elector, that if he would not perform his Promise, his Country should be put under Military Execution. This not prevailing, by a Severity that could only be excused by the Necessities of War, a Body of Forces was sent out with those dreadful Orders. These Troops went on plundering, burning and destroying all the Towns and Villages as far as *Munich*, the Capital City of the Electorate; so that for twenty Miles round the whole Country was on a light Fire; the poor Inhabitants being driven into the Woods and Fields, without Habitation or Shelter from the Weather, after having seen all they had, carried away or destroyed. This fierce Execution being over, the Confederate Generals deliberated on their future Proceedings. And it being impossible to attack the Elector in his strong Camp near *Augsburg*, it was resolved to besiege his fortified Towns, and to begin with *Ingolstadt*, on the Banks of the *Danube*, a little below *Donawert*.

While these Things passed, the Mareschal de *Tallard* having got through the *Black Forest*, came marching along the Side of the *Danube*, towards the Elector of *Bavaria*; Prince *Eugene* with the Forces under his Command, attending him all the Way on the other Side. The Mareschal being come within about a Day's March of the Elector, left his Troops and went to the Elector's Camp. These two Commanders met and embraced one another with great Joy; the Elector thanking the Mareschal for the seasonable Succours he had brought him, and the Mareschal complimenting the Elector on the great Firmness he had shewn to his Master's Alliance. Their Armies when united, made a very formidable Force; and it was agreed, since the Forces under Prince *Eugene* were not yet joined to those under the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, to endeavour to attack them while they were separate and alone. To this End the

The Elector is offered Terms; which he at first agrees to.

The French march to join him.

Upon which he rejects those Offers.

His Country put under Military Execution.

The Mareschal de *Tallard* joins the Elector of *Bavaria*.



A.D. 1704. the Elector left his Camp at *Augsburg*, and joined with the *French* Troops under the *Mareschal*. The united Army began then to move, with a Countenance as if they meant to pass the *Leck* to attack the Duke of *Marlborough*, but with a real Design to cross the *Danube*, and fall upon Prince *Eugene*. But the Prince was too circumspect and penetrating to be so surprized; and as soon as their Armies were joined, rightly judging what their next Motion would be, he went to the Camp of the Duke and the Prince of *Baden*, to acquaint them with his Suspicions; and ordered his own Forces to leave their Camp, and possess themselves of another Post, which was both nearer to the main Army, and more advantageous. It was agreed by the three Generals, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* should go on with the Enterprize of *Ingolstadt*, and that the Duke of *Marlborough* joining with Prince *Eugene*, should confront the *French* and *Bavarian* Army. From this Conference Prince *Eugene* returned to his own Camp; being assured by the Duke of *Marlborough*, that he would come to join him as soon as possible. That very Day the Elector and the *Mareschal* crossed the *Danube*, and landed at *Lawingen*, about ten or fifteen Miles from Prince *Eugene's* Camp. Upon this the Prince sent away his Foot and Part of his Horse to the strong Camp at *Schellenberg*, whence the *Bavarians* had been driven before; Workmen having been sent thither upon the first Suspicion of the Enemy's Approach, to put it in a defensible Condition. Himself with the rest of his Cavalry passed the Night in the other Camp; but kept the Horses saddled, that no Time might be lost upon any sudden Emergency. The next Day, the Prince being informed that the Duke of *Marlborough* with the whole Army was near, and that the Enemy did not stir, sent again for those Troops that were at the Camp at *Schellenberg*. And in the Evening of that Day the Duke of *Marlborough* himself arrived there with the main Army.

The Confederate and French Armies come within Sight of each other.

The two Armies being so near, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* went out the next Morning at Break of Day to view the Enemy, and found them advancing towards the Confederate Camp. At one o' Clock that Afternoon the Quarter-Masters of the Enemy's Army came to mark out a Camp, upon a rising Ground between two Villages, about three or four Miles distant from the Confederates, called *Lutzingen* and *Blenheim*; the latter of which is made immortal, by giving Name to the memorable Victory gained near it on the following Day. And before Night the Enemy's Army came in View, and encamped upon the Ground marked out for them, lying in Sight of the Confederates.

Upon this Approach of the Enemy, the two Generals resolved to attack them the next Day. Two Reasons are said to move them to this Resolution. First, it was apprehended the Enemy might fortify themselves in that Post, and from thence ruin the

neighbouring Countries in such a Manner, A.D. 1704. that the Duke's Army (on whose Presence the Safety of the Empire depended) should be obliged to leave *Germany* for Want of Subsistence in the Winter. In the next Place the Confederate Generals were informed, that the *Mareschal de Villeroy* intended to follow the *Mareschal de Tallard* into *Germany*, to join him with a great Body of Forces. And these Things made it necessary to use the utmost Celerity.

The two Armies were very near of the same Number, being between fifty and sixty Thousand Men each; the *French* according to our Accounts, having some odds. They were both encamped on the very Banks of the *Danube*, which bounded the Left of the Confederates Camp, and the Enemy's Right; both were situate upon rising Grounds, with a Rivulet running along the Foot of each, a large Plain of about four Miles over lying between them. At three o' Clock in the Morning on the thirteenth of *August*, the Confederate Army began to move, and crossed the Rivulet that ran by their Camp on several Bridges. The Enemy had soon Notice of this, and immediately called in the Horse that were foraging, and prepared themselves for the Fight. Five small Villages that stood in the Plain between the two Armies, were soon after set on Fire by the Enemy. The Allies coming into the Plain ranged themselves in Order of Battle, and the Enemy did the same, making two opposite Fronts of Cavalry and Infantry of four Miles in Length. The Left Wing of the Confederates was commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was opposed by the *Mareschal de Tallard*; their Right Wing by Prince *Eugene*, who was to attack *M. de Marfin*, and the Elector. The Batteries of Cannon (of which the *French* had ninety Pieces, and the Confederates only fifty) were erected upon proper Eminences; and Bridges were laid over a Rivulet which ran at the Foot of the Enemies Camp, and parted the two Armies. At last at almost one o' Clock in the Afternoon all Things being ready, Orders were given for a general Attack.

It began at the Village of *Blenheim*, which The Battle of *Blenheim* standing upon the very Banks of the *Danube* which bounded the Right Wing of the *French*, the *Mareschal de Tallard* who commanded there, had filled it with Troops both of Horse and Foot, lest the Confederates possessing it should gall his Wing in Flank. Twenty Battalions were ordered for the Attack of this Place, and the five foremost which were *English*, marched up through a dreadful Fire to the very Pallisadoes with which the Village was defended. But their Loss was so great before they came thither, (for they stood the Shot of above fifteen thousand Men all the while they were advancing) that though they came up to the very Muzzles of the Enemies Muskets, and some of the Officers on both Sides exchanged Thrusts of Swords through the Pallisadoes, they were obliged to give back.



A.D. 1704. back. In their Retreat, a great Body of Horse of the *French Gens d'Armes* and Carabiniers issued out from the Village, and pursued them so fiercely, that they were in great Danger of being all cut off. But a Body of *Hessian* Foot, who were ordered to sustain the *English*, made such a terrible Fire upon the *French* Horse, that they could not stand it; but were driven back to the Village. A Brigade of *English* Horse then passed the Rivulet, who were met by fresh Troops of the *French*, and after a short Skirmish were overpowered by Numbers, and many of them obliged to repass the Rivulet; till a second Storm of Shot from the *Hessian* Foot obliged the *French* to retire again. The Village of *Blenheim* was attacked in another Place by another Body of Troops, but with the like ill Success; the Assailants being driven back with great Loss, after three or four gallant, but unsuccessful Attempts. Mean while the Confederate Horse of the Left Wing crossed the Rivulet without Opposition from the Enemy, some over the Bridges, and some swimming through the Water. It was a great Oversight in the *French* General to suffer this; but it is said, that the Enemy so much despised the Attempts of the Confederates, that while they were crossing, some of the *French* Commanders said, the more of them get over, the more there will be to kill. If this was true, their Confidence cost them dear. For the Confederate Horse putting themselves in Order of Battle, and having recovered a brisk Charge from the *French* Cavalry which put them into some Disorder, they renewed the Fight with such Success, that they gradually gained Ground, till they advanced to the Top of the Hill. The *French* fought with great Courage, and gave back very slowly; and as often as they were broken, rallied again. But the Day was come in which the Greatness of *France* was to have its Period. The *Mareschal de Tallard*, finding his Cavalry unequal to that of the Confederates, caused ten Battalions to advance to sustain them; and the Fire of these Foot stopped the others for some Time. But now the Scale of Battle turned; for the Troops of the Allies being soon reinforced by some Infantry, the Confederate Horse made another Attack with so much Success, that they quite broke and routed the *French* Cavalry, and compelled them to abandon the Foot; who being charged on all Sides, were entirely cut to Pieces. While this Slaughter was making, the *Mareschal* made a Shift to rally his broken Horse (for almost all the Foot he had with him were killed,) that he might consider what to do in this desperate Condition. He would now have recovered his Dragoons and Infantry that were in the Village of *Blenheim*; but while he was deliberating to compass this, the Confederates made another more furious Charge upon his Cavalry, which utterly routed and dispersed them. One Party took their Way to the Right towards *Morselingen*, another right forwards towards

*Hochstet*, while a third Party was driven A.D. 1704. down the Hill to the Banks of the *Danube* in the utmost Confusion and Disorder. The River was soon full of Men and Horses; some throwing themselves in to escape by swimming; others pushed off from the Banks by the Crowd behind them. Abundance were drowned before they could reach the opposite Shore; for though the *Danube* is not very wide in that Place, being near its Source, yet the Throng and Tumult were so great, every Man pressing with Haste and Fear to get before his Fellow, and fresh Multitudes every Moment plunging in to escape the fierce Conquerors who were in hot Pursuit of them; or killing and taking the hindmost, that neither the Horse's Strength nor the Rider's Skill could avail any Thing amidst such an universal Distraction and Terror. The *Mareschal de Tallard* was born along by the Flight of his Men to the River Side; but he chose to yield himself to the Pursuers, rather than try so hazardous a Passage amidst a tumultuous Crowd, whom Danger had made insensible of Distinction or Respect; so that he was there taken Prisoner with many of his chief Officers.

This is what passed on the Left Wing of the Confederates. On the Right Wing they had the same Disadvantages to get over, and a more vigorous Resistance to encounter. Their Forces were no sooner over the Rivulet, but they were charged so fiercely by the *French*, that great Numbers of them were killed, and many of the rest were obliged to retreat over the Rivulet. After some Time they rallied, and made a second Attempt; but were again repulsed with Loss. They were not yet disheartened, but ventured upon a third Attack, in which they at last made the Enemy give Way, and having once put them in Disorder, pursued their Advantage till Victory declared itself entirely for them. So that by that Time the Duke of *Marlborough* had completed the Defeat of the *Mareschal de Tallard* on the Left, he saw the Elector retreating on the Right from Prince *Eugene's* Forces, who closely pursued him. The Troops that had been posted in the Village of *Blenheim* by the *Mareschal de Tallard*, were now cut off from the rest of their Army. So that being surrounded on all Sides, they capitulated, and surrender'd Prisoners of War; there being no fewer of them than twenty eight Battalions of Foot, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons.

Thus this memorable Battle ended in one of the completest, and most important Victories that has been ever known. It is reckoned that the Loss of the *French* in this Battle, amounted to near eight and twenty thousand Men, besides four or five Thousand more who left them in their Retreat: So that above half of this great Army was left behind. The Damage of the Allies amounted to about four Thousand Men killed, and seven Thousand wounded. The Duke of *Marlborough* had a remarkable



A.D. 1704. Escape in his Person, a Cannon-Ball grazing under his Horse, and covering him with Dirt, without any other Harm.

The Consequences of the Victory.

This glorious Victory shed a bright Light of Joy and Security over all the Christian World. Had this Battle been lost, there can be no doubt that the Liberties of the German Empire had soon been ruined, and those of Europe with them; so that the Fate of Christendom hung upon the Event of this important Day. But the Consequences of this Victory put an End to the Fears that had disquieted the World before. For the broken Remains of the French Forces being not in a Condition to make Head against the Confederates, they were obliged to retire to their own Country. So that the Electorate of *Bavaria* became a Conquest without Blood or Sweat; the Circle of *Swabia* recovered its Freedom, and the Empire Safety and Tranquillity; and the Loss of so many Veteran Troops as were killed or taken at *Blenheim*, gave a Shock to the French Power, which it never recovered afterwards.

The Duke of *Marlborough* was willing to make use of the universal Consternation the Enemy was in upon this Defeat, by entering upon some important Enterprize. On the German Side of the *Rhine* all Things submitted; so that it was resolved to attack *Landau*, on the other Side of that River. During this Siege the Duke of *Marlborough* secured the City of *Triers*. *Landau* being obliged to surrender after a long Siege, the Confederates besieged *Traerbach*, and the Surrender of that Place ended the Campaign.

Mean Time the Queen was daily entertained with the Congratulations of Foreign Powers, and the Loyal Addresses of her Subjects, on the Glories with which the Divine Providence had blessed her Reign. A Day of Thanksgiving was appointed for the Success of her Arms; upon which Occasion the Queen came to *St. Paul's Cathedral*, with very great Solemnity, attended by her whole Court, and the chief Officers of State. Two Months after the Duke of *Marlborough* arrived in *England*, after having received a Profusion of Respects and Presents in *Germany* and *Holland*. He brought with him the *Mareschal de Tallard*, and twenty six other Prisoners of Note, with the Colours and Standards taken at *Blenheim*; which were ordered to be hung in *Westminster-hall*. The Prisoners were sent to *Nottingham* and *Litchfield*, to be guarded at large by a Regiment of Horse, and allowed all Manner of Freedom for ten Miles round.

The Campaign in Savoy and Portugal.

The Campaign in *Savoy* was successful on the Side of *France*; *Vercelli*, *Ivrea*, and *Verue* being surrendered to the French. In *Portugal* the Presence of King *Charles III.* of *Spain* produced not that Benefit that was expected. After the Ceremonies were past between the two Kings, the Operations of the Campaign began to be entered upon. But these were retarded by many Obstacles. The Soldiers that were brought over by the Fleet were very sickly; and for want of

proper Accommodations, which were not taken Care of beforehand, many of them died. Besides this, it being agreed in the Alliance with *England*, that the King of *Portugal* should provide Horses for the Cavalry, the French Ambassador had taken Care to buy up all the best Horses; so that those who were provided were not of a proper Size or Strength. The chief Command was also divided. For by the Custom of *Portugal* the Governors of the Provinces command in Chief all the Troops within their own Districts: So that the Duke of *Schomberg* who was appointed General of the English and Dutch, was always matched with Portuguese Commanders, who were generally not very fit for the Office, and perhaps, for that very Reason, the more backward to be advised by those who were. The Campaign began with these ill Omens, and suitable Success. The Spaniards under King Philip, called by the Confederates the Duke of *Anjou*, invaded *Portugal*, and carried all before them, before the Portuguese were in a Condition to oppose them. But at last they took the Field, and made an Irruption into *Castile*, to call off the Spaniards to their own Country. But their Progress was soon stopped by the Heats of the Summer Season, which are violent in that Country, and obliged the Armies to put into Quarters of Refreshment. The Court of *England* endeavoured to rectify what was amiss, by sending the Earl of *Galloway* to command the English and Dutch Auxiliaries. He took the Field as soon as the Heats were over, with Design to invade *Castile*. But the Spaniards used such Precautions as checked his Progress, till it was Time for the Armies to go into Winter Quarters.

In the mean Time Sir *George Rooke* received Intelligence, that the Garrison of *Gibraltar*, at the Mouth of the famous Streights it gives Name to, was very weak. Upon this Information he sailed thither, with a good Body of Marines aboard. When he came before the Place, he first landed the Soldiers upon a small Neck of Land that joins the Promontory of *Gibraltar* to the main Land, to cut off all Assistance from the Continent. He then summoned the Governor to surrender; and upon his Refusal cannonaded the Town with great Fury. The Spaniards being driven from a Battery at the Southermost of the two Moles that form the Haven, the Sailors landed and took Possession of it. The Enemy had laid a Train to the Powder-Magazine there; which being fired, the Magazine blew up, and killed and wounded above an hundred Men. But this Accident did not hinder the Sailors from advancing, and taking a Redoubt between the Mole and the Town. The Place was very strong; and the taking it might still have proved a Work of Time and Difficulty; but the Suddenness of the Attack, and the Weakness of the Garrison, made amends for other Disadvantages. So that after no more than three Days Siege, this important Place fell into our Hands; which soon

*Gibraltar taken by Sir Geo. Rooke.*



A.D. 1704. soon after stood a Siege of six Months, and at last drove the Besiegers from before it. Soon after this an Engagement happened between the Confederate and *French* Fleets, who fell in with each other near *Malaga*; the former consisting of fifty three, the latter of fifty two Ships with twenty four Gallies. The Victory was uncertain; but the Fight had this good Consequence, that the *French* Fleet, being glad to retire to their own Coasts, could not be assisting in the Siege of *Gibraltar*, which the *Spaniards* attempted in three Months after; the *Marquis de Villadarias*, with eight Thousand *French* and *Spaniards* attacking it on the Land side; and six *French* Frigates assisting them by Sea. But Sir *John Leake*, who was left by Sir *George Rooke* at *Lisbon*, hearing this, hastened to the Relief of the Place with such Celerity, that he surprized two of the *French* Frigates in the Bay. He then reinforced the Garrison with two Thousand Men, and returned to *Lisbon*. And the Place was so bravely defended by the *English* Garrison under the Prince d' *Armstadt*, and so seasonably relieved, from Time to Time, by the *English* Fleet, that at last, after a Siege of five Months, the *French* and *Spaniards* were compelled to break up from before it.

The Scotch Parliament meets.

An Act of Security passed.

The furious Animosities that had been raised in *Scotland* on Account of the Act of Security abovementioned, had that Influence upon the Queen's Counsellors here; that it was resolved to gratify the *Scots* Nation in that Matter. The Parliament there being met, and the usual Forms past, it was proposed to proceed upon such Limitations and Conditions of Government, as should secure the Freedom and Independency of that Nation. This was carried by a great Majority, and an Act was ordered to be drawn up to that Purpose, called like the other, the Act of Security. By this it was enacted, "That in the Event of the Queen's Death, the Parliament then in Being should meet at *Edinburgh* on the twentieth Day after; or if no Parliament should be then in Being, the Members of the last. That these should cause the Claim of Right to be read to the next Successor, and administer the Coronation-Oath. That upon the Death of the Queen, or any other King or Queen, without lawful Heir or Successor, the Estates might nominate and declare the Successor, and settle the Succession on the Heirs of the said Successor's Body; the said Successor and his Heirs being of the Royal Line of *Scotland*, and the true Protestant Religion. Provided also, that such Successors be not at the same Time Successors to the Crown of *England*; unless in that, or in some ensuing Parliament, the Honour and Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Scotland* be secured". And for a farther Security to that Kingdom it was there enacted, "That all Protestant Hereticks and Burghs, should provide Arms for all the fencible Men, and be impowered to discipline and exercise them". While this Act was in Agitation, the Parliament resolved to grant a Sess for six

Months. The Act of Security having passed the House, received a few Days after the Royal Assent. After this the House resolved that the Examination of the Plot by the House of Lords in *England*, was an undue Intermeddling with the Concerns of *Scotland*, and an Encroachment on the Sovereignty and Independency of the same. This being over, they proceeded to grant a Supply. Several other Laws were proposed while this was going forward; but as soon as the Supply was granted, the Commissioner told them, that the Queen thought a short Recess would now be necessary, and prorogued them.

The Parliament prorogued.

At the Beginning of the Winter, the Parliament of *England* met. The Queen received the Addresses of her two Houses of Parliament, to congratulate her on the happy Successes of her Arms; in relation to which it was observed, that in the Address of the House of Commons, the same Terms were used in mentioning the Successes under Sir *George Rooke*, as those under the Duke of *Marlborough*, which shewed a secret Disinclination of some in the House to that great Commander. The House of Commons went however with great Cheerfulness upon the Supplies of the Year, and made such Dispatch in them, that on the ninth of *December* the Bills for that Purpose received the Royal Assent.

The Parliament of England meets.

Their Proceedings.

The Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity was so much the Favourite of some Gentlemen in the House of Commons, that its ill Success before did not discourage them from moving to bring it in again. This Bill raised a very high Ferment in the Nation, being opposed and espoused with great Warmth by the two contending Parties. Some Members were so warm for the Bill, that they proposed that the same should be tacked to the Land-Tax Bill then on Foot. For the House of Lords not having Power to alter any Money-Bill, but either to reject or pass the Whole, it was thought that they would be obliged to pass the Occasional Conformity Bill so tacked, rather than put a Stop to the Operations of War, which depended on the Supplies. This Zeal on one Side raised as much on the other. It was said that the Lords had made it a standing Order of their House not to receive any other Matter tacked to a Money Bill. So that the Consequence of this Tacking would be to create invincible Difficulties between both Houses, and Delays in the carrying on the Publick Concerns, that might be of the utmost Prejudice. These Reasons so prevailed, that the Motion for Tacking was rejected. The Bill however passed the House of Commons for Form's Sake; but when it came before the Lords, it was thrown out.

The Act of Security, and other Acts passed in *Scotland* the foregoing Session, gave Umbrage here in *England*; and both Houses of Parliament took them into Consideration. The Lords resolved in a grand Committee, "that the best Method to prevent the Inconveniencies that might arise from the late Acts



A.D. 1704. " Acts passed in *Scotland*, was by making such  
 " Laws here. That the Queen be enabled  
 " by Act of Parliament, on the Part of  
 " *England*, to name Commissioners to treat  
 " about an Union with *Scotland*, provided  
 " those Powers be not put in Execution  
 " till Commissioners should be named on  
 " the Part of *Scotland* by the Parliament  
 " there. That *Scotchmen* should not enjoy  
 " the Privileges of *Englishmen*, unless set-  
 " tled in *England*, *Ireland*, or the Plantati-  
 " ons, or in the Land or Sea Service, till  
 " an Union be made, or the Succession set-  
 " tled, as in *England*. That the bringing of  
 " Cattle from *Scotland* to *England* be pre-  
 " vented: That the Queen's Ships be or-  
 " dered to take such Vessels as they should  
 " find trading from *Scotland* to *France*; and  
 " that Cruisers be appointed for that End.  
 " And lastly, that the Exportation of *En-  
 " glish* Wool into *Scotland* be hindered".

A.D. 1705.

These Resolutions were ordered to be turned into Bills. Two Days after the Lords addressed the Queen to order *Newcastle* to be put into a Condition of Defence, the Port of *Tinmouth* to be secured, and *Carlisle* and *Hull* to be repaired; the Militia of the four Northern Counties to be disciplined, and provided with Arms and Ammunition; and regular Troops to be posted on the Northern Borders; with which Address the Queen promised to comply. The House of Commons also having taken the same Things into Consideration, resolved as follows. " That the Queen be enabled to  
 " appoint Commissioners to treat of an  
 " Union. That all Natives of *Scotland* not  
 " settled in *England*, or the Dominions  
 " thereof, nor in Service of the Army or  
 " Navy, shall be accounted Aliens, unless  
 " the Succession in *Scotland* be settled on  
 " the House of *Hanover*. That Provision  
 " be made to prevent the Importation of  
 " *Scotch* Linnen into *England* or *Ireland*;  
 " and to permit the Exportation of the  
 " Linnen Manufactures of *Ireland*, in *En-  
 " glish* Bottoms, to our *American* Plantati-  
 " ons. That immediate Provision be made  
 " to prevent the conveying of Horses,  
 " Arms or Ammunition into *Scotland*".  
 And a Bill was ordered to be brought in upon these Resolutions; to which Bill the House of Lords gave their Concurrence.

The Houses of Parliament had honoured the Duke of *Marlborough* with their Thanks for the Part he had in the Successes of the last Campaign; but the House of Commons proceeded farther, and by proper Management was induced to address the Queen to consider of some proper Means for perpetuating the Services performed by him. The Queen made Answer, " That she intended to grant to him and his  
 " Heirs the Interest of the Crown, in the  
 " Honour and Mannor of *Woodstock*; and  
 " Hundred of *Wootton*; towards which she  
 " desired the Assistance of the House; and  
 " that the Lieutenancy and Rangership of  
 " the Parks, with the Rents and Profits of  
 " the Mannor and Hundreds, being grant-

" ed for two Lives, her Majesty desired A.D. 1705.  
 " that Incumbrance might be cleared". With  
 all this the Commons readily complied. Orders were also given for erecting the magnificent Structure there, known by the Name of *Blenheim-House*; that the Rewards of the Duke's great Actions might be proportioned to the Services that obtained them.

Soon after this a new Dispute broke out between the two Houses. Five Men of *Aylesbury* brought their Actions at Common Law against *William White* the Mayor, for not allowing their Votes at the Election of Members. The House of Commons having, in the Case of *Ashby* against the same *White*, declared this a Breach of Privilege, (as was related above) ordered these Men to be committed to *Newgate* for the same. The Persons so committed brought their *Habeas Corpus* to the Court of *King's Bench*; and Mr. *Page*, Mr. *Montague*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and Mr. *Denton*, had the Courage to plead that they might be discharged. The Lord Chief Justice *Holt* was of Opinion that they might; but the three other Judges being of another Mind, the Prisoners were remanded. But two of these, more resolute than the rest, refused to acquiesce in this Judgment; and petitioned for a Writ of Error to bring the same before the Lords. The Commons were all in a Flame upon this, and addressed the Queen not to give Leave for the bringing any such Writ of Error. They farther resolved, that those who had been concerned in the Prosecution of the Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, or had endeavoured to procure the Writs of Error, were Disturbers of the Publick Peace, and endeavoured to overthrow the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of *England*. The Queen returned the Commons an evasive Answer. But the House was not to be appeased, but ordered the four Councillors, who had pleaded for the Discharge of the Persons committed, to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. And lest a Writ of Error should be granted, and those Persons by that Means be set at Liberty, they ordered them to be removed from *Newgate*, and taken into Custody of their Serjeant at Arms; which was done with great Circumstances of Severity and Terror.

The House of Lords had been hitherto silent; but now being petitioned by the imprisoned Persons, they found themselves obliged to interpose. The whole Matter being debated in the House, they at last resolved, " That neither House of Parlia-  
 " ment has Power, by any Vote or De-  
 " claration, to create to themselves any  
 " new Privilege that is not warrantable by  
 " the known Laws and Customs of Parlia-  
 " ment. That every Freeman of *England*  
 " who takes himself to be injured, has a  
 " Right to seek Redress by Action at Law;  
 " and that the commencing and prosecuting  
 " an Action against any Person (not entitled  
 " to Privilege of Parliament) is no Breach  
 " of the Privilege of Parliament. That the  
 " House of Commons in committing those  
 " Men



A.D. 1705. "Men to *Newgate*, upon Pretence that their  
 "so doing was contrary to a Declaration,  
 "a Contempt of the Jurisdiction, and a  
 "Breach of the Privilege of their House,  
 "had assumed to themselves alone a Legis-  
 "lative Authority, by pretending to attri-  
 "bute the Force of a Law to their Declara-  
 "tion; had claimed a Jurisdiction not war-  
 "ranted by the Constitution; and had as-  
 "sumed a new Privilege to which they have  
 "no Title by the Laws and Customs of  
 "Parliament; and have thereby, so far as  
 "in them lies, subjected the Rights of *En-*  
 "*glishmen*, and the Freedom of their Per-  
 "sons, to the arbitrary Votes of the House  
 "of Commons. That every *Englishman*,  
 "who is imprisoned by any Authority what-  
 "soever, has an undoubted Right by his  
 "Agents or Friends, to apply for, and ob-  
 "tain a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, in order to  
 "procure his Liberty by due Course of  
 "Law. That for the House of Commons  
 "to censure or punish any Person for as-  
 "sisting a Prisoner to procure a Writ of  
 "*Habeas Corpus*; or by Vote or otherwise,  
 "to deter Men from soliciting, prosecu-  
 "ting, or pleading upon such Writ in Be-  
 "half of such Prisoner, is an Attempt of  
 "dangerous Consequence, a Breach of the  
 "many good Statutes provided for the Li-  
 "berty of the Subject, and of pernicious  
 "Example, by denying the necessary As-  
 "sistances to the Prisoner upon a Commit-  
 "ment of the House of Commons, which  
 "has ever been allowed upon all Commit-  
 "ments by any Authority whatsoever. And  
 "lastly, that a Writ of Error is not a Writ  
 "of Grace, but of Right; and ought not  
 "to be denied the Subject, when duly ap-  
 "plied for, though at the Request of either  
 "House of Parliament; the Denial thereof  
 "being an Obstruction of Justice, contrary  
 "to *Magna Charta*". Several Conferences  
 "were held between the two Houses upon the  
 "Subject of their contrary Resolves, but to  
 "no Effect. And the Serjeant at Arms being  
 "served with two Writs of *Habeas Corpus*,  
 "returnable before the Lord Keeper, in Behalf  
 "of Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Denton*, two of the  
 "Council for the *Aylesbury* Men, the House of  
 "Commons resolved, "That no Commoner  
 "of *England*, committed by the House of  
 "Commons, for Breach of Privilege or  
 "Contempt of that House, ought to be, by  
 "any Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, made to ap-  
 "pear in any other Place, or before any o-  
 "ther Judicature, during the Session of  
 "Parliament, in which such Persons are  
 "committed. That the Serjeant at Arms  
 "should make no Return, nor yield any  
 "Obedience to those Writs; and that for  
 "such his Refusal, he have the Protection  
 "of the House of Commons. And that  
 "the Lord Keeper should be acquainted  
 "with those Resolutions, that the Writs  
 "might be superseded, as contrary to Law,  
 "and the Privilege of the House". Some  
 "Time after they ordered the whole Pro-  
 "ceedings of the Houses in Relation to this  
 "Affair, to be printed. The Lords on the

other Hand attended the Queen with a Re- A.D. 1705.  
 presentation and Address, in which they set  
 forth, that the Proceedings of the House of  
 Commons were wholly new and unprece-  
 dented, and besides dangerous to the Sub-  
 jects Liberties; and therefore that they  
 humbly requested her Majesty to give Or-  
 ders for the issuing out the Writs of Error.  
 The Queen answered, that she should have  
 granted the Writs of Error desired in this  
 Address, but finding an absolute Necessity  
 of putting an immediate End to the Sess-  
 ion, she was sensible there could have been  
 no farther Proceedings in the Matter. The  
 Lords were so pleased with this Answer,  
 that they voted the Thanks of their House  
 for it. And the very same Day the Queen  
 came to the House of Lords, and put an  
 End to this famous Dispute by a Prorogati-  
 on; and before this Prorogation was deter-  
 mined, dissolved the Parliament by Procla-  
 mation. The Parlia-  
 ment dissol-  
 ved.

About that Time the Campaign began;  
 but through the Supineness and Remissness  
 of the *German* Councils, the great Expecta-  
 tions justly raised were disappointed. Du-  
 ring the Winter the Duke of *Marlborough*  
 framed a Project for improving the great  
 Success at *Bleinheim*, by attacking in the Sum-  
 mer the Frontiers of *France*, by the Way of  
 the *Moselle*. To this End he had agreed with  
 the States to be content with his Absence  
 from their Frontiers, by representing to them  
 that the *French* were like to be so fully  
 employed by his Army, that they would  
 have little Leisure or Inclination to give Di-  
 sturbance any where else. He also sent to  
 Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to desire an Interview  
 with him, to consider of proper Measures to  
 make the *German* Forces concur in this En-  
 terprize; which was agreed on, and *Creutz-*  
*nach* in the *Palatinate* was appointed to be  
 the Place of Meeting. The *French* had  
 early Intelligence of the Duke's Intentions,  
 and with that Diligence and Celerity which  
 they had shewed in the whole Course of the  
 late long Wars, entered upon an Expediti-  
 on to prevent him before he took the Field,  
 by securing some of the neighbouring Posts.  
 To this End the *Mareschal de Villars* came  
 before *Homburg*; and because his Business  
 required Dispatch, sent Word to the Go-  
 vernor, that he knew the Place was not te-  
 nable against his Army; and therefore since  
 Resistance could signifie nothing but to oc-  
 casion loss of Time in a Siege, he threatned  
 that if he did not surrender immediately, he  
 would cause him to be hanged, and all the  
 Garrison put to the Sword. But the Go-  
 vernor made him a resolute Answer, and  
 fired upon his Men; which obliged them  
 to draw off to a convenient Distance. The  
 Stop the *French* met at this Place defeated  
 their Design; and M. *Villars* being inform-  
 ed that Troops were drawing together to  
 fall upon him, he retired.

The Duke took the Field immediately  
 after this. He first went to confer with  
 Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with whom he agreed  
 on the Measures to be taken. He then



A.D. 1705. went to the Army, which was in the Neighbourhood of *Triers*; and soon after the Forces began to remove. They crossed the *Rhine* and the *Saar*, where being met by a Reinforcement, they marched directly towards the *Mareschal de Villars*, who was encamped with a *French* Army about eight Hours March from them. The *French*, upon the Sight of the Confederates, abandoned their Post, and hastened to possess themselves of an advantageous Camp; which they fortified with all Diligence, by casting up Intrenchments, and cutting down Trees; so that it was impossible to attack them with tolerable Prospect of Success.

The ill Conduct of the Germans.

But this was not the Duke's Design; which was only to face the *French* Army, while the *Germans* behind him should attack *Saar-Louis*, a strong Place on the *Saar*, which it was necessary to secure before he advanced farther. But the Slowness and Remissness of the *Germans* maimed and frustrated the Duke's well-laid Schemes; for when he expected the *German* Troops to be besieging *Saar-Louis*, he heard that scarce any of them were so much as moving that Way. Messenger was sent upon Messenger to the *Imperialists*, *Wirtembergers*, *Prussians* and *Palatines*, to quicken their March; and to other Princes who had promised to find Artillery, Horses, and Waggons, to hasten those Preparations. But these Instances either came too late, or were ineffectual; so that the Duke was obliged to lie still and unactive, and undergo that intolerable Trouble of expecting, with the utmost Impatience, those who seemed scarcely to think of Him. In the mean Time he had the continual Mortification to find his Projects growing less and less practicable; his Army being cooped up in a Neck of Land between the *Saar* and the *Moselle*, where the Forage was almost consumed; which without any Attack from the Enemy, would soon oblige him to turn back. He waited in this Uneasiness and Vexation of Mind so long, till he found the Season of Enterprising was lost; and though he still continued in those Parts, it was rather to clear himself from the Imputation of dislodging too soon, than from any Hopes he retained of executing what he had designed. But while he was thus struggling with the Shame and Vexation that attends Disappointments, a sudden Advice from the *Netherlands* determined him at once to abandon this Enterprize.

The Occurrences in the Netherlands.

Upon the March of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the *Moselle*, the States resolved to stand upon the Defensive. To this End they had given Orders to those Forces of theirs that were left to cover their Frontiers, to intrench themselves near *Maastricht*, that in Case they should be attacked by the *French*, they might shelter themselves under the Cannon of that strong Town. They imagined indeed, that nothing would be attempted on that Side by either Army; it being expected that the *French* would be obliged to send so great a Detachment from thence to op-

pose the Duke of *Marlborough*, as should A.D. 1702. disable them from undertaking any Enterprize in the *Netherlands*. But this proved a Mistake. The *French* soon found, that the Remissness of the *Germans* had more effectually maimed the Duke of *Marlborough's* Undertaking, than any Opposition of theirs could do. So that being excused from weakening their Army in the *Netherlands*, they took the Advantage their great Superiority gave them, and began to act offensively. They came out of their Lines, and in the first Place invested the small Town of *Huy*. The Town not being long defensible, the Garrison retired into the Castle, where they made a brave Defence: But not being in a Condition to maintain themselves long, they surrendered the same in a few Days. From thence the *French* Army marched to *Liege*, and invested the Citadel.

The News of this coming to the Duke of *Marlborough's* Camp, the Deputies of the States there were put into a great Alarm, and earnestly pressed the Duke to hasten his Return to the *Netherlands*, to guard the Frontiers of their State. They represented to him, that the Forage all about was so consumed, that the Army could not subsist in that Camp; how long, and to how little Purpose, they had waited for the *German* Forces and Assistance that were promised them; and that it would be Loss of Time to spend any more about an Enterprize which the Faults of others had made frustrate. The Duke was sensible of the Reasonableness of these Representations, and broke up his Camp; and with swift and long Marches, arrived in the *Netherlands* soon enough to save the Citadel of *Liege*; the *French* abandoning the Town upon the News of his Approach.

The Duke of Marlborough comes to their Assistance.

He had not long been in the *Netherlands* before he found that the former ill Conduct of the *Germans* had not yet left them. The Duke at leaving those Parts, had appointed a Force of seven Thousand Men to cover *Triers*, and other Posts near it; who were to be joined by the Troops of *Westphalia*, and were commanded by Lieutenant General *d'Aubach*. The *Mareschal de Villars*, upon the Duke's leaving the Countrey, having no Enemy before him, advanced towards the *Saar*; and *M. d'Aubach* hearing of this March, sent Orders to the Governor of *Saarbrück* to quit the Castle, and blow up the Fortifications, as soon as the Enemy should appear. This unaccountable Step of his surprized every one; but it would have been well if it had been the only Fault he committed. For after this, he went to *Triers*, and though no Enemy appeared in Sight, destroyed the vast Magazines that had been erected there at a prodigious Expence, blew up the Fortifications, burnt the Boats designed to make Bridges, and quitted the Place. Besides this, so little Care was taken to keep the *German* Forces together, that the *French* forced their Lines in one Place, and had very nearly done the same



A.D. 1705. same in another. These unaccountable Mismanagements obliged the Duke to send his Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor to lay these Things before him.

The Duke  
forces the  
French Lines.

In the mean Time the Duke's Arrival in the *Netherlands* changed the Face of Things there; the *French* upon his advancing towards them, retiring within their Lines. The Duke then ordered *Huy* to be invested; and the Place not being relieved, surrendered soon after. The Army continued for some Time unactive after this, while the States were deliberating upon a Proposal sent them by the Duke for attacking the *French* Lines. This being returned with their Approbation of whatever Measures the Duke should think fit to take, the Attack was prepared for. It was an Attempt of such a Nature, as depended more on Stratagem than open Force; and the Dispositions made for it were suitable. The Duke ordered the Army to move in such a Manner, as if he intended to attack the Lines near *Namur*, which drew the Attention and Forces of the Enemy that Way. But when he understood that this Amusement had its Effect, he decamped on a sudden by Night, and by the next Morning appeared at several Miles Distance from the Place where he was expected. The Line in the Place he came to, was but thinly guarded; so that without any great Difficulty the Confederate Troops entered it. The *French* hearing of this Motion of the Allies, had hastened thither all the Troops they could send, to defend the Line. But they came too late, the Line being forced before they could put themselves in Order; and the Confederate Troops falling upon them, put them to Flight, killing and taking great Numbers of them, with some of their Cannon. Thus a mighty Advantage was gained, had it been as well pursued. For as the *French* Army was inferior to that of the Confederates, their only Security was to cover themselves with these Lines, which they had cast up for a prodigious Way with great Labour and Expence. The Lines being entered, it was to be hoped some notable Exploit might have been performed, either against the *French* Army, or some of the Towns they possessed. But the *French* Generals, as soon as they heard the Confederates had broke into their Lines, lost no Time, but sent with all Diligence to secure an advantageous Post at *Parck*, near the City of *Louvain*; which covered not only that Town, but also *Brussels* and *Antwerp*. And howsoever it came to pass, or with whomsoever the Fault lay, no Care was taken to prevent this. So that this great Success of entering the Lines, passed over without those important Consequences that were at first expected from it.

The Duke after this framed another Scheme, for attacking the *French* Army, as they lay encamped between *Over-Ysche*, and *Neder-Ysche*. But when the Army was drawn up, and the Orders were about to be given for an immediate Attack, the Deputies of

the States refused absolutely to consent to it. A.D. 1705. The Duke was forced to submit, but with great Reluctance; and he sent an expostulatory Letter to the States about it. *England* also espoused the Duke's Cause with great Warmth, and the Earl of *Pembroke* was named Envoy-Extraordinary to go over to *Holland* to expostulate with the States. The States hearing of these Things, became sensible of their Error, and sent Monsieur *Buys*, one of their Body, to assure the Duke of their Readiness to give him all reasonable Satisfaction. And General *Slangenburgh*, who out of a private Pique to the Duke, was said to have created that Opposition to him, was displaced. But all this could not restore the Opportunity lost; so that no Action of Moment was attempted, before the Armies went into Winter-Quarters. At the Beginning of the Winter the Duke of *Marlborough* went to *Vienna*, where he was received by the Emperor with great Respect; and the Lordship of *Mindelheim* in *Suabia* was conferred upon him, with the Style and Title of Prince of *Mindelheim*. From thence he returned to *England*, thro' *Berlin* and *Hanover*, bringing with him several Prisoners of Distinction, who were taken at the forcing of the Lines.

The Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy* were in a very hazardous Posture; the *French* gaining Ground upon him continually. The Duke made a Shift by throwing up strong Intrenchments, to cover his Capital City of *Turin* from a Siege. And Prince *Eugene*, with wonderful Conduct, Resolution and Success, making his Way through prodigious Difficulties, came to his Assistance. This brought on an Engagement, which though of a dubious Event, had this Consequence, that it preserved the small Remainder of the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions for this Year.

On the Side of *Portugal*, the Siege of *Gibraltar*, which employed the *French* and *Spanish* Forces in a long and fruitless Attempt, gave an Opportunity to the *Portuguese* Forces to invade *Spain*. This they performed with good Success; and took *Valencia d'Alcantara* by Storm, and *Albuquerque* on Conditions. After this, the *English* and *Dutch* Commanders prevailed on the *Portuguese* to attempt the Siege of *Badajoz*; but the *Mareschal de Theffe* covering the Place with four Thousand Men, the Summer Heats coming on, and the Want of some Necessaries for such an Enterprize, obliged them to put it off. On another Side of the *Portuguese* Frontiers, they also recovered the Town of *Salvaterra*, and took and plundered *Sarca*. The Summer Season being over, the *Portuguese* took the Field; but were so slow in their Motions, that the Siege of *Badajoz*, which was now agreed on, was not begun till the third of *October*. The Siege went on at first with so good Success, that it was thought it could not miscarry. But it happened unfortunately that a Bomb from the Enemy fell upon one of the Batteries of the Besiegers; and bursting there blew up the Powder, and killed some of the Gunners

The Campaign in *Savoy*.

The Campaign in *Portugal*.



A.D. 1705. ners. The Earl of Gallway Commander of the *English*, and General Fagel of the *Dutch*, ran thither immediately to give Orders upon this Emergency; and as they chanced to have both their Arms lifted up, a Cannon Ball came from the Castle, which passing through General Fagel's Sleeve, took off the Lord Gallway's Right Hand a little below the Elbow; so that he was forced to be carried away to have his Arm cut off. Soon after the Mareschal de Thesse came near the Town; and by pretending to offer Battle to the Confederates, got a Relief of one Thousand Men into *Badajoz*, and then retired again; which unexpected Supply made the Confederates raise the Siege. The Earl of Gallway had the Honour of being condoled with by the King of *Portugal*, and receiving a handsome Present from his Royal Mistress, upon the Loss of his Right Hand; besides that of having it generally believed that his Misfortune hindered the taking of *Badajoz*.

The Confederate Fleet was very successful this Summer; and made a new Impression on *Spain*. They arrived at *Lisbon* in the Middle of *June*, having on board five Thousand Land Forces commanded by the Earl of *Peterborough*. While the Fleet and Soldiers were refreshing themselves there, and the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Gallway* were debating about the proper Measures to be taken for compassing the Earl of *Peterborough's* Designs, the Prince of *Hesse d'Armstadt* arrived from *Gibraltar*. That Prince gave King *Charles III.* such positive Assurances of the Disposition of the People of *Catalonia* to him (which he was supposed to understand, having been Viceroy of that Principality) that King *Charles* resolved to go on board the Fleet, and run the Adventure with the Earl of *Peterborough*. The Fleet put to Sea again, and having called at *Gibraltar*, and exchanged some Soldiers with the Garrison, they passed through the *Streights* into the *Mediterranean*. They landed first at *Altea* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; where they were received with the utmost Joy and Welcome by the Inhabitants, and the neighbouring Countrey. From *Altea* they set Sail for the Coasts of *Catalonia*, and arrived in the Bay of *Barcelona*, the Capital of that Principality.

King Charles III. sets sail for Spain.

He lands in Catalonia.

They found the Informations well grounded, that had been given of the good Disposition of the *Catalans* to King *Charles*. The Fleet no sooner appeared in the Bay, but the People that lived in the open Countrey, and were not awed by Garrisons, unanimously declared for that Prince; and with great Joy and Readiness assisted the Landing of the Soldiers. The next Day after the Troops were set on Shore, they marched towards *Barcelona*; and encamped at a very small Distance from the City, and began to invest it to prevent any Succours arriving there. And the Countrey People concurred so heartily with the Confederate Forces, that because the Number of Troops brought by the Fleet was not sufficient to surround a City

of so great a Circumference, they joined their Assistance in securing the Avenues. When all necessary Dispositions were made on Shore, King *Charles* landed; and was received by the People with the greatest Joy and Transport that could be imagined.

But this Affection of the People was little better than empty Shew; or at least did very little facilitate the Operations of War. The *English* Commanders found their Undertaking attended with many and great Difficulties. The Multitude that met them at their Landing were not to be trusted with any Enterprize; the City of *Barcelona* (which it was expected would surrender at the first Appearance of the Confederates) was defended by a Garrison half as numerous as the Army that was to besiege it; and besides this, the proper Materials for a Siege (which was not looked for) were wanting. For a Fortnight together Councils of War were held upon the State of Affairs; but it was constantly agreed by a Majority of the Land Officers, and sometimes even unanimously, that the Siege of *Barcelona* was impracticable. Only King *Charles*, whether pleased with the Affection the People shewed for him, or weary of bearing a vain Title without any Dominion to countenance it, was desirous an Attempt should be made for eighteen Days; and the Earl of *Peterborough* in Complaisance to the King, joined with that Opinion against his own Judgment. The Sea-Officers were hearty and unanimous for the Attack, but the King not liking their Proposal of bombarding and cannonading the City, which he desired to save, their Advice was rejected. Two other Expedients were proposed; the first to put the Forces on board, and pass over into *Italy* to the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was at the last Extremity; the second to march by Land along the Sea-Coast, with the Fleet in Company, to try the Affections of the Inhabitants, and to reduce some Towns; that if any reasonable Encouragement should be found from *Catalonia*, or the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, the Troops might quarter themselves in the Countrey, and raise a Body of Forces that might march towards *Madrid* at the Beginning of the next Spring. But at last the Council of War came to an unanimous Resolution to embark the Forces, and go to the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*.

While every one was busied in Thoughts and Preparations for re-imbarking, the Earl of *Peterborough*, according to some, and the Prince of *Hesse*, according to others, formed a Design of detaining the Forces there, by a bold but important Enterprize. On that Side of the City of *Barcelona*, where the Fortifications were weakest, it was covered by a strong Fortrefs called Fort *Montjuich*, which commanded the Town. This Place it was proposed to surprize; and to conceal the Design, whose Success depended upon Secrecy, the Cannon, Stores and Baggage were drawn off to be reimbarked; and it was given out that the Army was to march by

Fort Montjuich attempted.



A.D. 1705. by Land to meet the Fleet at *Terragona*.

In the mean Time Scaling-Ladders, and other Necessaries for such an Attempt were got ready. All Things being prepared, a Body of one Thousand Men were ordered to march out of the Camp about Sun-set, and take their Way towards *Terragona*; but at Ten at Night, to change their Course, and march directly to Fort *Montjuich*. About Midnight another equal Detachment was sent from the Camp to follow them; to which were added some Dragoons to cut off Relief from the City. But the Night being very dark, and the Way the Soldiers passed through so very narrow that only one Man could go abreast, it was break of Day before the first Detachment could reach the Foot of the Mountain. And besides, the March of those Soldiers had been discovered to the Fort by some *Miquelets*: So that when they arrived there, they found the Garrison in Arms, and prepared to receive them. This did not deter the Confederates from beginning the Attack; which they did with so much Bravery, that the *Spaniards*, after having made a terrible Fire upon them as they were advancing, were not able to stand a close Engagement with them, but gave Way on all Sides, and left the Outworks in their Possession; themselves retiring into the *Donjon*, or inner Castle. But it happened as the Prince of *Hesse* was leading up the Soldiers to the Attack, through a Shower of Bullets from the Fort, a Musket-Ball wounded him in the Thigh. His Presence of Mind was such, that he took no Notice of the Shot he had received, but went on encouraging the Men as before. But the Effusion of Blood from his Wound was so great (the Ball having torn a large Artery) that he dropt down, after having walked about fifty Paces; and being carried into a Cottage, expired quickly after. This damped the Courage of the Soldiers, who held the Prince in great Esteem. Another Misfortune happened immediately after. The *Spaniards* seeing the Disorder the Soldiers were in upon the Loss of their Leader, cried out, (whether upon Design or in Derision is uncertain) *Long live King Charles!* and made Signs to the Assailants to come to them. This Feint was too easily believed, and a Colonel with about two hundred and fifty Men, advanced towards them. The *Spaniards* held open the Gate, till the others were just come up; when on a sudden they all presented their Muskets at the few *English*; commanding them to surrender themselves Prisoners. They found no Remedy but Obedience; being exposed to a furious Discharge on every Side of them, without Shelter or Defence; so that they delivered themselves up. Besides this, a Recruit of two hundred Grenadiers came into the Castle from the Town, after having defeated some *Catalans* that were appointed to cut off the Communication. These Accidents so discouraged the Confederate Forces, that the chief Commander gave Orders for a Retreat. When the Earl of *Peterborough*

The Prince of *Hesse* killed.

had heard of these Misfortunes, he came in A.D. 1705. all haste to encourage the Troops; knowing that his Settlement on *Spanish* Ground depended on the Event of this Day. But when upon his Arrival he found the Soldiers retiring, transported with Indignation, and the Fear of Disappointment, he drew his Sword, and throwing away the Scabbard, commanded the Men to face about, saying aloud, *Those that are brave Men will follow me.* He then put himself at their Head, and marched up before them to the Place they retreated from. His Example so animated the Soldiers, that they made a second Effort with such Success, that they regained the Ground they had lost before, and lodged themselves there. The Marquis *de Risbourg*, who had brought the Reinforcement from the City, seeing them march up again with such Resolution, and fearing to be cut off from the Town, retired thither with all Speed. And soon after the *Catalans* taking a Fort between the City and the Castle, all Communication was cut off between them.

The Confederates then began to batter the *Donjon*. But the Cannon they made use of, being only such as they found accidentally in the Posts they had taken, proved not of a sufficient Bore to break such strong Walls as those of the Castle. Upon this they plying the Besieged with Bombs and Granadoes, but with little Success for two Days. But on the third Day it happened that Colonel *Southwell*, who began the Attack at the Outworks, traversed one of the Mortars, and directed it to a little Chapel where he suspected there was a Magazine; and fired it with so lucky a Hand, that the Bomb fell among the Powder, and blew it all up. And as soon as the Consternation of the Blast was over, the Garrison came running out, and surrendered themselves to the Colonel; who in Recompence of this Service, was made Governor of the Place.

Fort *Montjuich* taken.

The taking this Fort encouraged and enabled the Earl of *Peterborough* to go on with the Siege of *Barcelona*. Four Batteries of Cannon, and two of Mortars were erected. And the Bomb-Vessels of the Fleet so well seconded the Batteries on Shore, that before three Weeks were expired, the Governor sent out to capitulate.

In the mean Time the *Catalans* and *Miquelets* were so active and zealous, that all the great Towns in *Catalonia* were obliged to declare for King *Charles*. Besides this, Don *Raphael Nebot*, a *Catalan*, and Colonel in the Service of King *Philip*, came over to King *Charles* with six hundred and fifty Horse; and soon after, with the Assistance of some other Forces, made a great Progress in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, all which declared also for that Prince, one or two Places excepted.

*Barcelona* being put into the Hands of King *Charles*, and the Countrey all about appearing so devoted to him, it was now debated what should next be done. It was agreed that the King should reside there, with



A.D. 1705. with all the Land-Forces, and as many of the Marines as could be spared; together with six Ships to be left in the Harbour of *Barcelona*; the rest of the Fleet being Part to go to *Lisbon*, and Part to return home.

A farther Progress made by the Earl of *Peterborough*.

The Joy at *Barcelona*, on Account of these swift and rapid Successes, was soon diminished by a great and impending Danger that threatened them quickly after. King *Philip*, and those of his Party were at home, where they had long been settled, and *France* was a near and useful Neighbour to him. It was not long before King *Charles's* Court were informed that *San Mattheo*, an important Town on the Borders of *Catalonia* and *Valencia*, which had declared for him, was attacked by six thousand of the *Spanish* Forces. Upon this the Earl of *Peterborough* was desired to give his Directions for the Relief of it. But instead of sending Orders, he went thither himself; and by an amazing Dexterity and Conduct, though he had but twelve hundred Men with him that he could depend upon, he caused the *Spaniards* to raise the Siege, without exposing the Smallness of his Numbers. From thence he went into *Valencia*, where he procured a great Number of Horses to mount his Foot; and by a Stratagem possessing himself of *Morviedro*, secured the City of *Valencia*, which was in great Danger from the Enemy. But the farther Occurrences on this Side reaching into the next Year, we shall put off the Relation of them, till they come in their Order at that Time.

The Parliament of *Scotland* meets.

The Parliament of *Scotland*, which sat this Summer, proved not so refractory as it had formerly been. That Assembly met on the twenty eighth of *June*; but many of the Members being absent, the Lord High Commissioner, which was now the Duke of *Argyle*, adjourned them for five Days. The Queen's Letter was then read, in which she recommended to them the settling the Protestant Succession in *Scotland*, and an Union with *England*. The Parliament having spent some Time in the Consideration of Trade, fell upon the Topicks mentioned in the Queen's Letter. A Resolve was then proposed and agreed to, that before they named a Successor, they would have a Treaty with *England*, with Relation to Commerce, and other Concerns; and also that before that Nomination they would frame such Limitations and Conditions of Government, as might secure their Religion and Liberties under a Successor. The Court-Party then proposed an Act for a Treaty with *England* about an Union; and the Countrey-Party to go upon the Limitations; and the latter carried it. An Act was then read, enacting, "That after the Queen's Decease, without Heirs of her Body, all Officers of State, and Privy Councillors and Lords of Session, should be chosen and appointed by the Parliament, and accountable to the same; and Vacancies in those Offices be supplied during the Intervals of Parliament, by Persons appointed by the Council, to continue in the same till next Ses-

sion of Parliament"; which Act was approved. An Act for calling Triennial Parliaments was also read and approved; with another, appointing *Scotch* Ambassadors to be present when the Sovereign had Occasion to treat with Foreign Princes and States. Other Limitations upon the Crown were afterwards proposed, but rejected by the House.

These Things being over, the Court-Party brought the Act for a Treaty with *England* for an Union, to be considered. Exceptions were taken, that in the *English* Act for an Union it was provided, that the *Scotch*, as well as *English* Commissioners, should be nominated by the Queen. This was interpreted, as if the *English* Parliament took to themselves a Power to command the *Scots*; and an Address to the Queen was moved for, to represent to her, that the Parliament could not comply with a Proposal made in such injurious Terms; but they were ready to comply with her Majesty's Desires of an Union, if the same were proposed in a proper Manner. But this Motion was rejected. The Temper of the House was now, by some secret Causes, so much changed, that the Opposers of the Union found it was in vain to oppose the Thing in general, and therefore endeavoured to clog the Act with some Clauses that might make the Treaty ineffectual. To this End they offered a Clause to be added to the Act, providing that the Union to be treated of should no Ways derogate from the fundamental Laws, ancient Privileges, Offices, Rights, Liberties and Dignities of the *Scotch* Nation. This was opposed by the Court-Party, who alledged that the Union proposed, being an entire or incorporating Union, this Clause was inconsistent with it, since the abolishing of *Scotch* Parliaments must be a necessary Consequence. This caused a warm and long Debate; but it being put to the Question, the Clause was carried by a Majority of two Voices only. A Clause was afterwards offered, forbidding the *Scotch* Commissioners to enter *England*, till a Clause in an *English* Act (mentioned as above) by which all the *Scots* are declared Aliens, be repealed. This Clause had like to have overturned the Act; for as it was very questionable whether the *English* Parliament would have repealed that Clause, it laid an invincible Difficulty in the Way. And the Motion took with the House. But the Court-Party evaded it, by moving that the Clause might not be joined with the Act of Treaty, but made an Act by it self; which Motion succeeded. And thus this important Act was carried through the House. And soon after, a Supply of six Months Sess being granted, the Parliament was adjourned.

An Act brought in for a Treaty about an Union with *England*.

The Act passed, and the Parliament adjourned.

The new Parliament of *England* assembled *October* 25. and the Commons chose *John Smith* Esq; Speaker. The Queen's Speech, and the Addresses being over, the Commons proceeded to the Supplies, and the Lords to consider the State of the Nation. The Lord

The Parliament of *England* meets. Their Proceedings.



A.D. 1705. Lord *Haversham* made a Motion, that the Princess *Sophia* should be invited to come into *England*, but it was rejected. It had however this Effect, that a Bill was passed for placing the Administration at the Time of the Queen's Demise, if the next Protestant Successor should be then out of the Kingdom, in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the High Treasurer, the President of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High-Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's-Bench at that Time being, till the Arrival of the Successor. The Lords afterwards brought in a Bill for repealing that Act, which gave so much Offence to the *Scotch* Parliament, as was just now said. Soon after this, the Queen communicated to the Houses the Accounts she had received of the great Successes in *Catalonia*, and was congratulated thereupon.

A Report that the Church was in Danger.

The publick Pretences which the Leaders of both Parties invented to cover their private Ends, throughout this Reign, were on the one Side a mighty Sollicitude for the Church of *England*; on the other, a wonderful Zeal for the *Hanover* Succession; under which false Colours they strove with a sincere Warmth and Concern for their own Power and Greatness. At the Beginning of the Queen's Reign, the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Godolphin* had sided with the former Party, till in about two Years afterwards, a Coldness grew between them; which appeared in the Addresses to the Queen in 1704, in which those of that Party affected to compare the Successes at Sea with those of the Duke of *Marlborough* at Land. And soon after the Act of Security being passed in *Scotland*, which gave, as has been said, so much Offence here, the Lord Treasurer found it necessary to dissipate a Storm which he apprehended from the other Party, by closing with them. And thus the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* came to be removed; and it appeared that the Stream of Royal Favour was like to take a different Course, from that which it had before observed. These Things alarming the deserted Party, many Pamphlets were published, insinuating that the present Ministry were Enemies to the Church of *England*, and that the secret Contrivances and open Attacks against it were so powerful and numerous, as to bring that truest Pattern of Primitive Christianity into the utmost Danger.

These panick Fears gained Ground so much among those who were zealously devoted to the Church, that the Ministry thought proper to have them silenced by a Resolution of Parliament. The Lord *Halifax* moved in the House of Lords, that a Day might be set to enquire into that pretended Danger, which was appointed; the Lords who were out of Place, with their Friends and Followers, being solicitous to prove the Danger of the Church, to cast an Odium on those who were in Power. These were joined by a very few, who sincerely

apprehended ill Consequences from the present State of Things. On the one Side it was urged, that the Act of Security lately passed in *Scotland*, was one Cause of the Churches Danger; because by that Act the Presbyterians of *Scotland* being empowered to arm themselves, were enabled to destroy it. That the next Successor to the Crown was absent beyond the Seas, which might be of ill Consequence on a sudden Exigency. That the Loss of the Occasional Conformity Bill was another Cause of the Churches Danger; the Refusal of so small and so reasonable a Security, giving Cause of Suspicion. To these Causes of Danger were added the Increase of Presbyterian Academies; and the Licentiousness of the Press; from whence there were uttered many dangerous Pamphlets against Religion in general, and the Church of *England* in particular. On the other hand it was said, that the Act of Security in *Scotland* could not be seriously thought a Danger to the Church, it being a Thing wholly foreign to Church Affairs; and the former Heats in *Scotland* being so well allayed: Nor could the Absence of the Successor be looked on as a real Ground of Apprehension; so effectual Care having been taken by a late Act to provide for the Administration of the Government in case of any unexpected Accident. That the Occasional Conformity Bill had been already considered by the House, which had determined the Question relating to it. That as to the setting up of Presbyterian Academies, and the Licentiousness of the Press, though it were indeed to be wished such Things could be entirely prevented, yet that while the Nation was governed by a Queen, who had given such glorious Proofs of her Affection to the Church, such small Inconveniences were much too weak to lay so great a Stress upon. Upon the whole the House resolved, "That the Church of *England* is by God's Blessing, under the happy Reign of her Majesty, in a safe and flourishing Condition; and that whoever shall suggest that the Church is in Danger under her Majesty's Administration, is an Enemy to the Queen, the Church, and Kingdom." This Vote being sent down to the Commons, they also concurred with it. And the two Houses addressed the Queen to punish those who should report that the Church was in Danger under her Government. This Resolution we have been the more particular upon, because it had very great Consequences four Years afterwards.

This Vote occasioned a great Difference between the two Houses of Convocation, where there was Fuel enough laid in by former Transactions to take Fire with a Spark. The Ministry seem to have laid great Stress upon carrying this Point of the Safety of the Church under their Administration; and thought their Design would be compleated, if they could get the Convocation, who were most concerned, to concur in the same Declaration as had passed the whole Legislature.

A.D. 1705.

Upon which a Vote to the contrary passes both Houses.

The Convocation disagrees about it.



A.D.1705. ture. It was no difficult Matter to get the same Majority in the Upper House, who had voted that Way in the House of Peers, to frame an Address to the same Purpose; in order to be presented by the Convocation. This was done accordingly, and the Address was sent down to the Lower House for their Concurrence. But there had been such Disputes between the two Houses about the Power of proroguing that Assembly, as was sufficient alone to breed an Opposition. But besides this, there was a Majority of the Lower House not so well affected to the present Administration: So that the Lower House refused to agree to the Address; and drew up another, in which the same Things were said, but expressed in softer and more general Terms; which was to be presented by the Lower House alone. This being approved, was carried to the Upper House, who refused to receive it; and ordered them to return and consider of the Address that was sent them. This bred a great Debate in the Lower House; and several there protested against their Proceedings, and carried their Protestation to the Upper House, who approved it. The Queen, finding the Houses were not like to agree, dispensed with their Address, and put an End to the Session. The passing that Vote of the Churches Safety, concluded also all the material Business done by the Parliament, which not long after was prorogued in like Manner.

The Parliament prorogued

A.D.1706.

A fatal Year to France.

The Year 1706, the Occurrences of which we are going to relate, manifested what could hardly be believed before, that the Glories of the Year of the Victory of *Bleinheim*, might not only be renewed but exceeded. The gigantic Structure of Universal Empire, which *France* had so long been rearing, and which had received so rude a Shock two Years ago, was in this Year utterly broken and defaced; and stood for the future to the View of the World, a battered and ruinous Pile, the Contempt and Detestation of the present Age, and an exemplary Monument to Posterity of the Pride and Punishment of the vain Builder.

The Campaign in Flanders.

The Campaign began in *Flanders* with the Return of the Spring. But whereas through the cautious manner of Fighting used among such regular and experienced Warriors as were here employed on both Sides, general Engagements seldom happen till after the Campaign is pretty far advanced; it fell out now, by an unusual Concurrence of Events, that the Armies were scarce known to be in the Field, before the News came of a glorious and complete Victory. The *French* with their usual Diligence, had taken Care that their Army should be assembled as early as possible. The Duke of *Marlborough*, whose Happiness it was, thro' the whole Course of this War, that his natural Vigilance and Activity were never obstructed by the want of any Thing that Money could procure, was too careful and diligent to be much behind-hand with them; and took the Field with the *English* and

*Dutch* Forces. But there were two other A.D.1706. Bodies of Troops, one of *Danes*, the other of *Prussians*, which he expected to join him. The latter of these was upon the March; but either through the Remissness of those who sent them, or because it was not usual to begin any Enterprize of Importance early, they set out so late that they could not be expected in the Army in some Weeks. The *Danes* were in a high Mutiny, on Account of some Arrears of Pay due to them; and when they were ordered to come to the general Place of Rendezvous appointed for the Troops to meet in, positively refused to stir out of their Quarters, till those were cleared off.

The *French* Court had Intelligence of this Mutiny of the *Danes*, and the Distance of the *Prussians*; and knew that the Want of these Troops in the Confederate Army rendered it considerably inferior to their own, which was full and complete. Upon this, they sent positive Orders to the *Marschal de Villeroy*, who in Conjunction with the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded their Army, to seek out the Confederates and fight them. But by the Time the *French* Commanders had received these Orders, the Duke of *Marlborough* was ready to meet them. For as he had before laid Schemes to draw them out of the cautious Measures used by them the last Year, which their present Conduct saved him the Execution of; so he had taken such Methods with the *Danes*, that they had left their Quarters, and were at that very time moving towards him. He then sent to them to hasten their March; and they increased their Speed so critically, that they came to the main Army, so soon as to perform very signal Service, and so late that the Enemy did not suspect they were there. In the mean time the *French* Army decamped, and made all the Haste they could to find the Confederates; who were prepared and desirous to meet them. And thus a most decisive Action happened within three Days after the Armies had first come into the Field. For it was not till May 20. that the *English* and *Dutch* Forces joined at the appointed Rendezvous; and the Battle of *Ramellies* was fought on the twenty third of that Month.

The *French* march to attack the Confederates

The *French* Army in the Morning of that Day, was met by the advanced Guard of the Confederates, advancing directly towards them. Upon Notice of this, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered Preparations to be made for the Battle. The *French* seeing the Duke so ready for the Encounter, possessed themselves of a strong Camp, and drew out their Army in Order of Battle. The Confederates did the like; the two Armies making two long Fronts of Horse and Foot stretching out for four Miles. Their Numbers were nearly equal, the *French* having a little Advantage. Between the two Centers of the Armies there sprang up a Rivulet, which turning towards the Right of the Confederates, covered that Wing. There was besides a little Morass on its Banks.

The Battle of Ramellies.

The



A.D. 1706. the Duke of Marlborough judging from thence that the Strefs of the Action would lie on his Left, strengthened that Wing with two Lines of *Dutch* and *Danish* Horse, ranged at the very Extremity of the Left Wing, and somewhat behind the other Troops.

About half an Hour past one in the Afternoon the Batteries of Cannon on both Sides began to play; and soon after the Fight began on the Left. On that Side the *French* had posted a Body of Foot behind some Hedges, whose firing galled the Confederate Horse; upon which Monsieur d' *Auverquerque*, who was next in Command to the Duke of Marlborough, ordered some Forces to go and dislodge them, which was done accordingly. The Enemy seeing this, ordered fourteen Squadrons of Dragoons to dismount, and in Company with of Battalions of Foot, to dislodge the Confederate Party again. But Monsieur d' *Auverquerque* ordering at the same Time the whole Body of Horse of the Left Wing to advance, this Design was prevented; and the Dragoons being met as they were coming on, were turned to Flight; and before they could recover their Horses, were most of them killed or taken Prisoners. At last the *Dutch* and *Danish* Cavalry, coming up with the Enemy, charged them vigorously, and the Fight began. For above an Hour together the two Parties were engaged, Man to Man, and Horse to Horse, in a fierce and obstinate Combat; and many brave Soldiers fell slain and wounded on both Sides; nor could it be determined which had the Advantage. At length it appeared, that the *Danish* Horse had broken and routed those Squadrons that opposed them; but that the *Dutch*, who were nearer the Center, were forced to give Way to the *French*, and retreat in great Confusion. The Duke of Marlborough seeing this, sent for twenty Squadrons from the Right Wing, to reinforce the Left; and in the mean Time hastened to encourage and assist the broken Cavalry with his Presence and Counsel. In this Place he narrowly escaped a very great Danger. For as he was mixing himself with the broken *Dutch* Squadrons, to encourage them to face about, and make a second Stand, he was known by some of the Enemy, who pressed eagerly forwards through the Throng to attack him. To increase his Danger, he fell from his Horse at the same Time; being, as some say, born down by the disordered *Dutch* Cavalry. In this Condition he had either been killed, or taken Prisoner, had not some Confederate Foot that were near, hastened in Time to his Aid, by whose Assistance he mounted on Horseback again. In doing this, he escaped a still greater Peril than the former; for as he was getting upon a fresh Horse, a Cannon-Ball came so near him, as to take off the Head of Colonel *Brindfield*, his Gentleman, who, as he was holding the Stirrop for his Master's easier Mounting, fell dead before him under the Horse's Feet.

But this Danger over, the Duke so well A.D. 1706. restored the Fight by ordering those *Dutch* Squadrons that were yet entire to charge, and rallying those that were broken, that before the Aid he had sent for from the Right Wing was come up, the Victory was clear on this Side. The *Dutch* Horse returned to the Fight with such Success, that the Enemy's Squadrons being charged in Front by the *Dutch*, and in Flank by the victorious *Danes*, were entirely cut in Pieces. In the mean Time the Village of *Rammellies*, which was in the Center of the *French* Army, was vigorously attacked by twelve Battalions under General *Schutz*. The Enemy having the Advantage of the Ground, defended themselves very resolutely; till seeing the whole Line of the Confederate Infantry marching up towards them, and the *Dutch* and *Danish* Horse advancing to surround them, they endeavoured to retire. But it was now become too late, for the Cavalry marched after, and overtook them; so that almost all of them were either killed, or taken Prisoners.

The Infantry of the Enemy's Left Wing seeing their whole Right Wing broken and destroyed, and the Conquerors marching towards them, endeavoured to make a Retreat under Cover of their Horse, who drew themselves up in Order, for that Purpose. But the *English* Cavalry found Means to get over the Rivulet and Morass which covered the Enemies Horse of that Wing, and came up, and attacked them. The Enemy, being thus overpowered by Numbers, were forced to give Way; and though they rallied again to cover their Infantry, they were obliged to retreat a second Time, and abandon the Foot; who being so closely followed, took three different Ways to avoid the Pursuit; but not many of them escaped. Those of the Allies who pursued the Enemies Center, overtook an entire Body of seven Squadrons of *Spanish* and *Bavarian* Troops, guarding their Cannon which was marching in a Line before them. The *Mareschal de Villeroy*, and Elector of *Bavaria* were among these Troops, which was almost the only Body left entire. But the Pursuers charged them so vigorously, that these also were broken and dispersed; and the Elector and the *Mareschal* narrowly escaped being made Prisoners; some of their Officers being taken within ten Yards of the Place where those two Commanders were. Thus

The *French* Army routed.

The Loss of the Enemy in this Battle was reckoned about ten Thousand Men, of which the one half were slain, and the rest made Prisoners. The Cannon, heavy Baggage, and the like Spoils of the Field, fell also into the Hands of the Confederates. The Loss of the Allies was computed at about

The Duke of Marlborough in Danger.

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A. D. 1706. about one Thousand Men who were slain, besides about twice that Number wounded.

The Consequences of the Victory.

The Consequences of this Victory were no less important, than the Action it self was glorious. The *French* Army was so utterly broken, that there was no Hope of saving the scattered Remains of it, but by flying out of the Reach of the Conquerors Pursuit. So that they never stopped their Flight till they were arrived beyond *Courtray*, near fourscore Miles from the Field in which they were defeated. Nor did they continue long there, it being found necessary, in order to prevent the great Desertion of their Soldiers (which always attends a Defeat) and to provide the Frontier Places with Garrisons able to stand against the fortunate Victors who were soon expected there, to cause the Army to separate. Part of it was then sent to reinforce the Garrisons of the Places that were most exposed; and the Remainder was formed into two Flying Camps.

In the mean Time, all the *Spanish Brabant* and *Dutch Flanders* being abandoned by the Enemy, became an easie Conquest. *Louvain*, *Brussels*, *Malines*, *Alost*, *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, *Oudenarde*, surrendered without firing a Gun; so that all the Northern Part of the *Spanish* Provinces submitted to the Allies; *Dendermonde* and *Ostend* excepted.

The Duke of *Marlborough* after this besieged *Ostend*, which surrendered in eight Days after the Trenches were opened. He thence proceeded to *Menin*; which Place, after a sharp Resistance, was also yielded up. And the taking of *Dendermond* and *Aeth*, which were successively besieged, concluded the Campaign.

The Loss the *French* had sustained in *Flanders*, was redoubled by an equal Blow they received at the very same Time in *Spain*, by the raising the Siege of *Barcelona*. But to give a proper Account of that important Event, we must look backward upon what happened the last Year.

The Campaign in Spain.

The great and unexpected Ease with which King *Charles* was settled in *Catalonia*, and the wonderful Progress made there by the Earl of *Peterborough*, are related above. But the *Germans* ill Conduct was never to leave them in whatever Part of the World they were. The Court at *Barcelona*, as if nothing was to be done, and no Danger could be possibly apprehended, gave themselves up to Indolence and Remissness; from whence they fell into Court-Jealousies and Piques. These Impertinences took them off from all Care of Affairs; which they rarely meddled with, unless it were to trouble and perplex the Earl of *Peterborough*, who, notwithstanding his great Services, grew out of Favour with them. For being a Man of Action and Fire, and of a Temper naturally frank and easie, he could not be brought to treat the stately Insignificance of the *German* Ministers, with that Form and Distance they required. Thus no Care was taken for the present, or for the future; the Soldiers were suffered to lie starving and dying, by those for whom they fought;

no Provision was made of Stores of any Kinds; and the very Breaches of the Fortifications of *Barcelona*, and Fort *Montjuich*, were left unrepaired.

King *Philip's* Ministers were of a very different Character. They had been formed under a Prince, who scarce knew what it was to lose Time or Opportunities; and were accustomed to have a continual Eye, not only on Things present, but future and remote. The Progress made by the Earl of *Peterborough* was too sudden and unexpected to be prevented; but no Diligence was wanting to stop it. Forces were sent for immediately from the Frontiers of *Portugal* and *France*, and even from *Italy*, *Flanders* and the *Rhine*. So that by the Beginning of this Year, King *Philip* had assembled an Army of fourteen Thousand Men near *Madrid*; besides which, the Duke de *Noailles* had entered *Catalonia* on the Side of *Roussillon* with eight Thousand Men more.

King Philip forms a Design against Barcelona.

It was agreed in King *Philip's* Council to join these two Armies, and march directly to *Barcelona*; in which Place they did not want Correspondents that informed them punctually of the supine Neglect of the Governors there. But to make the Blow more sure, this Design was to be concealed and dissembled, till the precise Time when it was to break out into Execution. To this End the Armies made several Feints, as if they designed to attack *Gironne*, *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, and other Places on the Frontiers of *Catalonia*; by which Amusements they drew off many of the Forces, the Engineers, and much of the Ammunition, to those Places. Besides the Land-Forces, a Fleet of twenty four Men of War, with other smaller Vessels, was ready at *Toulon*, to block up the City of *Barcelona* by Sea, and to concur with the Operations of the Besiegers ashore.

The Design was thus carried on with the greatest Prospect of Success; for there were not a Thousand regular Forces in the City; and the Court there was so fast asleep, that though the *French* and *Spaniards* came every Day nearer and nearer to them, they did not so much as repair the Breaches of the very Fortifications that defended them.

At last the Court at *Barcelona* was awakened by the Appearance of eight *French* Men of War in the Bay; which opened their Eyes, and roused them into a little Care and Circumspection. These Ships had been sent out from the main Fleet to intercept three *English* Frigates who were expected at *Barcelona* with Money from *Italy*; and to make their Prey the surer, they cast Anchor in the Bay it self. This was a wrong Step, and by giving Alarm, proved the Ruin of the Enterprize; besides which, they missed of their Booty too; the *English* Ships having timely Notice that they were waited for, and landing their Money at another Place. The Court and Inhabitants of *Barcelona* now saw they were in the utmost Danger; and began to bestir themselves. They sent for all

The Court of Barcelona alarmed.

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A.D. 1706. the Regular Forces that could be gotten from neighbouring or remote Places; some of which were forced to travel one hundred and twenty Miles in two Days upon Mules; and the Inhabitants fell to repair the Fortifications, abundance of their very Clergy setting their Hands to the Work. Nevertheless the Danger of the King's Person was so great in being shut up in a City so ill provided for Defence, that he was persuaded by many to endeavour his Escape. But he took a noble Resolution, rather to abide the utmost Extremities, than forsake a People that shewed so much Affection for him; and this Resolution was indeed that which preserved the Place.

The Siege begun.

The *French* and *Spaniards* at last came before the Town, making an Army of twenty two Thousand Men; and the Fleet entered the Bay. The Siege continued for a Month, but the Success of it was not suitable to the great Advantages with which it was begun. Fort *Montjuich* which had been taken by the Earl of *Peterborough* in three Days, now held the Besiegers employed twenty two Days. And the Earl of *Peterborough's* Troops, with the *Catalans*, harrassing their Camp, and in spite of the Enemy's Care, furnishing the City from Time to Time with Assistance, the Siege made but a slow Progress. Nevertheless as the Forces of the Earl of *Peterborough* were not numerous enough to enable him to attack the Enemy, and the Besiegers gained Ground, though but slowly, the City had been lost, and our Footing in *Spain* with it, had not Relief come thither in a very seasonable Time.

The English Fleet comes to assist King Charles.

The Earl of *Galloway*, and the *English* Ambassador in *Portugal*, suspected the true Design of King *Philip's* Forces, as soon as they heard of their Motions. And having communicated these Suspicions to Sir *John Leake* and the *Dutch* Admiral, who with their Squadrons lay then in the *Tagus*, they fitted out their Fleet, and put out to Sea. And meeting at *Gibraltar* a great Reinforcement, and being joined in the *Mediterranean* by another, they made such Expedition, that they arrived at *Barcelona* just when the Besieged began to lose Hopes.

The Siege is raised.

At their Approach the *French* Fleet left the Bay, which the *English* and *Dutch* entered the next Day; and set ashore with all speed the Land Forces that were on board. The Earl of *Peterborough*, who came off to the Fleet from *Terragona*, ordered some of them to march up to the Breach immediately. That Sight discouraged the Besiegers so that in two Days after they raised the Siege, with such Haste and Fear, that they left all their Cannon, and their Stores of Ammunition and Provision behind them; besides fifteen hundred sick and wounded Men, whom the *Mareschal de Theffe*, the *French* Commander, not being able to carry off, recommended to the Care and Humanity of the Earl of *Peterborough*, by a Letter sent to him the next Day after they decamped. Their Flight was hasty and precipitate; and their Rear was harrassed and insulted by the

*Catalans*, and some Horse sent out of the Town, at Break of Day. As these were skirmishing with the hindmost of the Enemies Forces, a Total Eclipse of the Sun happened about nine in the Morning; which covering the whole Countrey with a sudden Darkness, increased the Horror of the Slaughter and Flight. And because the *French* King had assumed the Sun for his Device, this Accident was thought ominous by the ignorant Multitude on both Sides; and added very much to the Consternation of the Enemy, and the Alacrity of the Pursuers. The *French* Army suffered so much in this Siege, that they dared not adventure to return to *Madrid* by the Way they came, but marched with all Speed towards *France*, from whence King *Philip* came to *Madrid*, by a long Circuit round the *French* Frontiers, and through the Kingdom of *Navarre*.

But his Abode at *Madrid* was of no great Continuance. For the Confederates had so much the Superiority on the Side of *Portugal*, that the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded the *French* and *Spanish* Forces, could not hinder them from taking *Alcantara*, and from thence marching directly into *Spain*. The ill News which they heard from *Barcelona* of the Danger of that City, retarded their Progress a while, fearing to be surrounded by advancing too far into an Enemy's Countrey. But when at last they were informed that the Siege was raised, and the Besiegers Army was driven into *France*, they resolved to make their Way immediately to *Madrid*. King *Philip* was returned to *Madrid* about the Time this March began. As soon as he had Notice of it, and that they were advancing directly towards him, he found himself obliged to retire. The Army that was driven from before *Barcelona* he had left in *France*, (but with Orders to follow him) while himself hastened to *Madrid*, to compose all Disorders that his Absence might occasion. So that the Allies now marching towards him, he had not Troops at hand sufficient to make Head against them. Upon this he left *Madrid*, to meet his Army which was returning through *Navarre*; and at the same Time gave Orders to all his other Forces that were dispersed throughout *Spain* to come to join him. And three Days after his Departure, the Confederate Army came to *Madrid*, which City made its Submission to King *Charles* III. as soon as required; as all the Cities and Towns had done, through which they passed in their Way thither.

The Confederates march to Madrid.

There was now little to do but for King *Charles* to come to take Possession of the Capital of *Spain*. For though King *Philip* was assembling a powerful Army upon the Frontiers, the Forces of the Allies when assembled together, were no Ways inferior. The Generals about *Madrid* sent Express after Express to King *Charles* to desire him to hasten to them, and prevent the Return of King *Philip*. But so unaccountable an Infatuation attended the Councils at *Barcelona* that the Opportunity was lost; and the King,



A.D. 1706. King, instead of coming directly to *Madrid*, lost thirty Days in an insignificant Progress to *Saragossa*, contrary to the Advice of all the Commanders, and of the *English* and *Portuguese* Envoys.

They are obliged to retire from thence.

This Delay frustrated all the past Success. For in that Time King *Philip* had assembled together so great a Body of Forces, that he was able to come out to meet the Confederates. He found them not in a Condition to face his Army, their Troops being dispersed; some of them attending King *Charles* in *Arragon*, and some waiting for him under the Earl of *Peterborough* in *Valencia*; all which Confusion was occasioned by the wrong Management of the Court at *Barcelona*. So that when King *Philip* advanced towards that Body of the Confederate Forces that had possessed themselves of *Madrid*, they found themselves obliged to give Way to him, and to leave him in Possession of that Capital. And though King *Charles* and the Earl of *Peterborough* arrived afterwards in the Army, the Recruits they brought with them were not sufficient to enable the Army to make Head against the Enemy. So that all that could be done by the Confederates was to take Quarters in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; and to secure that Kingdom, *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and an Entrance into *Castile* against the next Summer. At the Time the Campaign drew to an End, the Confederate Fleet, under Sir *John Leake*, reduced the City of *Alicant*, and the Islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*.

The Campaign in *Savoy*.

On the Side of *Italy*, the Campaign which began with a lowering and ominous Aspect, concluded with a happy and prosperous End. The Duke of *Vendosme*, who commanded the *French* Army, having had the good Fortune to open the Campaign with a very notable Defeat of the *German* Forces at *Calcinato*, entered upon the Siege of *Turin*, the Capital City of *Piedmont*, and the only Place of Consequence in the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions that was not taken from him. The Duke of *Savoy*, whose Safety or Ruine depended on this Siege, omitted nothing in his Power to strengthen the City by new Works, and the Garrison by all the Forces he could possibly spare. On the other Hand, the Preparations made by the *French* were so great, and their Army designed to carry on the Siege was so numerous, that the Duke's Family were obliged to leave *Turin*, and take Refuge at *Genoua*, there not being any Place of secure Abode for them throughout what was once the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions. The Duke himself, with what small Forces he could keep with him, was compelled to retire into the Vallies of *Lucerne*, among his poor Protestant Subjects the *Vaudois*. The only Hope he had of Relief, was from Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who was in *Italy* on the Frontiers of the *Venetian* State with a *German* Army; and had Orders to assist him. It is observable, that to enable the Prince to perform this Enterprize, two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds had been subscribed in

England by Way of Loan to the Emperor. A.D. 1706.

In the mean Time the Siege began, and continued from the Middle of *June*, to the Beginning of *September*. The Garrison de-

*Turin* besieged.

fended themselves like resolute Men, and made the Besiegers pay dear for every Inch of Ground they gained upon them. On the other Hand, a Faintness and want of Vigour appeared in all the Operations of the Besiegers, who spent much needless Time and Labour in hunting the Duke of *Savoy* from Place to Place. Mean while, Prince *Eugene*, through prodigious Difficulties, made his Way over four Rivers defended by Intrenchments; the Troops who were set to oppose his Passage flying before him. At last he arrived so near *Turin*, as to join his Army with those small Forces the Duke of *Savoy* had with him. The City of *Turin* was by this Time in very great Danger, not so much from the Enemy's Attacks, as for want of Ammunition, of which immense Quantities had been spent in their long and obstinate Defence. So that as soon as the Prince and Duke were joined, it was agreed to attack the *French* with all Expedition.

The Duke of *Orleans*, (since the Regent of *France*) and the Mareschal de *Marfin* commanded the *French*, the Duke of *Vendosme* having been sent to the Army in *Flanders* some Time before. Their Army was encamped on a Plain, between two Rivers; across which Plain, from River to River, there ran a very strong Intrenchment; so that they could not be attacked without great Disadvantage; besides which, their Army was considerably more numerous than that of the Allies. However, Necessity pressing, the two Confederate Generals resolved to encounter these Difficulties; and they gloriously overcame them.

The Day of Battle being come, and the Army put in order for the Attack, they marched up boldly through a furious Fire to the Entrenchments, and broke into them so soon, and engaged the Enemy with such Success, that in two Hours the Battle was over; and the superior Army, covered with such strong Defences, was by main Force, and with an easie Contention, driven from their Camp, and forced to fly on all Sides; abandoning their Camp and Works, and all their Materials and Instruments of War; besides great Numbers of their Soldiers, who being in the advanced Works near the Town, were cut off from the rest, and were obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners. All the Spoils of the Camp, Cannon, Mortars, heavy Baggage, Ammunition, fell into the Hands of the Conquerors; except some Magazines of Powder, Bombs and Granadoes, which the Enemy in their Flight set Fire to, and blew up.

The Siege raised, and the *French* defeated.

In this Fight, and some small Actions before it, the *French* are said to have lost twelve Thousand Men. The Duke of *Orleans* received two Wounds, one on his left Arm, and another on his Side, besides three Contusions from Shot that chanced to light upon his Armour. The Mareschal de *Mar-*

*fin*



A.D. 1706. *fin* was taken Prisoner, but being mortally wounded, did not long survive the Fight. And the *French* Army, not being in a Condition to make Head against the Pursuit of the Confederates, retired to the Borders of *France*.

The Consequence of this Victory was, that the *French* were obliged to abandon *Italy*; most of the Towns they held in the *Milaneze*, or in the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, being soon after taken by the Confederates. And before the next Spring, the King of *France* consented by a formal Treaty, on Condition of withdrawing his Troops, to evacuate all the Places they were possessed of beyond the Mountains.

Thus this Year brought forth a Train of happy Events round almost all *Europe*. The Queen of *England* late crowned with Glory; all the Successes of this Year, which freed *Christendom* from long and cruel Alarms, being justly attributed to the Influence of her Power and Fortune. For it was an *English* General that won the Battle of *Ramellies*; it was an *English* Fleet that raised the Siege of *Barcelona*; and it was a Loan of *English* Money that enabled Prince *Eugene* to bring his Army to save *Turin*. And the late Conduct of that Prince, for whom so much was done in *Spain*, has shewn that the Retreat from *Madrid*, though reckoned a Misfortune at that Time, deserves a very different Name. So peculiar a Blessing attending this Reign, that the very Disappointments of it may be accounted happy.

A fruitless Attempt for a Descent in *France*.

After the Victory at *Ramellies*, an Attempt was entered upon to make a Descent in *France*; and a great Fleet was made ready under Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*, who convoyed a Body of Land Forces, under the Command of the Earl *Rivers*. But this Fleet steering Westwards towards the Mouth of the Channel, it happened that when they passed by *Plymouth*, the Wind fell contrary; and continued so obstinately in that Point, that after a long Stay in *Torbay*, into which they were driven, it was resolved to lay aside that Enterprize. And the Land Forces aboard were ordered to be transported into *Spain*.

The Campaign on the *Rhine*.

On the *Rhine* the War was carried on with the usual Inactivity, or rather ill Success. By the Negligence of the *Germans*, it came to pass that the *French* came into the Field with an Army vastly superior to that of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who commanded the Army of the Empire. So that the *French* took *Haguenau*; and would probably have proceeded much farther, had not their Losses in the *Netherlands* and *Spain* put a Stop to them, by calling for great Bodies of Forces from the *Rhine*. But the Imperial Army was still so weak, that Prince *Lewis* was not in a Condition to undertake any Thing. It is thought, that the Trouble he met with upon this Account contributed to bring upon him a lingering Sickness, of which he died soon after.

Great Pains was taken in *Hungary* to produce an Accommodation between the Emperor and the *Hungarians*. But neither the

Influence of Allies, to whom they had been A.D. 1706. so much obliged, nor the humble and moving Representations of an oppressed People, could incline the Court of *Vienna* to consent to moderate Counsels.

The *French* King, being either discouraged by the Superiority the Allies had gained over him, or perhaps with Intention to divide them, had last Year made secret Overtures of Peace to the States, which were flatly rejected. The Misfortunes he met with this Year obliged him to renew those Instances, probably with more Sincerity than before. The Elector of *Bavaria* wrote in his Name to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Field-Deputies of the States, to desire that a Place might be chosen between the two Armies, wherein Conferences of Peace might be entered upon. But these Proposals not being offered to the other Allies, were looked on as a Design to amuse and divide; the rather because the *French* King had not made any particular Offers. So that the Queen and the States unanimously agreed to reject them.

Thus we have gone through the remarkable Occurrences abroad in this memorable Year. The Union with *Scotland*.

The Transactions at home were no less extraordinary, the happy Union between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* being concluded this Year. The Queen, by Virtue of her Power allowed to her by the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, appointed the following noble and eminent Persons to be Commissioners. On the Part of *England*, *Thomas* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *William* Cowper Esquire, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; *John* Archbishop of *York*, *Sidney* Lord Godolphin, High Treasurer of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, President of the Council; *John* Duke of *Newcastle*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonshire*, Steward of the Household; *Charles* Duke of *Somerset*, Master of the Horse; *Charles* Duke of *Bolton*, *Charles* Earl of *Sunderland*, *Evelyn* Earl of *Kingston*, *Charles* Earl of *Carlisle*, *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, *Charles* Viscount *Townshend*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, *Ralph* Lord *Gray*, *John* Lord *Powlet*, *John* Lord *Sommers*, *Charles* Lord *Hallifax*, *John* Smith Esquire, *William* Cavendish, Marquis of *Hartington*; *John* Mannors, Marquis of *Granby*; Sir *Charles* Hedges, and *Robert* Harley Esquire, Principal Secretaries of State; *Henry* Boyle Esquire, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *John* Holt, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench; Sir *Thomas* Trevor, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas; Sir *Edward* Northey, Attorney-General; Sir *Simon* Harcourt, Solicitor-General; Sir *John* Cooke, Advocate-General; and *Stephen* Waller, Doctor of Laws. On the Part of *Scotland*, *James* Earl of *Seafeld*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*; *James* Duke of *Queensberry*, Lord Privy Seal; *John* Earl of *Mar*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Loudoun*, Principal Secretaries of State; *John* Earl of *Sutherland*, *John* Earl of *Morton*, *David* Earl of *Wemyss*, *David* Earl of *Leven*, *John* Earl of *Stair*, *Archibald*



A.D. 1706. *Archibald Earl of Roseberry, David Earl of Glasgow, Deputies of the Treasury; the Lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viscount Duplin, the Lord William Ross, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; Sir Hugh Dalrymple, President of the Session; Adam Cockburn of Ormestoun, Lord Justice Clerk; Sir Robert Dundas of Arncliffe, and Mr. Robert Stewart of Tillicultrice, Lords of the Session; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; Sir David Dalrymple, one of her Majesty's Solicitors; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Receiver General; Sir Patrick Johnston, Sir James Smollet, George Lockhart of Carnwath, William Morison of Prestongrange, Alexander Grant, William Seton of Pitmeddon, John Clark of Pennycuik, Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stewart, and Daniel Campbell Esquires; Mr. George Dodding-ton was appointed Secretary to the English Commissioners, and Sir David Nairne to those for Scotland.*

These Commissioners met on the sixteenth of April, and continued sitting till July 23. at which Time they presented to the Queen the Articles of Union. The most material of these Articles were to the following Purpose. "That the two Kingdoms be united into one Kingdom, by the Name of Great Britain. That the Succession to that United Kingdom remain to the Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants. That the United Kingdom be represented by the same Parliament, to be called the Parliament of Great Britain. That in this Parliament sixteen Peers, chosen in Scotland, shall sit and vote in the House of Lords; and forty five Members in the House of Commons. That all the Subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, shall have full Freedom and Intercourse of Trade and Navigation, throughout all the Dominions and Plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a free Communication of all other Rights, Privileges, and Advantages belonging to the Subjects of either Kingdom.

Great Disturbances in Scotland thereupon.

The Articles of Union were by the Acts of the two Kingdoms that enabled the Queen to appoint Commissioners, to be laid before the Parliaments of both. That of Scotland met the first, and was in a very good Disposition to approve the same. The Parliament considered the several Articles successively, and they were agreed to, and carried by a great Majority. But without Doors the People were differently affected. Pamphlets in Multitudes came out against it, which raised such a Spirit as broke out at last into dangerous Tumults. They insulted the Members who were known to be well affected to the Union; and the Lord High-Commissioner was once assaulted by them, and some of his Servants were hurt. Addresses and Representations came from every Side of Scotland; and at Dumfries the Articles of Union were burnt publicly, great Numbers attending it. Nevertheless it must be owned that this Party was more considerable by its Violence,

than by its Numbers; it being observed that A.D. 1706. out of thirty four Shires, only thirteen addressed; and of these, 'tis said, that the better Sort refused to join with the rest; of sixty six Burroughs only seventeen, of sixty eight Presbyteries only three, and of nine hundred thirty eight Kirks and Parishes only sixty. And the Parliament went on so steadily, that the Articles of Union were agreed to there with very little Alteration. The Act for the Union being passed, and some Supplies given, they proceeded to elect the Peers and Commoners who were by the Articles to represent Scotland; after which they were adjourned.

Before the Parliament of Scotland separated, that of England assembled. The wonderful Successes of the Year made a glorious Theme for mutual Congratulations between the Queen and the two Houses. The Thanks of both the Houses were also given to the General. And because his Services (which were doubtless very great and signal) were thought to deserve an extraordinary Reward, the House of Lords asked Leave of the Queen (as the sole Fountain of Honour) to bring in a Bill to perpetuate the Title of Duke of Marlborough on his Posterity, which for want of Male Issue would otherwise expire with the present Possessor, whose Children were all Daughters. And by this Bill it was ordered, that the Honour and Mannor of Woodstock, and the House of Bleinheim, should always go along with the Titles. This Bill was read three Times in one Day in the House of Commons, and passed *Nemine Contradicente*. The Commons went through the Supplies with such Zeal, that in eighteen Days the necessary Provisions for the Year were ready. The Queen came to the House of Lords soon after to pass the Bills ready for her; and then the Houses adjourned themselves.

During this short Recess, a second Day of Publick Thanksgiving was observed December 31. for the wonderful Successes with which Providence had blessed the End, as well as the Beginning of this triumphant Year. And for the greater Solemnity, the Queen came to St. Paul's Cathedral, accompanied by the illustrious Attendance of both Houses of Parliament, the Great Officers of State, and Magistrates, through a Crowd of innumerable Spectators with united Tongues and Hearts applauding their gracious Sovereign, and the Blessings sent down from above on her auspicious Reign.

The Parliament being again assembled, the House of Commons was prevailed on to shew in their Turn an Instance of their Favour to the Duke of Marlborough. And an Application being made to the Queen, she desired they might do it by continuing to the Duke's Posterity for ever, the Pension of five thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which she had granted to him for Life only. A Bill was accordingly brought in to that End, and easily passed both Houses. Thus by a Fortune as uncommon as his Merits, this great Commander saw the three Branches of

our



A.D. 1706. our Legislature contending, as it were, with Emulation to heap Wealth and Honours upon him.

The Treaty of Union being at this Time ratified in *Scotland*, the Queen came to acquaint the Parliament with it, and to order the same to be laid before them. It passed both Houses by a great Majority, and in no long Time; but not without Opposition from the discontented; partly because it is the Custom of all Parties to oppose every Thing that comes from the other Side, and partly for the following Reasons. It was said, that the Union was ratified in *Scotland*, not without the most flagrant Tokens of universal Discontent; and that the different Constitutions of Church-Government, which were ratified thereby, made so entire a Coalition impossible. Some Objections were also made to the Inequality of the Proportion of the Taxes which *Scotland* was to pay, and the Shortness of the Time spent in deliberating upon so important an Affair. But these Difficulties were passed over by the two Houses; and the Bill for an Union received the Royal Assent.

There was but little done afterwards, by the two Houses, of Importance: So that after the Commons had provided a Supply to answer an Equivalent that was to be granted to *Scotland* for some of their Customs and Excises which that Kingdom was to be charged with, and which were to be applied to the Debts of *England*, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and prorogued the Parliament.

The Parliament prorogued.

A.D. 1707.

The Campaign in Spain

By this Time the Year 1707 was begun, in which the Disappointments and Misfortunes that attended the Arms of the Confederates, seemed to threaten a Change of Fortune. The Campaign in *Spain* (which was the great Scene of Action this Year) was now entered on. It was agreed by a Council of War, that the Confederate Forces should join into one Body, and march into *Castile*; which was done accordingly, tho' against the Advice of the Earl of *Peterborough*, who declared for a defensive War in *Spain*, while the Confederate Army in *Savoy* should attack *France* on that Side. But he had been lately removed from the Command of the Army, by the Influence of the other General, who, as it is supposed, grew jealous that the Glories of the Earl of *Peterborough* might eclipse his own; so that his Opinion was but little considered. And soon after he set out for *Italy*.

But a Series of Errors and Misfortunes of different Kinds, made this Counsel attended with a fatal Disaster. The Earl of *Galloway* upon this Resolution sent for some Forces that were in *Catalonia*, which the Viceroy refused to let him have. King *Charles* was also persuaded by his Councillors (who were always given to thwart the General) to make a Journey from the Camp into *Catalonia*; upon which Occasion he took some Troops from thence to attend him thither, which was a farther weakening the Army. He promised indeed

to return with those Troops, and the rest of A.D. 1707. the Forces in *Catalonia*, when it should be thought proper to march towards *Madrid*. But he was not so good as his Word.

The Army thus diminished took the Field; but the Troops which came from *England* proved very sickly, as having been almost six Months at Sea, so that they declined apace. The Allies soon attacked and mastered two or three Places, with the Enemy's Magazines, which they seized or destroyed; and forced some Bodies of the Enemies to retire before them. They next laid Siege to *Villena*, an inconsiderable Place; but which made a stout Defence. But as they were here employed, they received Intelligence that the Duke of *Berwick* was at *Almanza* with an Army, much superior to their own; and which was also to be reinforced by seven or eight thousand Men more under the Duke of *Orleans*. To increase their Perplexity, they had received Word from King *Charles*, that he designed to march another Way, towards *Roussillon*, with the Troops in *Catalonia*. He also desired the Earl of *Galloway* to stand upon the Defensive, and to divide the Army on the Frontiers of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, to cover those Provinces. But this could not be done for both Kingdoms, so that the Kingdom of *Valencia* must have been left for a Prey to the Enemy. Upon this a Council of War being held, it was unanimously agreed to prevent this Disgrace by attacking the Enemy, before the Succours under the Duke of *Orleans* should join them. The *French* and *Spaniards* were already too much superior to the Confederates; and besides, the very Night after this Counsel was resolved on, Advice came that most of the Succours expected were arrived in the Enemy's Camp. However, the Earl of *Galloway* still persisted in his Resolution to fight, and ordered the Army to march. The Troops set out at Break of Day; but the Enemy was at so great a Distance from them, that it was Noon before they arrived within a Mile of them. This long March very much harrassed the Soldiers; so that when they came to the End of it, they were cruelly fatigued, and out of Breath. To complete the Mischief, the Place of Battle being a Plain, favoured the Enemy's Superiority, which was chiefly in Horse. When the Earl of *Galloway* saw so near the great Disadvantage with which he was to fight, he repented his coming so far. But it was too late to turn back without exposing his Rear; so that he made a Virtue of Necessity, and put his Army in as good Order as he could. The Dispositions being made, about three in the Afternoon the Earl began the Attack. The Fight was fierce and bloody; the Valour of the Confederates compensating the superior Numbers of the Enemy. On the Left, the *English* Dragoons drove the *Spanish* Horse before them, as the *English* and *Dutch* Foot in the Centre did also the Enemies Infantry. But on the Right, the *Portuguese* Horse being charged by some Squadrons

The Battle of *Almanza*.



A.D. 1707. Squadrons from the Enemy, were so broken and routed that they abandoned their Foot; who being surrounded, were almost all killed or taken Prisoners. All this while on the Left, the Confederates stood several Charges of fresh Squadrons without giving Ground. But the Advantage gained by the Enemy on the Right, enabled them to pour in such increasing Numbers upon them, that at last, most of their Officers being killed or disabled in the fierce Charges they had so long sustained, they gave Way to the Shock, and were driven one upon another, and put to Rout. The Foot being forsaken, were surrounded, and for some Time miserably slaughtered. Major-General *Shrimpton*, Brigadier *Maccartney*, Colonel *Hill*, and other Officers, who had been engaged in the Centre, seeing the Battle lost, made a Shift to gather together the dispersed Soldiers of the broken Regiments, and join a Body of Dutch and Portuguese, who had been rallied by Count *Dhona*, and Don *Juan Emanuel*; and these Forces, tho' with great Danger from the Enemies Pursuit, retired to some Hills two Leagues off. But upon a false Report that the Enemy were surrounding them, Count *Dhona* and Major-General *Shrimpton* sent to surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion. Only Don *Juan Emanuel* refused to consent to so dishonourable a Capitulation; and to shew how little Need there was of it, retired with a few Portuguese Horse. The Earl of *Galloway* on his Part, gathered together the Remains of his broken Cavalry, and made the best of his Way into *Catalonia*, which Principality he defended with great Bravery and Prudence.

This fatal Battle exposed the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon* to the Fury of the Conquerors, who treated the People with great Severity, suppressed their ancient Privileges, and burnt the Town of *Xativa* to the Ground. Only *Denia* and *Alicant* were possessed by the Confederates in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; the first of which stood a Siege, and bravely repulsed the Enemy from before it. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Berwick* then took *Mequinenza*; and followed the Earl of *Galloway* into *Catalonia*. He being encamped under the Cannon of *Lerida*, they proposed to attack him; but finding the Attempt too dangerous, they desisted. The Earl of *Galloway* having provided *Lerida* to stand a Siege, retired to *Barcelona*; and the Duke of *Orleans* soon after besieged it. The Place made a noble Resistance for two Months; after which Time, there being no Prospect of Relief, the Prince of *Darmstadt*, the Governor, surrendered; and was complimented by the Duke of *Orleans* for his brave Defence. After this Siege was over, the Armies retired into Winter-Quarters.

Brigadier  
*Stanhope's* Ne-  
gotiations at  
*Barcelona*.

Brigadier *Stanhope*, who was not only a Commander in the Army, but the Queen's Minister with King *Charles*, took the Opportunity of the tottering State of that Prince's Affairs after the Battle of *Almanza*, to engage him in a Treaty that might have proved

very advantageous to our Countrey, had A.D. 1707. that Prince obtained the Crown of *Spain*, and been also grateful to those who set it on his Head. By a secret Article of this Treaty it was agreed, that if King *Charles* should become Master of *Spain*, a Company of Commerce to the *Indies* should be formed, consisting of Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*. But that if unforeseen Accidents should hinder the erecting such a Company, the King of *Spain* should grant Licence to ten Ships of five hundred Tons each, or any Number whose Burden should not exceed five Thousand Tons; who should trade in those Countries for all Merchandizes which the Spanish Subjects were permitted to traffick for; on Condition of paying the ordinary Duties, and no other. This Article was thought so advantageous to our Countrey, that King *Charles* himself was a long Time before he could be persuaded to ratify it. But the Accidents that fell out afterwards freed him from his Uneasiness upon that Score.

The Campaign on the Side of *Portugal* was insignificant; but what little Advantage was gained, was with the French and Spaniards. They entered *Portugal*, and took *Serpa* and *Moura*. After this they threatened *Olivenza*; but the Portuguese beginning to move, put a Stop to that Enterprize. In the Autumn Campaign *Ciudad Rodrigo* was retaken by the Spaniards; and soon after the two Armies retired into Winter-Quarters.

There was a very bad Prospect on the Side of *Germany*. The Diet at *Ratisbon* was remiss and unactive as usual; and the French early and diligent. So that they passed the *Rhine*, and entered *Suabia*, and exacted great Contributions throughout the Duchy of *Wurtemberg*, the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, and other Countries. The Mareschal de *Villars* who commanded the French, had a fair Opportunity to attempt some greater Enterprize; and it was indeed thought that he designed to restore the Elector of *Bavaria* to his Dominions. But the Expedition made into *Provence* by the Confederates, drew so great a Body of Forces from him, as disabled him from making any farther Attempt. And the Elector of *Hanover* (our late Sovereign) taking upon himself the Command of the Army, the Scale turned a little. A Stop was not only put to the French Progress; but a considerable Body of their Forces was also defeated.

Before the Campaign began in *Flanders* The Duke of this Year, the Duke of *Marlborough* was employed in *Germany* upon a Negotiation of great Importance. The Kingdom of *Poland* had been long torn in Pieces by the different Factions of King *Augustus* and King *Stanislaus*, the former supported by the Czar of *Muscovy*, and the latter by the King of *Sweden*. The Affairs of the former were brought very low by the continual and rapid Successes of the King of *Sweden*; who at length gave the deciding Blow by a sudden Invasion of *Saxony*, King *Augustus's* Hereditary Dominion. This brought King *Augustus*

The Campaign in *Portugal*.

And on the *Rhine*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* sent to the King of *Sweden*.



A.D. 1707. *thus* into that desperate State, that he was forced to submit to the King of *Sweden* in all his Demands, and to renounce solemnly all Right or Title to the Kingdom of *Poland* for ever. But the Stay the King of *Sweden* made upon this Occasion in *Germany*, gave great Umbrage to the Allies. He was at the Head of a noble and every where victorious Army; the strict Correspondence which *France*, by its peculiar Maxims of State, ever cultivated with that Northern Crown, was well known and remembered; and there could be no Doubt but the *French* Arts would be busy to raise up some Pretext to cause a Disturbance in *Germany* by his Means. The *British* and *Dutch* Ministers had endeavoured to prevail upon him to desist from the Invasion of *Saxony*, but in vain. The Answer he gave them was very dry, and unsatisfactory; and he at the same Time received the *French* and *Bavarian* Ministers to his Audience. These Things gave very great Alarms to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and their Ministers desired him to explain his real Intentions. But they could not get any express Answer from him, and all the Satisfaction they could obtain from him was that he would open himself to the Duke of *Marlborough*. Whether this was done out of State, that he might have the Honour of being attended by so illustrious a Messenger, or out of Curiosity to see a General so renowned for Martial Glory, is uncertain.

The dangerous State which *Germany* was in during the King of *Sweden*'s Stay there, was so manifest, that the Queen was obliged to comply with his Demands, and send the Duke of *Marlborough* to him. The Duke crossed the Seas into *Holland*, and from thence went to *Alt-Ranstadt* in *Saxony*, where the Quarters of the King of *Sweden* were. He went immediately to Count *Piper*, the Favourite and chief Minister of that Prince; and, as it is reported, smoothed the Way to his Negotiation by a Present of a hundred Thousand Guineas to the Count. He was soon after introduced to the King of *Sweden*'s Audience. The Speech made by the Duke was of a Soldierly Brevity, tinged with a courtly Flattery. The King of *Sweden* returned a very obliging Answer; and gave the Duke of *Marlborough* such Assurances that he would not undertake any Thing to the Prejudice of the Common Cause, that the Duke stayed there but a few Days, and then returned to the *Netherlands* to take the Command of the Army. And the King of *Sweden* was as good as his Word; not giving any Disturbance to the Allies during his Stay in *Germany*, which was till the Beginning of September.

The Campaign in *Flanders* was incon- siderable. The Loss the *French* had sustained the last Year by venturing too far, made them cautious now. The Duke once made a Motion with intent to fight them; but he was informed that the Enemy, having drained their Garrisons, were too much Superior in number. He would have undertaken a Siege; but it was feared that the *French*

would take the Opportunity to fall upon the A.D. 1707. open Towns and Cities of *Brabant* that had surrendered the last Year. So that the Armies remained two Months in their Camps without any Motion. Towards the End of the Summer, the Detachments the *French* made for *Provence* having weakened their Army, the Duke of *Marlborough* marched with a Design to attack them; which obliged them to leave their Camp, and retire under the Cannon of *Lisle*; in which Retreat they lost Abundance of Men. But the Duke of *Marlborough* who pursued them, was so much retarded by the great Rains that fell at that Time, that before he could come up with them, they were out of Danger of being attacked by him. The Duke, finding his Endeavours to fight eluded by the cautious Measures of the Duke de *Vendosme*, who commanded the *French*, left the Army and went to *Germany*, to prevail, if it were possible, upon the Empire to be more diligent and punctual for the future than they had hitherto been. And in about a Fortnight after his Departure, the Army went into Winter-Quarters.

The great Victory gained before *Turin* by An Attempt on *Toulon*. the Confederates, gave so great a Turn to their Affairs on the Side of *Italy*, that they were this Year in a Condition to be the Assailants. A Project was formed for making an Inroad into *France* on that Side, and either to take or destroy *Toulon* and *Marseilles*; the two only considerable Ports of *France* upon the *Mediterranean* Sea; which would have ruined the Maritime Power of *France* on that Sea, and secured the Trade of *England* and *Holland*. But the Court of *Vienna*, for their private Advantage, moved to divide the Army, and carry one Part to secure the Kingdom of *Naples*. This was warmly opposed by *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; but the *Germans* were obstinate and carried their Point; representing that the Forces were sufficient for both Enterprizes. Those Troops that were sent to *Naples*, being favoured by the general Concurrence of the People, made themselves Masters of that Kingdom with very little Trouble. But the Enterprize against *Toulon* had not so good Success. The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, who commanded on that Side, amused the *French* with a long Scheme of Marches and Counter-marches, as if they designed to invade *Dauphiné*; but when they had fixed them in that Expectation, on a sudden they turned to the Sea-Coast; where meeting the Confederate Fleet, which was appointed to attend them there, they forced the *French* Intrenchments on the River *Var*, and crossed it. From thence they marched towards *Toulon*, with all the Speed that was practicable in their Circumstances. But through the Want of Magazines, the great Heats of that Countrey, and other Disadvantages, it came to pass that no less than fifteen Days were spent in this March. And during that Time, the *French* had with their usual and admirable Diligence found means to repair the Fortifications of *Toulon*, and to



A.D. 1707. cover it with a considerable Body of Troops, defended by strong Intrenchments. But their Activity would not have saved the Town, had not the *German* Counsels, as usual, concurred with the *French* Endeavours. For when it was debated in a Council of War, whether the Confederates should attack the *French*, it was unanimously agreed by all the Commanders except Prince *Eugene*, that the Forces they had with them were not sufficient to attack the *French* in their Intrenchments. And thus the dividing the Confederate Forces frustrated this Enterprize. One of the Enemy's advanced Posts, called the Hill of *St. Catharine*, was attacked and carried. But it was retaken not long after. In the mean Time the *French* were daily receiving Reinforcements of Horse and Foot, which made the Allies despair of taking the Town, and to content themselves with bombarding it, which they did for a Day and a Night with very good Success; destroying a great Number of Houses, blowing up several Magazines, and firing or disabling eight Men of War. This being done, and the Sick and Wounded put aboard the Ships, the Duke of *Savoy* decamped, and returned into *Piedmont*; the *French* not offering to disturb him in his Retreat. He concluded the Campaign with recovering *Susa*; an important Post, which shut up the Entry of the *French* into *Piedmont*, and opened a Passage for the Duke into *Dauphiné* or *Savoy*.

The Enterprize frustrated.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel lost.

The Fleet in the *Mediterranean* under Sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, met with a fatal Disaster in their Return home. For when they were come near the Mouth of the Channel, by a Mistake in their Course, they steered directly upon a dangerous Ledge of Rocks, to the Westward of the Isles of *Scilly*, called the *Bishop and his Clerks*. The *Association*, in which the Admiral himself was, struck and foundered immediately; not one being saved that was aboard her. The *Eagle* and the *Rumney* had the same dismal Fate. The *Firebrand* also foundered on the Rocks; but the Captain, and twenty four of the Men saved themselves in the Boat. The *Phoenix* was driven on the Rocks; but the Captain escaped and his Crew. The *Royal-Anne* and the *St. George* commanded by Sir *George Byng* and the Lord *Durley*, were in the utmost Danger, but happily escaped. Sir *Cloudesley Shovel's* Body was found floating the next Day by some of the Countrey-People, who stripped it and buried it in the Sand. But it was afterwards discovered, and interred in *Westminster-Abbey*. He was one of the greatest Sea-Commanders our Island ever produced; having the two Qualifications of an Admiral in great Perfection, a consummate Skill and Understanding in Maritime Affairs, joined with a fearless Courage; so that in Times of the greatest Danger he was always himself, vigilant, circumspect and attentive. And with this, he was a generous, honest, good Man; a Lover of the Religion and Liberties of his Countrey. He was the Workman of his own Fortune, having raised

himself to that high Station from the lowest A.D. 1707. in the *British* Navy.

In the latter End of this Year, the Parliament met as usual; which by the Addition of the *Scotch* Members, received the Title of the first Parliament of *Great-Britain*. The Commons chose *John Smith, Esq;* their Speaker, who being presented to the Queen, was approved. The two Houses then adjourned by the Lord Chancellor's Direction for a Week. At the End of that Week, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and made a Speech, in which she gave an Account of the State of Affairs abroad; adding the customary Motions for Supplies, and Exhortations to Affection and Unanimity. The Commons presented their Address of Thanks soon after; with their full Approbation of her Majesty's Speech and Measures. But the House of Peers was not so obsequious, there being a great Number there very much dissatisfied with the present State of Things, for the usual Reasons that make great Men so. The General and Prime Minister being now raised as high as Royal Favour and Popularity could carry them, became regardless or forgetful to reward some of their old Friends; and confined the Current of Honours and Profits too much within the Channel of their own Families and Dependences. These private Resentments in many of the Peers awakened, as is customary, a great and sudden Concern for the Redress of publick Evils. So that when it was moved to return the Thanks of the House for the Queen's Speech, several Lords opposed it; and moved that the State of the Nation might first be considered. And those who had been long discontented joining with those who lately became so, made a Majority that carried it against Addressing before the State of the Nation was considered. The House resolving it self on the Day appointed into a Committee of the whole House, a Petition was presented to the House by near two hundred Merchants of the City, complaining of their great Losses at Sea for want of Convoys and Cruizers. This raised a very high and warm Debate, which ended in appointing another Day for examining the Allegations of the Merchants in their Petition. The Ministry was treated upon this Occasion with so much Freedom, that it was thought necessary to silence these Clamours in an effectual Manner. And because the Earl of *Wharton* was one of the Leaders of the lately discontented, the Duke of *Marlborough* took him aside after the Debate was over, and expostulated with him. And the Conference is supposed to end in promising the Earl the Government of *Ireland*; which was given him some Time after, and perfectly satisfied him as to the Methods by which Affairs were conducted. And because the Earl of *Peterborough* repented the Sights that had been put upon him after his eminent Services, Endeavours were used to allay his Resentment.

In the mean Time the House of Commons went on cheerfully with granting the Supplies

The first Parliament of Great-Britain. Their Proceedings.



A.D. 1707. Supplies for the Year. Petitions and Complaints from the Merchants were also read in this House; and some Members who were Traders spoke very sharply against the Mismanagements of the Admiralty. Soon after the House ordered a Bill to be brought in for repealing the Act of Security passed in Scotland; and another for establishing one Privy-Council for both Kingdoms; and for settling the Militia, the Power of Justices of the Peace, and the Form of issuing Writs for electing Members of Parliament, in the same Manner in Scotland as in England.

Some Whispers having passed about that the Intrigues of certain discontented Persons retarded the Commons in advancing the Supplies, the Queen at passing the Act for the Land-Tax, made a Speech, in which she hinted, that her Favour and Encouragement would fall upon those only who would cheerfully concur in supporting the War. This Speech was much resented; and brought on the next Day an important Debate in the House of Lords about the Affairs of Spain, and the Conduct of the Earl of Peterborough there. The Earl of Rochester moved, that the Earl might receive the Thanks of the House for his Services in Spain. The Lord Hallifax, who was on the other Side, agreed in praising the Earl of Peterborough's Actions; but moved that those Thanks might be deferred till his Conduct had passed a formal Examination by the House. This Discourse brought on the Consideration of Methods to retrieve the Affairs of Spain; upon which the Earl of Rochester moved, that we might stand upon the Defensive in Flanders, and send fifteen or twenty Thousand Men from thence into Catalonia, alledging a Saying of the old Duke of Schomberg, that attacking France by the Way of the Netherlands, was like taking a Bull by the Horns. This was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham. The Duke of Marlborough who was present, found himself closely touched by this Proposal, upon which he stood up and endeavoured to shew the Danger of such Conduct, which would, he said, expose all the great Towns of Brabant; and by Consequence all the Advantages hitherto gained in the Netherlands; and by renewing the Danger Holland had been delivered from, give Strength to the Clamours of the discontented there, who were impatient for a Peace. In speaking this, his natural Calmness of Temper forsook him, and he delivered himself with so much Warmth as gave a Handle for Reflection. Upon this he endeavoured to justify himself by saying, that the Thing was of too great Importance to be spoken of without Concernment. He then added, that Measures had been concerted for sending powerful Succours to King Charles from the Emperor, and to persuade Prince Eugene to command in Spain; and that though the usual Slowness of the Germans gave Cause of Suspicion, yet that he could answer they would be more punctual for the future. This ended the Debate, and the House agreed to address the Queen to return

their Thanks for the vigorous Resolutions she had expressed in her late Speech for carrying on the War. And soon after the two Houses agreed in an Address to the Queen, to represent to her that no Peace could be safe or honourable, if Spain and the West-Indies continued in the Possession of the House of Bourbon; and to return their Thanks for the Instances she had used with the Emperor for restoring the Affairs of Spain. The Queen answered them, that she perfectly agreed with them, that the entire Monarchy of Spain ought to be restored to the House of Austria, and that she would continue her Instances with the Emperor. But if any such were made, it soon after appeared that they were ineffectual. Not long after this the two Houses adjourned themselves, as is usual, about the Christmas-Holidays.

During this Interval a Discovery was made, of a dangerous Correspondence held with France by a Clerk in the Office of Mr. Secretary Harley, one William Gregg. This unhappy Man having in his Way of Living outgone his Income, was drawn in by his Necessities or Extravagances to enter into a Correspondence with France to supply them. He had not long gone on in this Way before he was discovered; and committed to Newgate for High-Treason. And when he came to be indicted he pleaded Guilty; either in hopes of Mercy, or knowing that the Evidence against him was too plain to be denied. He received Sentence of Death as in Cases of High-Treason, but it was not executed till three Months after.

About this Time there appeared in London, a strange kind of Enthusiasts. Towards the End of the last Year, there came over from the Cevennes in France, three Men who associated themselves with the French Protestants in Soho. These Men (whether really or pretendedly mad is uncertain) used to fall into strange Fits and Agitations, and to utter Prophecies of different kinds, in which they endeavoured to imitate the Expression of the Sacred Writings. This causing a great deal of Disturbance among those they lived with, and some weak People being so foolish as to attend to them, the Ministers and Elders of the French Chapel in the Savoy thought themselves obliged to animadvert upon them. Two of them named John Cavalier, and Durand Fage, refused to appear; but a third, called Elias Marion, came, and boldly justified their Inspiration. Upon this the French Church made an Act, in which they were declared Impostors and Counterfeits. But this did not suppress their Madness; but in some Time they began to spread themselves into other Parts of the City; great Multitudes, as may be easily imagined, attending them every where. The Predictions uttered by them were very wild and extravagant Stuff; threatening dreadful Judgments from Heaven upon the City of London; which were delivered with that Positiveness, and in such frantick Terms, as alarmed the Weak, and drew the Pity and Concern of the wiser Sort. These

A.D. 1707.  
Gregg's Treason discovered.

The French Prophets in London.



A.D. 1707. These People going on in their mad Career, and their Numbers increasing) as there is no Whimfie so wild that will not find Followers) the *French* Church caused three of them to be prosecuted, viz. *Elias Marion* above-mentioned, *John d'Audé* and *Nicolas Facio*; the last of which being one of the greatest Mathematicians of the Age, it was very surprizing to find him in such crack-brained Company. And they were accordingly sentenced to be publicly exposed twice on a Scaffold, with a Paper over their Heads denoting their Offence. This ridiculous Piece of Enthusiasm might have continued longer than it did; but it happened that the Madness of these People carried them so far, as to prophesie (and to fix the Day for it besides) that one Dr. *Emes*, who was one of their Followers and died not long after he became so, should rise again. This being printed with their other wild Predictions, caused great Multitudes to come to the Place on the Day prefixed; and those mad People who gave out the Prophecy, were so besotted as to attend there themselves in hopes of seeing the Completion of it. But their Expectations being disappointed (as will be easily believed) their Pretences became so ridiculous, that in a short Time no more was heard of them.

Three of them punished.

They pretend to raise a dead Man.

Other Proceedings of Parliament.

The two Houses at their next Meeting went upon the Affairs of *Spain*, the Misfortunes in that Country hanging very heavy upon the Minds of all true Patriots. This Enquiry was forwarded by those who were disobliged at Court; there being great Suspicions that the Affairs of that Kingdom had been neglected to increase the Glory, or gratify the Jealousie of the Commander in the *Netherlands*. The Lords first entered upon examining the Conduct of the Earl of *Peterborough*, which received the Honour of their full Approbation: But the Interest of his Rival was so powerful, that the Thanks of the House could not be procured him, how much soever deserved. The Commons addressed the Queen for the Accounts relating to the Affairs of *Spain*; which being considered, the House resolved, that of above twenty nine thousand Men provided by Parliament for the Service of *Spain* and *Portugal*, there were only eight thousand six hundred and sixty Men in *Spain* and *Portugal* at the Time of the Battle of *Almanza*. And it was agreed to address the Queen, to know how this came to pass. The Lords afterwards examined the Complaints of the Merchants, and the Conduct of Sir *Thomas Hardy* and Captain *Kerr* were narrowly sifted by them. The former was honourably cleared, but the other was found guilty of such ill Practices, that the House addressed the Queen to employ him no more: with which her Majesty promised to comply.

The Answer given by the Queen to the Address of the Commons just mentioned, was so tedious, intricate and obscure, that instead of removing the Suspicions entertained upon that Head, it increased them. But Means were found to make the House satis-

fied with it. The Lords also presented an A.D. 1707. Address to the Queen about Mismanagements in the Navy; which, occasioning Reflections on her Royal Consort Prince *George* of *Denmark*, was not very acceptable.

But the Attention of the Parliament was taken off from these Affairs by a sudden Alarm of an Invasion from *France*. The Discontents in *Scotland*, occasioned by the Union, were very much increased by ill Conduct since that Time. It was ordered by the Articles of Union, that *Scotland* should be liable to several new Customs and Excises, for which the Equivalent Money was allowed to that Kingdom. But instead of making the Collection of these Taxes easie by plausible Circumstances, they were attended by all that could make them grievous or uneasie. Two Commissions were appointed for managing the Excise and Customs there, which consisted partly of *English* and partly of *Scots*. At the same Time vast Numbers of Surveyors, Collectors, and other Officers were sent down from *England*, who executed the new Laws with the Rigor natural to hungry and ravenous Men, who have usually no other Way of Thinking, but of making their own Gains as great as possible. This Treatment appeared so like that of a conquered People, that the *Scots* universally resented it. And the Friends to the Pretender cultivated their Discontents with so much Care, that they inclined many to desire his Restoration, to avoid a Yoke which by being new and unexpected was the more grievous. This Temper of the People of *Scotland* was communicated by the Pretender's Friends to his Ministers in *France*. And the *French* Court having concerted Measures with the disaffected *Scots*, agreed to send thither a great Body of Troops accompanied by a Fleet, with the Pretender himself on Board.

Many Things concurred to engage the *French* King in this Enterprize. The Attempt made upon *Toulon* had struck a Terror and Consternation through his Dominions; and he thought his Honour concerned to revenge it. The Disaffection reigning among the *Scots*, gave him Hopes of fixing the Pretender, for some Time at least, in *Scotland*, and making a Diversion of the Strength and Attention of *England* from the War abroad. And the State of *Scotland* was such, as furthered very much this Undertaking. The Garrisons were in a defenceless Condition, and in Want of every Thing needful to stand a Siege; besides which, there were not above two thousand five hundred Regular Troops in the Kingdom, and those disaffected enough. The Money for the Equivalent was at that Time in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and it happened that a Fleet of *Dutch* Ships had just then run a-ground on the Coast of *Angus*, with a good Quantity of Ammunition on Board, besides Cannon and small Arms, and a great Sum of Money; all which the *Jacobites* of that Countrey would have secured.

The Preparations for the Invasion of *Scotland* were carried on with that Secrecy, that the

An Invasion threatened from *France*.



A.D. 1707. the Design was rather guessed at than known, till the Time the Pretender set out from *St. Germain's*. The *French* King at parting presented him with a rich Sword set with Diamonds; and at his Arrival at *Dunkirk* he was furnished with a Set of Gold and Silver Plate, Cloaths for his future Life-Guards, Liveries for his Household, and the like Royal Provisions.

The News of this crossing the Seas into *England*, the Secretary of State acquainted the Commons therewith; upon which the two Houses joined in an Address of Lives and Fortunes to the Queen; and the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and to enable the Queen to secure and detain suspected Persons.

In *Flanders* ten Battalions of Foot were ordered to be ready at an Hour's Warning to be embarked for *England*. And the Admiralty here made such Expedition, upon the first Notice of the Preparations making at *Dunkirk*, that before the Pretender came there, three and twenty *British*, and three *Dutch* Men of War, sailed over to the *Flemish* Coast, under the Command of Sir *George Byng*. They understood there by a Fisherman whom they took, that ten Thousand Men were at *Dunkirk* ready to embark for *Scotland*; and that the Pretender was on his Way thither.

This Appearance of the *British* Fleet damped the Hopes of the *French*. For it was supposed there, that the *Lisbon* Fleet being sailed out with its Convoy, *Great Britain* would have been left bare of Shipping. The Count *de Fourbin*, who was to command the *French* Fleet, sent Word, that though he might get out of *Dunkirk* Harbour, and perhaps land the Troops, he could not answer for the Safety of his Fleet afterwards. But the King of *France* returned him a positive Order, that he should embark the Troops, and sail with the first fair Wind. While this was doing, the *British* Fleet was driven from its Station by high Winds, and went back into the *Downs*; and the *French* took the Opportunity to sail out of *Dunkirk* Harbour. They were at first driven back by the Wind's changing; but it came about two Days after, and they set Sail for *Scotland*. Mean time Sir *George Byng's* Fleet was reinforced, by the prodigious Diligence that had been used, to the Number of forty Men of War, besides smaller Vessels; and came out again, and sailed over to the Coast between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. The Admiral was there met by an *Ostend* Ship, sent out to give him Notice, that the *French* had the Day before sailed from the Pits of *Newport*, where the contrary Wind had driven them. Upon this he sailed immediately in Pursuit of them.

As soon as the Queen was informed of this, she went to acquaint her Parliament with it; upon which Occasion both Houses attended her with very loyal Addresses, and were suitably answered. In the mean Time Troops were in Motion in every Part of

*England* towards *Scotland*; those which were A.D. 1707. quartered in the South of *Ireland* were ordered to march towards the North, that they might have but a short Passage; and the Troops detached from *Flanders* were brought over by Admiral *Baker*, whom Sir *George Byng* had left for that Purpose, and were landed at *Tinmouth*. The Fear with which over-cautious and timorous People were affected upon this Occasion, caused a great Run upon the Bank, and put those who had the Direction of it into no small Perplexity. But the Government, and those who were well disposed to it, giving their Assistance, this Cloud passed over without any farther Mischief than a little Threatening.

Mean while the *French* Fleet, being favoured by a strong Gale, pursued their Course through the *German* Ocean; till in four Days Time they came before the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, and cast Anchor at the Mouth of it on the Evening of the fourth Day. They had resolved to sail up the *Firth* towards *Edinburgh*; but the next Morning they were alarmed with the Sight of Sir *George Byng's* Squadron. This put them in no small Perplexity. Their Fleet was not in a Condition to encounter Sir *George Byng*, and much less dared they venture up the Streight, where their Retreat would be infallibly cut off. It was resolved by them to make off as soon as possible; and a Land Breeze luckily chanced to rise at the same Time, which favoured that Resolution. The *British* Fleet stood after them, but in vain, the others being too far before them. Only the *Salisbury*, an *English* Ship, but taken by the *French*, was cut off from the rest, and retaken. The *French* steered North, it being proposed by some among them to land at *Inverness*; and a small Vessel was sent out to get Pilots to conduct the Fleet into that Port. But the Wind fell so contrary, and became so boisterous, that it was impossible to pursue that Course without dispersing their Ships; which would have endangered their falling in with Sir *George Byng's* Squadron. So that at last it was resolved to lay aside that Attempt, and to return home. The *British* Fleet, which had pursued the *French* while there was any Hopes of coming up with them, came into *Leith* Road, and stayed there to prevent a second Attempt of the Enemy in those Parts. So that having the Seas open, the *French* Squadron got back in Safety to *Dunkirk*.

On Board the *Salisbury* were taken, the Lord *Griffin*, an *English* Peer, who went over to *St. Germain's* in King *William's* Time; two Sons of the Earl of *Middleton*, one of the Pretender's Chief Ministers, and several *Irish* Officers. The three first were committed to the Tower, and the others to *Newgate*. The Lord *Griffin*, upon a former Outlawry, received Sentence of Death. But his great Age pleaded for him in the Breast of the merciful Queen; so that the Execution was reprieved from Time to

Sir George Byng comes up with the French, who return home.

The French Fleet set sail with the Pretender on Board.



A.D. 1707. Time, till his Life was put an End to by a natural Cause.

Gregg executed.

While these Things passed, the Lords were busily employed in examining *William Gregg* abovementioned. He denied that his Master *Mr. Harley*, was directly or indirectly privy to his Treason, or that he had any other Accomplices. No Threats or Promises were wanting to oblige him to discover whatever he might know. But he continued fixed in that Denial; and when he was afterwards executed, confirmed the same in his Dying Speech by the most solemn Protestations. In that Speech 'tis observable, that he blesses God for touching his Conscience so powerfully as to prevent his prostituting the same to save his Life. But whether the Temptations he speaks of here arose from the Suggestions of his own Mind, or others, cannot be clearly deduced from his Words. But though *Mr. Harley* preserved his Reputation, his Enemies at Court were too powerful to suffer him to keep his Place. However the Queen still retained a secret good Opinion of him, which he made such Use of, as to bring about in some Time a very great and extraordinary Revolution, as will be hereafter related.

The Parliament dissolved.

The Alarm of the *French* Invasion being over, and the Business of the Parliament completed, the Queen came to the House of Peers; and after a Speech of Thanks ordered the Parliament to be prorogued. And soon after the same was dissolved by Proclamation.

Abundance of Persons of Rank were at this Time brought from *Scotland* to be examined, having been secured when the Invasion was apprehended. Some of them were kept in Prison a long Time; but the greater Part were soon discharged.

A.D. 1708.

The next Year had by this Time made some Advance, and the Duke of *Marlborough* passed over into *Holland* to attend the Campaign. Prince *Eugene* met him at the *Hague*; where having consulted on the Business of the ensuing Summer, they went away; one to the Court of *Hanover*, the other to that of *Vienna* upon the same Affair. The Duke of *Marlborough* on his Return went to the Army, and took the Field.

The Campaign in Flanders.

The *French* had maintained an Intelligence in several of the great Towns of *Flanders*, which surrendered to the Allies after the Battle of *Ramellies*. When their Army was ready, the first Action of the Campaign was their surprizing first of *Ghent*, and then of *Bruges*, by Means of their Correspondence in those two great Towns. The Duke of *Marlborough* had Information of the *French* Designs upon those Places, and not only sent a Detachment to secure them, (which came too late) but marched that Way with his whole Army. He met the *French* Army in his March thither, who were in Motion to secure those Conquests; and resolving to attack them, put his Army in Order. But the *French* had no Mind to the Encounter, and by Favour of the Night got away. The Loss of these great Towns, and this Disap-

pointment, cast a Damp upon the Minds of the Allies. The Duke of *Marlborough* fell

ill of a Fever, which was by some imputed to this Inconstancy of Fortune, which had been hitherto so inviolably faithful to him. But these Clouds passed over quickly upon the Arrival of a Reinforcement of thirty thousand Men from the *Moselle*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*. Besides this, the *French* Army was stopped unexpectedly by a short Resistance made at the Citadel of *Ghent*; by which they lost three or four Days, which gave the Duke and Prince *Eugene* an Opportunity to come up with them near *Oudenarde*.

At the Appearance of the Confederate Army, a Division arose among the *French* Commanders. The Duke of *Burgundy*, the *French* King's Grandson, commanded the Army under the Direction and Counsel of the Duke de *Vendosme*. These two Generals happened to be at Variance before the Allies came in View; and the new Measures necessary to be taken upon that Occasion increased the Misunderstanding. So that they suffered the Confederates to send a Detachment cross the River *Schelde*, and to lay Bridges over it, while they passed the Time in their Tents in unseasonable Disputes and Contradictions. At last, the Duke of *Burgundy*, by the Concurrence of several young Officers, who thought to make their Court to him by thwarting the Duke de *Vendosme*, carried the Question for an Engagement.

The Situation of the two Armies was as follows. The River *Schelde* ran between them; *Oudenarde*, which was possessed by the Allies, terminating the Left of their Army. Below *Oudenarde*, and to the Right of the same, the Confederates, by the Neglect of the *French*, had laid several Bridges over the River. Between three and four in the

Afternoon, the Allies began to pass at the lower Bridges; and General *Cadogan*, with twelve Battalions, attacked seven *French* Battalions posted in a Village, of whom very few escaped. Immediately after Major-General *Rantzau*, with eight Squadrons, attacked a Body of *French* Horse, whom they defeated. The Electoral Prince of *Hanover* (now our gracious Sovereign King *George II.*) was at the Head of one of the Squadrons of Dragoons, that routed this *French* Cavalry, and charged the Enemy Sword in Hand, with equal Glory and Danger; his Horse being shot under him in the Encounter, and Colonel *Lusky*, who commanded the Squadron, killed at his Side. Another Attack was made upon the Enemy by the *Prussian* Horse, who also gained the Advantage. Thus the Fight began with prosperous Omens; but it happened through the Length of the Way the Confederate Foot had to march, that the Engagement was not general till seven o' Clock. Then the Enemy being attacked on the Right and Left, the firing grew universal from Wing to Wing of both the Armies. The *French* defended themselves like valiant Men; but after a stout Resistance, were forced to yield to the

super-



A.D. 1708. superior Strength and Fortune of the Allies.

The French  
retire.

The Victory of *Oudenarde* would probably have been as great and important as that of *Bleinheim* or *Ramellies*, had not the Night interposed to save the *French* Army. For they were almost surrounded by the Confederates, who fired upon them on all Sides; but the Darkness came on so fast, that no Distinction could be securely made of Friends or Foes. So that the Confederate Generals were obliged to give Orders to their Troops to forbear shooting; and the *French* made off without farther Disturbance. Next Morning as soon as it was light, a Detachment of Horse was sent out to pursue the Enemy, but without Success. The *French* endeavoured to lessen this Defeat into a drawn Battle, because it was not so complete as the others had been. But the Number of Prisoners, which were above six Thousand, one hundred Colours and Standards taken, the keeping the Field, and Pursuit the next Day, entirely confuted that Pretence.

The Siege of  
*Lisle* begun.

The *French* after this Defeat retired towards *Ghent*, and intrenched themselves behind the Canal that runs between that City and *Bruges*. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* having caused the Lines cast up by the Enemy in *French Flanders*, and now forsaken by them, to be levelled; agreed to begin next the Siege of *Lisle*. This Enterprize was attended with great Difficulties. The Surprise of *Ghent* which lies upon the *Schelde*, had cut off the Confederates from their great Magazines at *Antwerp*, and *Sas van Ghent*. The Place itself was fortified with all the Defence that Art or Cost could give it; and kept by a numerous Garrison, experienced and well commanded. It is said, that the Duke de *Vendosme* thought the Siege so hazardous, that when he was informed of it he said, that he could not believe so wise a Captain as Prince *Eugene* could venture upon so rash an Enterprize. But the Difficulties of it were not too great to be overcome by Resolution, Prudence and Circumspection.

The Siege went on with good Success. The *French* drained the neighbouring Garrisons to relieve it; and made several Advances as if they designed to attack the Duke of *Marlborough*, who covered the Siege. But such wise Precautions were taken as repulsed the *French* without fighting. These Attempts proving vain, the *French* took another Counsel; and posted themselves along the *Schelde*, to cut off the Communication of the Confederate Army with *Brussels*. This seemed a fatal Blow; for the Allies were now in an hostile Country, where no Recruits of Ammunition, to supply the vast Expence thereof in the Siege, could be had. Every one was in Despair except the Duke of *Marlborough*, who found an Expedient. There was a Body of *British* Forces, that had been employed just before in alarming the Coast of *France*. The Duke sent Orders to General *Erle* their Commander, to come immediately to *Ostend*,

and post himself at *Oudenburgh* and *Leffinghem* near that Place. By this Means a great Convoy was sent by the Way of *Ostend*, consisting of all Manner of Necessaries; and six Thousand of the Confederate Troops, under Major-General *Webb*, were sent to guard it. The *French* were struck with Amaze at this unlooked for Disappointment; for they thought they had shut up all the Avenues to any Relief. But that no Endeavours might be wanting on their Part, the Count de la *Motte* who commanded in *Ghent*, came out with near twenty four Thousand Men to intercept this Convoy; and met with it near a Place called *Wynendale*. But Major-General *Webb*, who commanded the Guard, disposed his Men with such admirable Skill, that notwithstanding the vast Superiority of Numbers, by the pure Force of Order and Disposition, the *French* were driven back in two or three successive Attacks; and this with so great a Slaughter and Terror among the common Soldiers, that after having lost six or seven Thousand Men in the Encounter, they could be brought to charge no more. So that the Convoy attended by its brave Defenders, arrived safely in the Camp before *Lisle*. General *Webb* got immortal Glory by this important Victory; which may justly be reckoned among the greatest Acts performed in this War. But he was not so well rewarded for it as he deserved. The Duke of *Marlborough's* Secretary in a Letter written into *England*, gave all the Honour of it to General *Cadogan*, the Duke's Favourite, who did not come up till after the Engagement; and this was so resented by General *Webb*, that he left the Army in Disgust, and came over to *England* to do himself Justice.

The Battle of  
*Wynendale*.

The *French* made one Effort more that had like to have proved more effectual than the others. The Duke de *Vendosme* came in Person between *Bruges* and *Newport*, and ordered the Dykes between those two Towns to be cut in several Places. This poured out such an Inundation upon the neighbouring Country, as covered all the Face of the Land, and shut up *Ostend* within it. But Major-General *Cadogan* found means to convey a large Quantity of Stores through the Water, which lasted till the Town of *Lisle* was surrendered.

The Town  
of *Lisle* sur-  
rendered.

But a great Labour remained behind; for the Citadel was yet to be reduced, which was one of the completest Pieces of Fortification in *Europe*. The *French* had by this Inundation, and the Intrenchments they had made along the *Schelde* to secure the Country behind it, cut off all Hopes of any farther Supplies of Ammunition; and the Confederates were in the midst of an hostile Country, where no Provisions could be had, but such as were to be taken by Force. But the invincible Constancy of the Confederate Generals bore or surmounted all these Difficulties. And because the Citadel could not be attacked by Way of Approach and Battery for Want of Ammunition, it was re-

solved



A.D. 1708. solved to carry on the Siege by way of Saps. And the Duke of *Marlborough* who covered it, found means to bring so much Provision from the Enemy's Territories, as served with frugal Management, to subsist the two Armies.

The French  
attack *Brussels*  
but are  
repulsed.

The French enraged at so many unlooked for Disappointments, made furious Incursions into the open Countrey of *Dutch Brabant*; where they committed great Ravages. And the Elector of *Bavaria* at the same Time marched towards *Brussels* with fifteen Thousand Men, with Design to attack it. The *Dutch* were in great Alarms; since not only *Brussels*, but *Antwerp* their near Neighbour, was in very great Danger, being shut up from all Relief but by Sea; and Men were ready to give the Title of Obstinacy to the unmovable Perseverance of the two Generals. But their sedate Courage and Foresight was not yet disconcerted. The Duke of *Marlborough* ordered Forces to be transported from *Ostend* to *Antwerp*; whither the States-General sent all the Troops they could spare from the neighbouring Garrisons. The Duke also sent Word to *Monf. Pascal*, the Governor of *Brussels*, that he would certainly come to his Relief. In the mean Time the Elector of *Bavaria* came before *Brussels*; a City large but unfortified; and by Consequence, weakened by its great Extent. Having received a resolute Answer to his Summons, he attacked the Town under the Cover of the dark Night; and was courageously resisted. The Assault continued all Night, and did not cease till Ten the next Morning, when the Enemy retired in great Disorder; having suffered much by the valiant Defence of the Besieged. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* at the same Time left the Camp before the Citadel of *Lisle* with so much Secrecy, that they came unexpectedly upon the Enemy, and obliged them to abandon their Intrenchments upon the *Scheld* and the Siege of *Brussels*. They then returned to the Camp at *Lisle* with such Expedition, that the Enemy could take no Advantage of their Absence.

The Citadel  
of *Lisle* sur-  
renders.

The Garrison of the Citadel being informed that the Way was open to furnish the Besiegers with Necessaries, and finding themselves out of all Hopes of being relieved, agreed soon after to surrender upon honourable Terms.

Thus ended one of the most famous Sieges recorded in History, whether we consider the Difficulties and Obstacles it met with, or the Prudence and good Fortune by which they were overcome. Though it was so late in the Winter before this Conquest was completed, the Duke of *Marlborough* entered upon the Siege of *Ghent*; which was surrendered to him in eleven Days. The Loss of this Place made the Enemy abandon *Bruges*, and other Posts thereabouts; which left that Countrey in its former State. Then the Army separated, and went into Winter Quarters.

On the Side of *Savoy* the Troops did not take the Field till it was late, nor were the Events there very important. What little Advantage was obtained there, belonged to the Allies: the Duke of *Savoy* having taken the Fortresses of *Exilles*, and some other Places, by which he made himself an Entrance into the Territories of the French, and shut them out from his own.

The Cam-  
paign in sa-  
voy.

In *Spain* and *Portugal* very little was done. The Superiority of the Enemy enabled them to take *Tortosa* in *Catalonia*, and *Denia* and the Town of *Alicant* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; but the Castle of this latter Place being situate on a high Rock, and of the utmost Difficulty of Access, held out many Months after.

At Sea the Fleet performed very signal Service. Admiral *Leake*, after he had arrived at *Barcelona*, sailed from thence with a Body of Land-Forces on board, to make an Attempt upon the Island of *Sardinia*. It met with so good Success, that within a few Days after their Arrival before *Cagliari*, the Metropolis, the Viceroy surrendered, and the States of the Countrey acknowledged King *Charles*. After the Return of the Fleet to *Barcelona*, Major-General *Stanhope* formed a Design against the Island of *Minorca*, which was to be put into the Hands of the Queen of *Great-Britain*. It was wisely considered, that an Island situate as it were in the Middle of the *Mediterranean*, must be of singular Importance to the *British* Crown, which by possessing that small Spot, would become the Neighbour of all the Princes and States whose Dominions border on that great Sea. Its noble Harbour of *Port-Mahon*, was also like to prove a convenient Place of Refreshment for our Merchant-ships, and a Dock for Ships of War.

*Sardinia* and  
*Minorca* ta-  
ken.

This Expedition was attended with all the Success that could be desired. The Fleet from *Barcelona* met with Sir *John Leake*, who was cruising about *Port-Mahon*, and the same Day the Land Forces began to be set ashore. The People of the open Countrey declared immediately for King *Charles*. There were only three Places in the Island capable of making any Resistance; but these being surprized with an Attack they did not expect, gave the Assailants but a short Trouble. So that in about a Fortnight, the whole Island was reduced to Obedience. An English Garrison was left in *Port-Mahon*, and Brigadier *Petit*, a skilful Engineer, was made Governor of the Island, that effectual Care might be taken for the Strengthening of the same. A Squadron of Ships was also ordered to winter there.

The Conquest of this Island dissipated a League that was forming, by the Influence of the French King, among the Princes and States of *Italy* against the Emperor. And the Confederate Fleet acting in concert with the Imperial Troops there, obliged the Pope to acknowledge King *Charles* III. for King of *Spain*.

An Accident happened soon after that gave the Court a good deal of Trouble.

The



A. D. 1708. The Muscovite Ambassador, *Andrew de Matueof*, had had his Audience of Leave, and was upon the Point of Departure. There were some Persons to whom he was indebted, who were apprehensive he would leave the Kingdom without paying them; though 'tis said that he had taken Care for their Satisfaction. They not knowing this, and being ignorant Men, unacquainted with the nice Privileges of Publick Ministers, caused him to be arrested in the open Street. The Ambassador not understanding at first the Reason of his being seized, thought he was assaulted by Ruffians, and endeavoured to defend himself; which caused the brutish Bailiffs to offer him personal Indignities; and not content with this, they carried him away to a Spunging-House; where he was detained, till the Earl of *Feversham* and a City Merchant came to bail him. The Ambassador wrote the next Day with great Resentment to the Secretary of State, Mr. *Boyle*, to demand Redress; and the other Publick Ministers, whose Honours and Privileges were concerned in this Affront put upon one of their Character, jointly required Satisfaction for this flagrant Violation of the Law of Nations. The Queen and the Ministers were strangely perplexed what to do; the Laws that fence about the Liberties of *English-men* not permitting so severe an Animadversion, as was necessary to give the Satisfaction that was due for such an Outrage. The Queen expressed her utmost Concern to the Foreign Ministers upon this unhappy Accident, and the Persons concerned were taken into Custody of Messengers, and prosecuted. But there being no Provision in our Laws for such Cases, little more could be done. The Czar of *Muscovy* wrote over to demand that Capital Punishments should be inflicted on those who had affronted his Ambassador; or some at least that was adequate to the Part the several Persons had in it. At length, after very near a Twelve-month's Dispute, it was agreed that Mr. *Whitworth*, the Queen's Minister with the Czar, should in a very formal Manner, beg of that Prince to excuse the Inability the Queen was under, by the Laws of her Kingdom, to give him the Satisfaction she wished; which was accepted by the Czar. An Act of Parliament was also passed to prevent any future Insults to Publick Ministers of the same kind.

The Death of Prince George of Denmark.

This Year the Queen met with a great Affliction in the Loss of her Royal Consort, Prince *George of Denmark*, with whom she had lived above five and twenty Years in all the Happiness that the most entire reciprocal Fidelity and Affection could administer. The Prince had been many Years Asthmatical, which was often attended with spitting of Blood; and about three Months before his Death, a dropical Humour (to which he had before been subject) seized him. This ill Disposition of Body increasing, he fell into a Suffocation, on the twenty eighth of *October*, in which all the Art of Physick could give him no Relief; so that he expired, to

the Queen's inconsolable Affliction, and with A. D. 1708: the Sorrow of the Court and Nation. He was born at *Copenhagen* in *April* 1653. being only Brother to *Christian V.* King of *Denmark*, whom he rescued from imminent Danger in an Engagement between the *Danes* and the *Swedes*. He was eminently instrumental in the Revolution, as was said above; and during the Queen's Reign, by troubling himself but little with Affairs of State, he preserved the good Will of both the contending Parties. The Earl of *Pembroke* was made Lord High Admiral in his Room. And the Offices of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord President of the Council, being vacant by that Remove, the first was given to the Earl of *Wharton*, and the other to the Lord *Somers*, who had placed themselves among the Discontented at the Beginning of the last Session of Parliament.

In about three Weeks after the new Parliament assembled. The Queen was too much oppressed with Sorrow for her late Loss, to meet them as usual; so that Lords Commissioners were appointed of the Great Officers, to represent her. The Commons chose Their Pro-Sir *Richard Onslow* Speaker, who was presented to the Lords Commissioners and approved. The Speech made from the Throne was in the usual Style. The two Houses separately addressed the Queen upon the Death of Prince *George*; which Addresses were ordered to be presented in a private Manner.

The Convocation assembled at the same Time with the Parliament. But the Heats that had passed between the two Houses, and the little Affection born by a Majority of the Lower House to the then ruling Powers, brought on a Prorogation as soon as they were assembled; even before they had made Choice of a Prolocutor.

There passed not much of Importance this Session. A Debate arose in the House of Commons concerning the Right of the eldest Sons of *Scotch* Peers to sit there. It was said on one Side, that it would put a disadvantageous Mark of Distinction on the Peers of that Nation, if the same Liberty were not allowed to them as to those of *England*, whose Sons have Power to represent the Commons in Parliament. But it was alledged on the other Hand, that the Electors of *Scotland*, being vastly more subject to the Peers than those of *England*, would lose their Right of chusing in effect; since their Landlords would be sure to compel them to chuse their Sons. It was also observed, that the Parliament of *Scotland* before the Union always excluded the eldest Sons of the Peers. So that these latter carried it; and new Writs were ordered to be issued for the Election of Members in the Room of the Lord *Haddo* and the Lord *Johnstown*, returned for the Shires of *Aberdeen* and *Linlithgow*.

The Conduct of Major-General *Webb* at the Battle of *Wynendale* had been universally admired; and the Injury done him, by seeking



A.D. 1708. ing to rob him of the Reputation he there acquired, was much repented. Some Members of the House of Commons moved, that he might have the Thanks of the House for his eminent Services by that great Action; and he received the same in his Place (he being a Member of the House) from the Speaker; for which the General returned his Acknowledgments in a handsome and modest Speech.

The Parliament addresses the Queen about a second Marriage.

In the Form of Prayer used on the eighth of *March*, the Day of the Queen's Accession to the Crown, the Prayer for the Queen had, among others, a Petition that she might become a happy Mother of Children. In about two Months after the Prince's Death, an Order of Council was published by the Queen's Directions, for the leaving out that Petition. This made it be concluded, that the Queen designed to spend the Remainder of her Life in Widowhood; upon which it was resolved in the House of Commons to address her Majesty not to suffer her Grief so far to prevail, as to give over all Thoughts of a second Marriage. This Address was agreed to by the Lords; and carried to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. The Queen was a little surprized at this Address, which she did not look for. She told them, that the frequent Marks of Duty and Affection she had received from her Parliament must needs be very acceptable; that the Provision she had made for the Protestant Succession shewed how much she had at Heart the Happiness of the Kingdom; but that the Subject of their Address was of such a Nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular Answer. However the Commons, the next Day, voted their Thanks to the Queen for the same.

Two Millions of Money raised in four Hours.

The Commons being very much perplexed about finding Ways and Means to raise the Supplies, accepted a Proposal of the Bank of *England* to advance four hundred Thousand Pounds, and to circulate two Millions four hundred Thousand Pounds in Exchequer Bills, upon Condition of prolonging their Corporation for twenty Years after *August* 1711. and receiving Subscriptions for doubling their Stock. Books were accordingly set open for Subscriptions, which were to amount to the Sum of two Millions two hundred and one Thousand one hundred and seventy one Pounds ten Shillings. All this Money was subscribed in four Hours Time. And so numerous and pressing were the Crowds that came to this Subscription, that 'twas thought a Million more might have been taken in. If in King *William's* Time our Neighbours were surprized to hear that two Millions had been raised in three Days, what must their Wonder have been now, when they were told, that after immense Expences in a new War, our Nation was able to raise the same Sum in almost as few Hours? So incredible are the Effects of our invaluable Liberty, and its fair Offspring, Industry and Commerce!

There was little considerable done in either House after this. A Bill of general Naturalization of all Foreign Protestants passed

both Houses, and was turned into an Act, A.D. 1708. which is since repealed. The two Houses also took into Consideration the Conduct of the Ministers on Occasion of the Pretender's Invasion. Some unaccountable Instances of Neglect and Mismanagement were laid to their Charge; but they were so powerful in both Houses, that their Conduct was approved by the Commons, and not censured by the Lords. At last, the Business of the Parliament being quite over, they were prorogued by Commission.

During this Time a Treaty of Peace had been set on Foot by *France*. The President *de Rouillé* was sent to open the Negotiation. The States-General acquainted the Queen and the Emperor of *Germany* with this Advance; upon which Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* came to the *Hague*. But when the Overtures made by *France* came to be considered, the two Generals and the States-Deputies agreed that they were unsatisfactory. Upon this the *French* Court, who was willing to keep up the Negotiation, sent the Marquis *de Torcy*, Secretary of State, to carry it on; and ordered the President to seem to comply with the Demands of the Allies, till he came.

A Treaty of Peace set on foot.

The Negotiations were begun with the utmost Jealousie and Mistrust on both Sides. The Allies were heartily desirous of a secure Peace, but had great Reason to suspect the *French* Sincerity. The Peace of *Nimeguen*, and that of *Ryswick*, had been concluded by *France*, only to be made the Foundations of future Wars. They apprehended the *French* Dexterity in dividing; of which they remembered a famous Example at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; where by disuniting the Confederate Powers, *France* gave Laws to them all. So that they entered into the Treaty with the greatest Fear and Caution. The *French* King, on the other Hand, remembering his former Injustice and Insolence, and his present Weakness, feared that they would give Room to the Confederates to insist on Terms so severe, though reasonable in themselves, as he could not bear to submit to, while he feared to reject them. This made Him irresolute, and the Proceedings of his Ministers to appear full of Artifice; perhaps more than they really were.

The Allies had three principal Points to gain. The first was to obtain so many strong Towns from the *French* in the *Spanish Netherlands*, as should keep that formidable Power at a safe Distance from the *United Provinces*; or as the Term then was, serve for a Barrier to that State. The second was to provide a like Security for the Empire. The third, which was then taken to be the most important, was to restore *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to King *Charles* III. For in those Days it was thought impossible in *Great Britain* and *Holland*, that he should make them that ill Return he has since done. *France* seemed to have formed no settled Plan, but that of yielding as little as possible in these Particulars.

The Conferences began at the *Hague*, between the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Lord Viscount

The Conferences thereon.



A.D. 1708. Viscount Townshend, Prince Eugene (to whom was added afterwards Count Zinzendorf) the Grand Pensionary, and the Deputies of the States on the one Hand; and the Marquis de Torcy, and the President de Rouillé on the other. The first Day the French Ministers agreed to the demolishing Dunkirk, the banishing of the Pretender from France, and the other Points insisted on by the British Plenipotentiaries; in which no Difficulty was expected. They agreed also to yield Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge for a Barrier to Holland. With Respect to the Empire, they offered to restore all Things as they were settled by the Treaty of Ryfwick, and to demolish the Fortifications of Strasburgh. But the Allies insisting on some other Articles, namely, the Restitution of all Alsace to the Empire; Monsieur de Torcy declared he had no Power to make any farther Concessions; broke up the Conference, and sent to the Pensionary to desire Passes to return home. But afterwards, as they said, upon the Desire of the Resident of Holstein, the French Ministers put off their Departure. So that the next Day another Conference was held, at which they proposed to surrender Strasburgh in its present Condition; though they had before declared they could make no new Advances. But this not being thought sufficient, another Conference was held the next Day, which was unsuccessful. Upon this, the French Ministers declared they would go away; sent to the Grand Pensionary for Passes, and took their Leave of Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Ministers of Neutral Princes. Their Passes were quickly sent them; but it was intimated to them, that they must not expect any for their Return to the Hague. But after this, at the Desire of some neutral Ministers, as they said, they agreed to stay longer, and sent to their Court for new Instructions. In four Conferences which were afterwards held, the French seemed at last to comply with all the Preliminary Articles insisted on by the Confederates; and Directions were given to have them written out fair, in order to be examined. This being done, a Conference was appointed in which they were to be signed.

But all Men were surprized when they were informed, that when this Draught came to be presented at the Conference, and was signed by the Ministers of the Allies, the French refused to do the same; saying, they had no Instructions to go so far. This cast a Cloud over the pleasing Expectations that had been indulged before, of a sudden Peace and Tranquility. But these were in some Measure cleared again by the Marquis de Torcy; who promised to set out immediately for France, to present them to the King for his Ratification.

During the Marquis's Journey into France, Men were divided between Hopes and Fears. At last they were informed, that the Marquis had written a Letter to Prince Eugene at Brussels, to acquaint him, that his Master

having considered the Project of Peace, A.D. 1708. could not accept of it. This was confirmed by the President de Rouillé, who was left at the Hague; and at a Conference acquainted the Confederate Ministers with the same. The principal Difficulty alledged by him was contained in the thirty seventh Article, which obliged the French King to cause his Grandson to evacuate the Spanish Monarchy in two Months; which Term he desired to have enlarged, but promised to recall his own Troops from thence within that Time. This was not Satisfactory to the Allies; so that the President declaring he could make no farther Concessions, he was ordered to return home. And the States came to a Resolution to prosecute the War with all possible Vigour; and the Duke of Marlborough shortly after set out for the Army.

At the Time of this Treaty the Conduct of the Allies upon this Occasion was much applauded. Without doubt, the perfect Harmony with which they proceeded was highly admirable; and was, to be sure, no small disheartening to France. But whether they did prudently to reject the Concessions made by the French King in Relation to his Grandson, has been since disputed. This is certain, that the Experience of our Times has shewn, that if it was a Mistake, it was a fortunate one.

The Campaign began with the Siege of Tournay; the French Army, which stood upon the Defensive, being so strongly encamped; that the Duke and Prince Eugene did not think it adviseable to attack them. The Town was invested on the twenty seventh of June, and on the thirtieth of July it surrendered. The Citadel held out another Month; but on the thirty first of August it also yielded. After this the Confederate Generals detached the Prince of Hesse to attempt to make his Way within the French Lines, which he effected. The French Army, under the Mareschal de Villars, upon Advice of this, marched towards the Prince of Hesse to attack him; and at the same Time the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene came to his Assistance. This brought the two Armies together; and the Duke and Prince Eugene resolved to attack the Enemy. But the French General, who resolved to stand upon the Defensive, removed his Army to a Situation, where the Allies, if they would venture to attack him, should be obliged to do it upon a very great Disadvantage.

There were three Woods near the Place where he was encamped, in which he posted his Infantry; who were not only covered by the Shelter of the Wood, but defended by a strong Intrenchment cast up across the open Paths, that gave Entrance into it. Between these Woods was a Plain, which was defended by no fewer than three Intrenchments, one behind another, to compensate for the Disadvantage of lying exposed and open. But notwithstanding these prodigious Defences, the Confederate Generals, used to Victory, and ever favoured by Fortune,

The Treaty proves at last unsuccessful.

The Campaign in Flanders.

Tournay taken.

The Battle of Blaregnies, or Malplaquet.



A.D.1709. tune, resolved to attack him. At eight in the Morning, *September 11.* fifty Pieces of Cannon were discharged as a Signal for fighting, and the Allies marched up towards the Enemy. Those who were in this Fight have told us, that the Fury of the Encounter, the Violence of the Fire on both Sides, and the Daringness of the Attempt, are not to be expressed. The Confederate Troops had met a long Train of Success, which made them despise the Dangers that were before them. The *French* were filled with Shame and Rage, to find themselves contemned so far as to be attacked behind such formidable Works; so that the one advanced, the other maintained their Ground with equal Resolution. The Slaughter was more bloody and cruel than had been known in any of the former Battles; but the Loss of the Confederates was the greater, who marched up against such Disadvantages, as perhaps since the Invention of Guns no Army ever faced before. The slain and wounded fell among them so fast, that the Soldiers Hearts at last began to fail them, and they stood still, and shrunk back. But their Commanders, among whom the Duke of *Argyle* distinguished himself, put themselves at their Head; and encouraged them so effectually, that they made a second Effort; in which they broke through all Opposition, and got within the Intrenchments. The Enemy could then no longer stand their Fury, but gave Way on all Sides. Those who were in the Wood were driven into the Plain; where they drew up again, under the Cover of their Horse, behind a third Intrenchment; making a dreadful Fire upon the Pursuers, as they followed them out of the Wood. The Fight was then renewed; for this last Intrenchment was the most dangerous of all the rest, and the Enemy defended it with as much Vigour as if the Battle were only beginning. The Confederate Troops gave Way again at the first Assault; nor could they be brought to a second Onset, till the Duke and Prince *Eugene* put themselves at their Head; which encouraged them so, that they bravely fell on a second Time, and forced their Passage. Then the Intrenchments being levelled to make a Way for the Horse, they charged the *French* Cavalry with such Success, that they were put to the Rout, and their whole Army fell into Disorder, and turned their Backs. The Right, and Left, and Center of the Enemy were dispersed into different Bodies, and pursued two Leagues from the Field of Battle; in which Pursuit great Numbers of them were slain and taken Prisoners.

The French  
defeated.

Thus ended the famous Battle of *Blaregnies*, or *Malplaquet*, as it is called from two Villages near the Field of Battle. It began at eight in the Morning, and lasted till three in the Afternoon; till which Time the Victory was uncertain. If we consider that the Enemy defeated in this Battle was neither in Arms, Discipline, or Numbers inferior to the Confederates, and besides inclosed and defended by such strong Works and Defen-

ces, that the Generals themselves, when they came to survey in cold Blood the Difficulties they had overcome, could hardly believe what they saw; we may justly look upon the Victory as one of the greatest recorded in History. For both at *Bleinheim* and *Ramellies* the Armies fought on equal Terms. But the Consequences of this Victory were not proportionable to the Honour gained in the Action, or the dear Price it was purchased at, no fewer than eighteen thousand valiant Men being slain on the Side of the Confederates. The *French* Loss was not so great, though it could not but be considerable in so bloody a Combat; and they were studious to conceal their own Loss, in order to diminish the Glory of the Allies. But as they did not think fit to interpose during the Siege of *Mons*, which was afterwards undertaken, it appears that their Army was much more diminished than they would have had it believed.

The only Action that passed after this Battle was the Siege of *Mons*, which surrendered after about a Month's Siege. The Winter being by that Time far advanced, and the Weather extremely bad, the Army went into Winter-Quarters.

On the *Rhine* a Project was formed for invading *Burgundy*. But the usual Neglect on that Side gave Time and Opportunity to the *French* to disappoint it. An Irruption was afterwards made into *Alsace* by the *Germans* under Count *Merci*, which proved unsuccessful; that General being met and defeated by the *French*, under Count *de Bourg*. This Misfortune, which happened late, was the only Action on that Side; and passed without any Consequences. There was as little done in *Savoy*, on Account of a Dispute between the Duke and the Emperor; which last was so much in the Wrong, that *Great Britain* and *Holland* espoused the Duke of *Savoy's* Interests with great Warmth. But the Court of *Vienna* was, as usual, obstinate and untractable: so that a favourable Opportunity was lost of entering *France*, which might otherwise have been compassed this Summer.

In *Portugal*, an Action happened early between the *Spaniards* and the Confederates, in which the former got the better; though without any remarkable Loss or Disadvantage to the latter. And the Earl of *Galloway*, who commanded there, took such Care that the *Spaniards* could not improve their Victory. During the rest of the Campaign nothing happened worth relating.

The Castle of *Alicant* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, which we left besieged the last Year, held out all the Winter; though the Garrison was ill supplied with necessary Provisions, and in fear of wanting Water. The Situation of the Castle being upon a high Rock which did not admit of the usual Method of Attack, the Enemy spent a great deal of fruitless Time in the Siege. A very singular Invention was put in Practice upon this Occasion. The Enemy finding their other Efforts ineffectual, were persuaded (by a Je-

A.D.1709.

Mons taken.

The Campaign on the Rhine.

And in Portugal.

The Siege of Alicant.



A.D. 1709. a Jesuite, as some say) to endeavour to blow up the Rock upon which the Castle stood. To this End, a deep winding Cavern was bored below in the Rock with the incredible Labour of four or five thousand Men, for three Months together. Within this Cavern there were lodged fifteen hundred Barrels of Powder; after which the Cavity was stopped up again with all the Security that the Labour and Invention of Men could give; a small Communication only being left to give Fire from without, to the Mine within. This Preparation being made, they sent to the Garrison to acquaint them with what was done, and to desire them to send any Persons they could trust, to be satisfied of the Truth of it. Then they ordered the Messengers to acquaint the Garrison, that unless they surrendered, the Mine should be fired. The Effect of Powder buried in Mines made in loose Earth, had been often tried, and was well known; but it was not so certain what the Consequence would be, when its Fury was opposed by a stony Wall of hard and solid Rock. So that the Governor, who was a Man of Resolution, determined to wait the Event, and rejected the Summons; upon which the Mine was fired. The Powder, set on Fire, struggled some Time in its Prison before it could make it self a Vent; and by the Force with which it laboured to discharge it self on all Sides, made the Castle, and the very Rock it stood on, shake to and fro, like a Tree blown by the Wind. At last the firm compacted Stone gave Way to the Violence of the imprisoned Fire, and the Rock split from the Bottom to the Top, and burst asunder in an horrible Cleft, with a Roaring, as if a thousand Cannon had been discharged at once. The Governor, and about thirty Officers, sunk down immediately into the dismal Pit, which chanced to open just under their Feet; and then the Rock closing suddenly again, shut them up for ever in that dreadful Tomb. Part of a Bastion was ruined; and a Cistern of Water was emptied. Nevertheless the Mischief done by this Mine was not answerable to the Terror; so that the Officers who escaped, retained their Courage, and agreed to hold out while their Provisions lasted. A Squadron of Ships was sent from *Barcelona* to relieve them; but the Besiegers had made such Provisions to hinder it, that the Ships were forced to give over the Attempt. But left so many brave Men as were in the Garrison, should undergo the Hardships which Prisoners of War usually pass through, General *Stanbope*, who was aboard the Fleet, and the Admirals, sent Proposals to the Enemy to surrender the Castle upon honourable Terms; which was easily agreed to.

The Castle of Alicant surrendered.

In *Catalonia*, nothing happened remarkable but the taking of *Balaguer* by General *Staremborg*, which gave some Life to the languid State of Affairs on that Side. This Year Cardinal *Portocarrero* died; whose Intrigues with the French Ambassador at the Death of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*, kindled this last War throughout *Europe*.

This Summer, about the Beginning of May, A.D. 1709. there came over into *England* great Numbers of the Inhabitants of the *Palatinate*, *Suabia*, and other Parts of *Germany*, lying towards the French Frontiers. They continued coming over till the Middle of June; by which Time it was computed there were about six thousand of them. Their Countrey had been so miserably desolated by having been so long the Seat of the War, and consequently of Rapine and Plunder, that it was no Wonder if some of its Inhabitants were willing to leave it, in Hopes of mending their Condition in another Land. How far the Ministry were concerned in inviting them over, or with what Views it was done, besides that general Benefit of increasing the Strength of our Countrey, by increasing the Number of its Inhabitants, is not very certain. 'Tis said that some of those People had before come into *England*, and from thence transported themselves into our *American* Plantations, where they thrived and prospered; and being willing to give Part of their good Fortune to their Countreymen, had invited others to take the same Course; upon which Invitation they came into *Holland*, where they were supplied with Shipping for their Passage by the British Minister there, by Orders from above. They were kindly and charitably received here, by all Sorts of Persons, some few of the meanest Vulgar excepted, who made the Complaint usual with our idle Poor, that they were come to take the Bread out of their Mouths. Tents were allowed them by the Queen for their Shelter, and set up on *Black-Heath*, and a Field near *Camberwell*; and a Brief was granted for their Relief throughout the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*. This good Reception engaged others of that People to come over with such increasing Numbers, that the Government not knowing what to do with so many, was forced to put a Stop to it. Of those who remained here, some few were taken into private Families, or into some Parishes for a Sum of Money; the rest were sent to *Ireland*, or the Plantations. But they proved a lazy, unindustrious Sort of People; whether it were the Nature of their Countrey, or whether having been used to Oppression, and its sure Consequence, Indolence and Remissness, they could not soon leave a Habit deeply fixed in them by long Custom. So that 'tis said that in a few Years near two Thirds of them perished.

The Parliament met as usual, about the Time the Campaigns were over. The Commons went immediately upon the Supplies, and agreed to raise one Million five hundred thousand Pounds by Way of Lottery. And because the severe Frost, which had happened the last Winter, had made Corn very scarce and dear in Foreign Parts, which occasioned great Exportations of the same from hence, and caused a sensible Diminution of our own Stock, the Commons passed a Bill for prohibiting the same. This Bill, with that for the Land-Tax, passed so quickly,

The Parliament meets. Their Proceedings.



A.D. 1709. ly, that by *December 10.* they were ready for the Royal Assent.

Doctor Sacheverell preaches a Sermon at St. Paul's, which makes a great Noise.

But they were on a sudden diverted from other Thoughts, by an Affair very trivial in it self, but of very important Consequences. At the Solemnization of the Fifth of *November* this Year, a Sermon of a very singular Nature was delivered in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, before the Lord-Mayor, and Court of Aldermen. The Preacher was Doctor *Henry Sacheverell*, a Clergyman of a Character neither eminent nor obscure. This Gentleman was of that Party that was out of Favour at that Time; and being a hot and zealous Man in his Way, took the Opportunity of that Publick Audience, to give a Vent to those Complaints and Jealousies that were common to him with those of the same Side. And because it was pretended (and believed too by most of that Party) that the present Ministry were Friends to the Dissenters, and Enemies to the Church, he made his Sermon a furious Invective against the Dissenters, and those who being of the Church of *England*, were disposed to Moderation and Lenity towards them; to which he added many bold Glances towards those who were in Power. He also inculcated in very strong and suspicious Terms, the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, which taken in its full Extent, is certainly incompatible with the late Revolution. The Sermon it self was an exceeding mean Composure; the Vehemence and Fury of it supplying the Place of Reason and Eloquence. The Court of Aldermen, who were mostly of the other Side, thought themselves struck at by it, and refused to give Thanks for it, and to desire him to print it; which is a Compliment usually paid to those who preach before them upon those solemn Days. But the Lord-Mayor, who was of the opposite Party, giving him Encouragement, the Doctor printed it, with a Dedication to his Lordship, of a like Strain with the Discourse it self.

As soon as this Sermon became Publick, it made a great Noise. For both Parties had been long persuaded, beyond Hope of Conviction, that their Antagonists fully intended, the one to destroy the Church; the other to persecute the Dissenters, and to bring in the Pretender. And though, as was said above, the Controversie was at Bottom only what Set of Great Men should be in Place, (for under so excellent a Prince there could be no real Ground for any of those Fears and Apprehensions) yet Men were too much prejudiced to discern this obvious Truth; and contended for that which was a meer private Concern, as furiously as if All had been at Stake. So that the present Ministry, whose Aspersions it was to be called Enemies to the Church, having continued long in Power, and there being no Prospect of a Change, the opposite Party was filled with Panic Fears for an imaginary Danger of the Church, which they persuaded themselves was upon the Verge of being destroyed by those at the Helm. Thus

this Sermon was entirely in the Taste of all A.D. 1709. on that Side; who extolled and applauded the Preacher, as something more than a second *Cato*, who stood alone unsubdued, and dared to speak in Defence of his sacred Mother, the Church, while all others tamely yielded and acquiesced under its impending Ruine. The other Side were as highly inflamed against him. The furious Declamations he had made against the Dissenters, and the unguarded Warmth with which he pressed the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, gave him the Name among that Party, of a Popish Persecutor, an Enemy to the Revolution, and a Friend to the Pretender. And because he was applauded by the other Side, they supposed that he spoke plainly out what all the rest of their Adversaries thought as well as he, but were afraid, or ashamed, to profess so openly. So that the Dispositions of both Parties became fit Fuel for the Fire that broke out upon his Impeachment.

At the Court and in the Parliament, which were now on the same Side, the Reflections in this Sermon were much resented. It was looked on as a bold Attack upon them, which if neglected, would produce more of the same Kind. Besides this, the Leaders there having so long triumphed over their Rivals, both in the Senate and at Court, and baffled all Attempts, they thought scorn that one private Clergyman, scarce heard of before, should presume to offer them so general an Insult. It is said that Lawyers were consulted with, to know whether the Doctor could not be punished by the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, for the Offence given by his Sermon; who agreeing that he could not, it was resolved that he should be impeached by the House of Commons. It is reported also that this was done at the particular Instance of the Earl of *Godolphin*, whose usual Wisdom and Moderation so far forlook him, that on Account of an idle Reflection cast upon himself by the Epithet of *Volpone*, (more deserving the Neglect than Resentment of so great and wise a Man) he insisted on that Prosecution of him.

Accordingly *Dec. 13.* Complaint being made in the House of Commons of this Sermon, and of the Preface to another Sermon of Dr. *Sacheverell's*, preached at *Derby* the *August* before, he was ordered to attend the House the next Day; when he was committed by them to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. And the Day after he was impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors at the Bar of the House of Lords. After the Interruption occasioned by the *Christmas* Holidays, the Articles of Impeachment were drawn up. They were four in Number, importing in Substance, that Dr. *Sacheverell* did suggest and maintain, 1. That the necessary Means to bring about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable. 2. That the Toleration of Dissenters is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable. 3. That the Church of *England* was in Danger under the Queen's Administration. 4. That there were Persons of Characters

He is impeached by the House of Commons.



A.D.1709. Characters and Stations who endeavoured to overturn the Constitution; and that throughout the whole Management of Affairs there was a general Male-Administration. The Doctor in his Answer (for which he did not want good Assistance) denied the Charge, and artfully evaded the Particulars he was pressed with. The Commons Replication being carried up to the Lords, the Tryal was prepared for. The Lords proposed to have it at the Bar of their House; but at the Motion of the Commons, the Lords desired the Queen to give Orders for preparing Scaffolds in *Westminster-hall*.

The fierce Animosities raised by this Impeachment.

In the mean Time the publick Dissensions which were kindled by the Publication of the Sermon, increased every Day; till the Commons Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverell* blew them up into the fiercest Flames. Those who thought the Church in Danger, supposed that the Design against her was now to receive the finishing Blow by some terrible Punishment of one of her Ministers for standing up to defend her from imminent Destruction. The Solemnity with which this was to be done, by a Tryal in *Westminster-Hall* before the whole Legislature, confirmed their Fears; and they concluded that all that Pomp and Formality was used to deter all others from making the least Effort in Defence of the Church any more. This Effect of so splendid a Tryal was foreseen by the Doctor's Friends, which made it be proposed by them to the others, who not being aware of the Consequences, fell into the Snare. The Fury of this Party kindled that of the opposite Side; so that it is not to be conceived but by those who lived in the Time, the Fierceness of the Animosities by which the Nation in those Days was rent asunder. The Feuds spread themselves even into private Families with an inexpressible Rancour; Husbands, Wives, Parents, Children, Brothers, Sisters, fell into the bitterest, and sometimes irreconcilable Quarrels, only because they differed in Opinion about Dr. *Sacheverell*. For according to the wild Way of arguing used by Parties, it was laid down as an infallible Rule that those who were against Dr. *Sacheverell*, were for destroying the Church, and those who were his Friends were for bringing in the Pretender.

A.D.1710.

Dr. *Sacheverell's* Tryal.

On the twenty seventh of February the Tryal began; and continued till March 10. The Managers on the Part of the House of Commons were Sir *John Holland*, Comptroller of the Queen's Household; Mr. *Boyle*, Secretary of State; Mr. *Smith*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *James Montague*, Attorney-General; *Robert Eyre*, Esq; Solicitor-General; *Robert Walpole*, Esq; Treasurer of the Navy; Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, *Nicholas Lechmere*, Esq; Mr. *Dolben*, Sir *Thomas Parker*, Sir *Peter King*, Sir *John Holles*, the Lord *William Pawlet*, the Lord *Coningsby*, *Spencer Cowper*, Esq; *William Thompson*, Esq; Lieutenant-General *Stanbope*, Lieutenant-General *Mordaunt*, *Spencer Compton*, Esq; and Sir *David Dalrymple*. The Coun-

cil for Dr. *Sacheverell* were Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *Dodd*, Mr. *Phipps*, Mr. *Dee*, and Dr. *Henchman* a Civilian. Most of these Gentlemen have been since distinguished by higher Stations and Titles than they possessed at that Time. We refer to the printed Tryal those who are curious to know the Particulars of this curious Proceeding, which our proposed Brevity does not permit us to enlarge upon. Many excellent Things were said by the Managers to justify the Self-Defence used by our Country at the Revolution; and on the Reasonableness, Equity and Prudence of a Toleration for the Dissenters. The Council for the Doctor evaded the Charge against him with great Acuteness. He made one Speech for himself, which was of a very different Strain from his Sermon, being perhaps one of the most finished Pieces of Oratory that is to be found in any Language.

When the Managers had finished their Reply to the Defence made by Dr. *Sacheverell* and his Council, an unexpected Question was started by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who was the Doctor's Friend, that had like to have overturned all the Proceeding. That Lord proposed a Query to the Judges, whether in all Indictments or Informations for Crimes committed by Writing or Speaking, the particular Words, supposed to be Criminal, ought not to be expressly specified. This had not been done in the Course of this Prosecution; the Articles of Impeachment being grounded on the Scope and Intention of the whole Sermon, without quoting any particular Passages. When the Question was proposed to the Judges, they all agreed that it was absolutely necessary by the Law of *England*, that such Words should be particularly inserted. This caused a great Contestation among all the Prosecutors; but it chanced that one single Precedent of a Case of Dr. *Manwaring* in the Reign of King *Charles I.* was found, in which a Charge was laid against him by the Commons, for preaching slavish Doctrines, without expressing the very Words, upon which it was carried in the House of Lords, that such Specification of the very Words was not necessary. So that the Question being afterwards put, whether Dr. *Sacheverell* was Guilty or Not He is found Guilty; sixty nine Peers found him Guilty, guilty. and fifty two Not Guilty.

The Ferment, occasioned by the Impeachment, broke out with great Fury at the Beginning of this Tryal. When Dr. *Sacheverell* went to *Westminster-Hall*, he was attended with great Crowds who waited upon him to the Hall, and conducted him back with loud Huzzas and Acclamations. This was done the first Day. The second Day the Mob grew more boisterous; and not content with huzzaing the Doctor, obliged all that passed by to pull off their Hats to him; abusing those who complied slowly with their Sovereign Orders; and in their Return they broke the Windows of Mr. *Burges's* Meeting-house near *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*. But on the Evening of the third Day they became

The Mob rises, and pulls down Meeting Houses.



A.D. 1710. came so outrageous, that after having attended Dr. *Sacheverell* from his Tryal, as usual, they went to the Meeting-house they had insulted the Day before; and breaking it open, took out the Pulpit, Pews, Benches, and all that was loose and combustible, and carrying them into *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, made a great Bonfire with them. They also demolished and destroyed two or three other Meeting-Houses; and grew to such a Strength and Fury, that they talked of insulting the Houses of the Lords and others who were thought to be against Dr. *Sacheverell*; and even of attacking the Bank of *England*, as 'tis said. The Tumult was such, that it was found necessary to send the Queen's Guards to disperse them; which was not done without a few Cuts given to some of the forwardest. The next Day the Trained-Bands of *Westminster* were ordered out, which took in some of the Mutineers, and terrified the rest, so that the Publick Quiet was soon re-established. Three Persons were tryed for High-Treason, and levying War; one of which was found Guilty but pardoned; the Verdict found against the other was special, but never argued; the third was acquitted.

Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sentence.

These Tumults being a Sample of the great Ferment all over the Nation, seem to have influenced the House of Lords in determining the Penalty to be laid upon Dr. *Sacheverell*. The Sentence passed upon him was only, that he should be forbidden to preach for three Years, and that his two Sermons should be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman; a Judgment by no means answerable to the Dignity of the Persons concerned in the Accusation, or the Solemnity of the Tryal. But it was visible that any more severe Sentence would have caused so dreadful a Convulsion throughout the Kingdom, as must have been attended with very fatal Consequences.

The Sermons were accordingly burnt; and soon after there were burnt Collections made by Dr. *Sacheverell* of impious Passages in several Books lately published, which he had laid before the House of Lords to justify the Insinuations in his Sermon of the Danger of the Church.

A Bill for limiting Officers in the House of Commons.

While this Tryal was preparing for, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, and carried there by a great Majority, for limiting the Number of Officers, to sit in the House of Commons. What the Reason was for offering such a Bill at this Time is uncertain; but there seems to have been a Mystery in it. But whether the Leaders there had any Prospect of the Change that happened afterwards, and were willing to weaken the Hands of their Adversaries when they should come into Power; or whether they were desirous to recover some Credit with the Publick by offering so popular a Bill, can only be guessed at. It was as mysteriously opposed in the House of Lords, as it was brought into the House of Commons; some of both Parties speaking against it. And those who opposed

it were so numerous as to throw it out.

A.D. 1710.

After Dr. *Sacheverell's* Tryal was over, and Sentence was passed, there remaining nothing of Importance to be transacted in Parliament, the Queen came and prorogued them. And before they met again, a Proclamation was issued for dissolving them.

The Parliament dissolved.

*France* made new Overtures of Peace this Winter to the Allies, by the Intervention of Monsieur *Petkum*, Resident of the Duke of *Holstein*, who was a Neutral Prince. They were received after some Difficulty; but with the usual Caution, and Mistrust of the Sincerity of *France*. The King of *France* pretended to agree to all the Articles demanded by the Allies the last Year; and sent the Mareschal d'*Huxelles*, and the Abbot de *Polignac* to treat about some Methods for satisfying the Allies on the Affair of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; which he pretended to be willing to see restored to the House of *Austria*, but alledged that he could not effect it in the Manner demanded by the Allies.

A new Treaty of Peace set on foot.

The *French* Plenipotentiaries upon their Arrival in *Holland*, went to *Gertruydenburgh*, which was the Place appointed for their Residence, and has given Name to this Treaty. But when these Plenipotentiaries entered into Conference, they proposed nothing more than had been offered at first; which was that the King of *France* should make a separate Peace with the Allies, and engage himself not to assist his Grandson directly nor indirectly against them. This Proposal being rejected, they offered several Schemes of Partition; as first, that *Naples* and *Sicily* should be left to King *Philip*; afterwards the Kingdom of *Arragon*; then *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with the Places possessed by *Spain* on the Coasts of *Tuscany*; and lastly, *Sicily* and *Sardinia* alone.

In this Manner they prolonged the Negotiations from *March* till *June*, nothing being all the while concluded on. It seems as if *France* was resolved to hazard the utmost Extremities rather than abandon King *Philip*; and the Insincerity of that Court gives Reason to suspect that some secret Designs lay hid under these Schemes of Partition. The utmost that *France* could be brought to at this Treaty, was to offer to assist the Allies with a Sum of Money to expel King *Philip* from the *Spanish* Dominions if he refused the Partition of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. But the Restitution of all the *Spanish* Dominions was the reigning Notion among the Allies at that Time; besides which, they did not want Reason to suspect the Sincerity of the *French* King in these Offers, so that they rejected them; and not long after the *French* Plenipotentiaries returned home.

But without Success.

The Campaign in *Flanders* promised more at the Beginning of it, than it afterwards brought forth. The Confederate Army was very early in the Field; and, without any Opposition, entered the Lines which the *French* had cast up to stop their Progress. They then besieged *Douay*, which surrendered to them after a Siege of fifty three Days. When this Place was taken, a Design

The Campaign in *Flanders*.



A.D. 1710. sign was formed to besiege Arras. But the French General, the Mareschal de Villars, posted himself with so much Dexterity behind new Lines cast up near that Town, that the Confederate Generals found their Measures disappointed; it being impracticable either to besiege Arras, or come to a Battle with the Enemy. However, that they might not lose the Summer in Inactivity, they besieged and took the Towns of Bethune, Aire and St. Venant, the Surrender of which two last concluded the Campaign.

On the  
Rhine.

The Campaign on the Rhine was, as usual, inconsiderable; the Princes and States of Germany (a Body august and venerable in Appearance, but the worst compacted that can be imagined, and the least fit either for Offence or Defence) neglecting to send their several Quota's of Troops, under different Pretences. The Elector of Hanover was so tired with the perpetual Disappointments he had met with from these Neglects, that before the Campaign began, he laid down his Command.

In Piedmont.

In Piedmont the Duke of Savoy fell ill; which maimed the Operations of the Campaign on that Side. Count Thaurin, who commanded the Confederate Forces in his Room endeavoured to penetrate into Dauphiné; but the great Number of Forces kept there by France, which was very apprehensive this Year of an Invasion on that Side, and the prodigious Works cast up to oppose this Attempt, made all his Endeavours frustrate.

And in Spain.

In the Events of the War in Spain, the Caprice of Fortune was very remarkable; the two contending Parties overcoming, and being overcome, by turns. King Philip had the Advantage of coming first into the Field: King Charles being hindered by waiting for the Reinforcements he expected from Italy; which, by the Difficulties that always attend great Imbarkations, were slow in coming. However General Stanhope arrived at Barcelona with some Part of them, Time enough to give some Stop to the Enemy's Progress. King Charles took the Field in Person, and the two Armies drew so near that three hundred of King Philip's Men were killed and wounded by the Cannon on the other Side. Nevertheless no Engagement happened; King Charles, whose Troops were fewer in Number than those of his Rival, not daring to attack a superior Enemy; and being too advantageously posted to give the Enemy any Encouragement to become the Assailants. But King Philip sending out a Body of Forces, took the Castle of Calaf, which streightened the Confederates so in their Supplies of Provisions, that they were forced to retreat farther back into the Principality of Catalonia to be more commodiously subsisted. In this State they continued about a Month; waiting for the remaining Troops that were expected from Italy, and others from the Lampourdan on the Side of Roussillon.

A Descent  
made in Lan-  
guedoc.

In the mean Time, the Fleet sailed out from Barcelona, to make an Attempt on the

Coast of Languedoc; by which they hoped to A.D. 1710. revive the Insurrection in the Cevennes, which had been quieted for some Time. They came before the Port of Cette, and landed about four Thousand Men under Major-General Stanhope without Opposition. They took also the Town of Agde. But the Duke de Roquelaure Governor of Languedoc, and the Duke de Noailles from Roussillon, came with such Speed, and with so numerous Forces, that the Confederates were obliged to abandon their Enterprize, and take the Land-Forces again on board.

The Army in Catalonia being at last reinforced by the Troops they expected, came out to meet the Enemy. It was not long before they came up with them near Almenara; where the Enemy seeing themselves closely pursued, their Cavalry, which with a Brigade of Foot was in their Rear, made a Halt, and put themselves in Order to receive the Charge. At the same Time they sent to the rest of their Infantry, that were marching before, to face about, and come to their Assistance, which they did with all the Speed they could. But while these Foot were upon the March, the Confederate Horse came up with that of the Enemy, and attacked them so briskly, that they gave Way, and turned their Backs, and fled in so great Disorder, that the Horse and Foot were driven together and intermingled in the Flight; the Infantry throwing away their Arms to make the speedier Escape. The Fear that possessed those who had stood the Charge, communicated it self to those Troops who were advancing to sustain them; so that the whole French and Spanish Army was turned to Rout and Confusion; and had not the Darkness of the Night which came on apace (for it was seven in the Evening before the Fight began) prevented the Pursuit of the Advantage gained by the Allies, a complete Victory had been obtained. However a great Number of the Enemy were slain and wounded; and the Consternation spread every where by this ill Success of King Philip's Forces, had almost the same Effect.

The Spanish Army retired under the Cannon of Lerida, but the Confederates marching into Arragon, King Philip was obliged to decamp from thence to save Castile. But this Motion drew on a second Battle. For King Charles still pursued him, and overtook him near Saragossa.

Next Day the Fight began. The Enemy who expected to be attacked put themselves in Order. Their Left was covered by the Ebro, and their Right Wing of Horse was drawn up on the Brow of a steep Hill, with a Battery of eight Pieces of Cannon in Front. The Left of the Confederates engaged with the Spanish Right Wing first; from whence the Fight spread it self by Degrees through the Center along the whole Front of both Armies. The Ground was vigorously disputed on both Sides; the Enemy having the Odds both of Numbers and Situation. But at last in the Center and on

The Battle of  
Saragossa.



A.D. 1710. the Right Wing of the Confederates, the Scale of Victory turned on their Side; so that in two Hours Time, the Field was entirely won, with great Slaughter and Loss of the Enemy, who had eight or nine thousand Men killed or taken Prisoners. The broken Remains of their Army, being not in a Condition to make a Stand against the Allies, were obliged to abandon the Countrey to them, and retire into *Navarre*, to recruit themselves at a Distance from the Pursuers.

After this Action was over, which seemed to be decisive, a Council of War was called, to consider what was to be done afterwards. Some proposed to march directly into *Castile* to *Madrid*; others were for hastening to secure the Passes on the Frontiers of *France* to prevent King *Philip's* receiving Assistance from thence. The first of these Counsels was followed; which was the worse. The Army marched directly to *Madrid*, there being no Forces in the Way to oppose them; and King *Charles* made his publick Entry into that City.

But he continued there not long. King *Philip* received daily Reinforcements of Troops from *France*, through those Passes which ought to have been secured. The *Portuguese* who were sent for, and expected to join the Confederate Army, were so slow and remiss, that before they came, King *Philip* and the Duke of *Vendosme*, who had got together an Army of fourteen thousand Men, secured a Bridge, and posted themselves so as to hinder effectually the Conjunction of their Army with that of King *Charles*. Mean while the Army of King *Philip* increased so fast by Recruits arriving there every Day, that the Confederate Generals found it necessary to retire out of *Castile*, and hasten back to *Catalonia*. But this Retreat was like to be attended with great Difficulties for Want of Provisions, which were hard to be met with in sufficient Quantity; partly because the Countrey was their Enemy, and partly because of its native Poverty. This obliged the Army to march in three Columns at a Distance from each other; not being able to get sufficient Subsistence when in a Body. But this Separation was attended with a very fatal Disaster.

The Disaster  
of *Brihuega*.

The Enemy, who wanted no Intelligence, were soon informed of the Manner in which the Confederate Army marched, which gave them Hopes of cutting off one or other of those separate Bodies. The *English* under Major-General *Stanhope* were in the Rear. These being heavy laden with Baggage and Plunder, which last Article made them very odious to the People, moved so slowly, that they were overtaken by some of the Enemy's Parties of Horse, who were sent before the main Army to disturb and hinder their March. These Parties joining together made a Body of Horse, that surrounded the *English* Foot near a Village called *Orcho*, and would have cut them to Pieces, had not the Horse come timely to their Relief. But this Escape did not make them

at all more cautious. For though they might suppose that the Enemy was in pursuit of them, they went two Days after, into *Brihuega*, a defenceless Town with a ruinous Castle, where they proposed to stay two or three Days to bake Bread. But on the second Day at Noon, they saw the Enemy appear on a neighbouring Mountain. The Drum beat to Arms, and General *Stanhope* sent Word of the Danger he was in to Count *Staremburg*, who commanded the main Army, and was within four Leagues of him. But to make the Misfortune complete it was found that the Troops in *Brihuega* wanted a sufficient Quantity of Powder and Shot, which they had neglected to provide themselves with at the Time of their Separation from the main Body. This Neglect gave them up into their Enemies Hands; for they were otherwise able enough to have kept the Enemy at a Bay, till General *Staremburg* came to assist them. So that after a noble Defence, so long as their Ammunition lasted, they being surrounded on all Sides, and hotly pressed, were forced to surrender Prisoners of War, not above two or three Hours before General *Staremburg* was come up to their Relief. About eight thousand brave Men were by this Means delivered up to their Enemies, as defenceless as if they had been bound Hand and Foot.

It was next to a Miracle that the rest of the Army under General *Staremburg* was not cut off with them. For when the unfortunate News came to him of the Surrender of the *English* in *Brihuega*, he was too far engaged to avoid fighting, and too much inferior in Numbers to hope for Success. The next Day he saw the *Spanish* Army putting it self in Order near *Villa-Viciosa*, to attack him. His Troops stood the Shock bravely for some Time; but being overpowered by Numbers they gave Way on the Left, and took to Flight. But it happened that the Enemy in their Pursuit fell in with the Baggage of the Allies, and thinking every Thing was safe, fell to plundering. General *Staremburg* took the Opportunity, and with that Part of his Troops that remain'd unbroken, charged the Enemy's Foot who had not yet engaged, with that Success that the Fortune of War changed Sides, and the Enemies were routed in their Turn; and the Confederates followed the Chase till the Darkness put an End to it. This Victory being gained, General *Staremburg* pursued his March without Interruption to the Frontiers of *Aragon*.

But the Escape of his Troops from their imminent Danger was all the Advantage that attended this Victory. His Army was still so weak that he was obliged to march with all Expedition into *Catalonia*, and to leave the whole Kingdom of *Aragon* exposed to the Enemy. And thus by sudden and uncommon Turns of Fortune the Kingdom of *Spain* was lost and recovered in one Summer.

While these Things were done abroad, a total Change was made at home of the Queen's Ministry.



A.D. 1710. Queen's Ministers, which had very great Consequences, and from which Alteration we may very properly date a second Period of this Reign. The Causes of this great Change we shall endeavour to relate, as well as the imperfect Accounts that have been hitherto made publick will permit. The Duchess of *Marlborough*, who had long enjoyed the Queen's Graces without a Rival, had possessed them for some Time past, rather in Appearance than in Reality; by the usual Fate of Royal Friendships, which when come to the Height, soon tend to Decay; a mutual Satiety arising, when nothing more is left for the Prince to give, or for the Favourite to receive. Thus it came to pass that the long Intimacy between the Queen and the Duchess began to slacken and cool after the Duke had been carried up to that Pitch of overflowing Wealth and Greatness, whither the Favour both of the Queen and People concurred to raise him after the famous Battle of *Ramellies*. The Duchess began to find Inconvenience and Fatigue in her Attendance upon the Queen, and used to leave her for Months together; and the Satiety and Absence of the former Favourite prepared the Queen's Mind to receive a new one. The Duchess, who was too good a Courtier not to know the Disadvantage she might receive by being away, had left a Relation of hers, Mrs. *Abigail Hill*, to make her Court to the Queen during the Times of her Absence. Mrs. *Hill* had been preferred by her before to be Dresser and Chamber-Woman to the Queen; so that the Duchess looked on her as one who might serve her, without Danger of Rivalship. But Mrs. *Hill* had the good Fortune to make her self so acceptable to the Queen, that her Credit grew daily; till it first equalled, and at last overtopped that of the Duchess her self. As this Lady's Favour increased, Mr. *Harley*, the Secretary of State, applied himself to her with great Dexterity; and got so far into an Intimacy with her, as gave him an Opportunity to oblige her in a very extraordinary Affair. It is said, that Mrs. *Hill* fell in Love with one Mr. *Masbam*, a very handsome young Gentleman, in the Service of Prince *George*; and having intrusted Mr. *Harley* with the secret of her Passion, he found Means to engage the Gentleman in Courtship to her; and they were married. This made a firm Conjunction of Interests between this Lady and Mr. *Harley*, who never wanted her Credit with the Queen. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and Earl of *Godolphin* were jealous of his Interest there; and endeavoured to remove him, but in vain, till the Affair of *Gregg's* Correspondence gave them a Pretence to insist upon it with so much Warmth, that the Queen was forced to comply.

Mr. *Harley*, though out of Place, yet by Mrs. *Masbam's* Interest, kept up his Favour with the Queen; to whose Presence and Conversation he was still admitted. In the mean Time it is said that the Duke and Duchess of *Marlborough* were much wanting

in Respect and Duty to their Royal Mistress, A.D. 1710. being puffed up and made giddy by a long and uninterrupted Enjoyment of Princely and Popular Favour. The Queen was of a mild Temper, but stately; and jealous of the Dignity of her Birth and Station to a great Degree; so that she laid those Instances of Disrespect much to Heart. And it is supposed that Mr. *Harley* found Means to insinuate into her the Necessity of recovering her Royal Authority by changing the Ministry; and the Convenience of doing it at this Time, when the Impeachment of Doctor *Sacheverell* had made their Party so very unpopular.

The first Remove made was of the Duke of *Kent*, the Lord Chamberlain; which was followed by that of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was Secretary of State. These were universally looked on, both at home and in Foreign Countries, as Forerunners of greater Changes; and caused great Alarms among the falling Ministers, and their Partizans. These last were now as much alarmed (and with just as much Reason) for the Security of the Protestant Succession, as the other Side had been upon Doctor *Sacheverell's* Impeachment for the Safety of the Church. With these Apprehensions they began to sell out their Shares in the Publick Funds; which began to sink in their Value thereupon. For though the two Parties were pretty equally divided among all Ranks and Conditions in the Nation, it was however observed, that those whose Wealth consisted in Land, were more generally inclined to that Party which was called the Tories; and those whose Fortunes lay chiefly in Money, the Funds and Commerce, were mostly of that Side who called themselves Whigs. The Governors and two Directors of the Bank of *England*, who were of this last Party, soon after the Removal of the Earl of *Sunderland* went to the Queen, and were bold to offer their Reasons against the Change in the Ministry. The Queen answered them with a great deal of Moderation, that for some particular Reasons she had thought fit to remove the Earl of *Sunderland*; that she had not yet determined to make any other Changes, but that whenever she did, she would take Care they should not injure Publick Credit. But this Representation of theirs was not so favourably received by others, who censured it as an Act of the highest Presumption, and an unexampled Insult upon the Throne.

Our Allies abroad also were under great Alarms, or at least were persuaded to appear so. The *Dutch* and *Imperial* Ministers, by Order of their Masters, applied to the Queen to represent to her, that the Change of her Ministry might prove pernicious to the Common Cause. The Queen answered the *Imperial* Minister, That whatever Changes she might make, it was not her Intention to remove the Duke of *Marlborough*; and that she desired that Prince *Eugene*, and the other *Imperial* Generals, might act in Concert with him as before. It is not certainly known what Answer she gave to the *Dutch*

Memo-



A.D. 1710. Memorial. But this Interposition of the Allies was very much reflected on, as an undue Meddling with what was not their Concern. And it was said, that if it could be supposed that the Ministers promoted these two great Insults upon their Sovereign, it was alone a more than sufficient Reason for disgracing them. Some excused these Offices of the Allies by the Example of the Queen, who some Time before had interceded in the Behalf of the Emperor's Protestant Subjects in *Silesia* and *Hungary*; and of the Parliament, who moved the Queen to press the Emperor to send Prince *Eugene* to command in *Spain*. As if a Prince, whose Family was saved from Ruine in his own Countrey, and assisted in another, by *British* Arms and Wealth, ought to presume as far with his Preserver and Benefactor, as his great Deliverer and Supporter might do with Him.

The Changes went on, and about a Month after the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed, and the Treasury put into Commission; in which Mr. *Harley* was named. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was made President of the Council, in the Room of the Lord *Somers*; the Lord *Cowper* resigned the Great Seal, which was given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*: And, to be brief, a total Alteration was made in all Offices of Trust and Profit, which were filled by Men of new Principles. Only the Duke of *Marlborough's* great Services and Reputation made it unsafe to attempt his Remove as yet. Besides this, the Parliament being dissolved, the Heats raised by the Impeachment of Doctor *Sacheverell*, turned the popular Stream so much against the falling Party, that the Elections for Members were as much to their Disadvantage, as the Changes at Court.

The Screw-Plot.

The seventh of *November* this Year was appointed for a Thanksgiving; and a very idle Report was raised soon after about a Plot, which took its Rise from an Advertisement in the *London Gazette*, relating to some Iron Pins that were supposed to be follen from the great Timbers upon the West Roof of *St. Paul's Cathedral*; which promised a Pardon, and Reward for the Discovery of the Persons concerned. It was found afterwards that these Iron Pins were left out by the Workmen, who thought the Roof strong enough without them. But this Advertisement coming out a Day or two after the Day of Publick Thanksgiving, when there was some Thoughts that the Queen might come to the Cathedral, it raised a Report among some weak and hot People, that the discontented Party had laid a Plot for killing the Queen and Court at that Solemnity, by letting fall the Roof of the Church upon them. This visionary Plot was afterwards known by the Name of the *Screw-Plot*.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament met soon after, being composed chiefly of Persons well affected towards the late Changes at Court. The Commons chose *William Bromley*, Esq; their Speaker, who is mentioned above to have brought in the Bill to prevent Occasional

Conformity. After the usual Forms were over, the Commons went upon the Supply, and passed the Land-Tax Bill so early, that it was ready for the Royal Assent before *Christmas*. A.D. 1710.  
Their Proceedings.

The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived about this Time from *Holland*. Though it was well enough known that his Intimacies lay with the discharged Ministry who were become exceedingly unpopular; yet the Fame of his great Actions had instilled such a Veneration for him in the Minds of the People, that he was received at his Return with as great Acclamations as ever. Nevertheless he received not the usual Compliments of Thanks from the Houses, being looked on as one out of Favour, by the Court-Party which prevailed in both. But he was outwardly well received by the Queen and the new Ministers, with whom he dissembled his Discontents; and soon after made a voluntary Resignation of all his Duchesses Places, to save the Court the Trouble of demanding them.

When the Parliament met after the *Christmas* Adjournment, the Lords enquired into the War in *Spain*. They passed a Censure upon the Earl of *Galway's* Conduct there, at the Time of the Battle of *Almanza*; and upon the Orders sent him by the Ministers. And the Stream of that House being turned, the Earl of *Peterborough*, whose Conduct was entirely approved, received at last the Honour of their Thanks. The Commons fell upon some Abuses in the victualing the Navy, and brought in a Bill to repeal the Act for general Naturalization, which was rejected by the Lords; as was also a Bill to limit the Number of Officers in the House of Commons. A Bill passed both Houses, which enacted, That no Persons should be chosen Knights of the Shire who had not six hundred Pound *per Annum* Freehold in Land; or Burgesses under three hundred Pound *per Annum*. A Bill was also passed for raising Money by Way of Lottery; which met with an extraordinary Success. These Bills received the Royal Assent soon after. A.D. 1711.

The Convocation met as usual, on the Day the Parliament began to sit; and Doctor *Atterbury* (since Bishop of *Rocheſter*) was chosen Prolocutor. The old Disputes revived, and the two Houses could not agree upon an Address, which occasioned a Prorogation to still that Quarrel. But a License being sent from the Queen at their next Meeting to empower them to act, this Difference was compromised, and the Convocation addressed the Queen, and were graciously received. The Queen by a Letter recommended to them some Considerations relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs; but nothing was done upon it. The Convocation meets.

The Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in for the building of fifty new Churches in and about *London*; the Money for which was to be raised by a Tax on Coals for three Years. They afterwards went upon the Publick Debts; upon which a Scheme



A.D. 1711. was formed to incorporate those Creditors of the Publick, for whose Satisfaction no Provision was made by Parliament, into a Company who should have the sole Privilege of trading into the *South-Seas*; which was a Branch of Commerce not hitherto cultivated, and which promised a plentiful Return. This Scheme produced what is now the *South-Sea Company*.

Mr. Harley  
stabbed by  
Guiscard.

An Accident happened soon after to Mr. Harley, now looked on as Prime Minister, of a very extraordinary Nature, which much increased his Reputation and Character. There was a *French Gentleman* called the Marquis de Guiscard, who upon some Disgust had left *France*, and offered himself to the Service of the Allies. He was put on Board the Fleet designed for the Descent upon *France* in 1706. and was afterwards made a Colonel. But his Regiment being cut off at the Battle of *Almanza*, he was obliged to apply for a Pension, on which he subsisted. In the mean Time, upon some Discontent, he entered into a Correspondence with *France*. This being discovered, he was apprehended, and brought before a Committee of Council at the Cockpit near *Whitehall*. While he was waiting with the Messengers who secured him, he took a devilish Resolution to murder some or other of the Committee, if he should find himself closely pressed; and with this Intent hid a Penknife, which he saw in the Room where he was, in his Sleeve. For what Reason he did this, or who was principally aimed at, is not very certain. The Committee being assembled, Guiscard was called for, and brought in. There were present, the Lord Keeper Harcourt, the Earl of Rochester, the Dukes of Ormond, Newcastle and Buckingham, the Earl Powlet, Mr. Harley, and the three Secretaries of State; the Duke of Queensberry, the Lord Dartmouth, and Mr. Saint-John; who sat round a Table, to one End of which Guiscard was brought to be examined. After a Question or two was asked him, which he denied, his Letters which he had written were laid before him. When he found himself pressed by such convincing Evidence, he resolved to put his murderous Design in Execution; and desired to speak with Mr. St. John aside; to whom he had, it seems, a particular Enmity. But Mr. St. John telling him if he had any Thing to say, he must speak it before the whole Committee; Guiscard thus disappointed, burst out into an open Fury, and taking the Penknife out of his Sleeve, stabbed Mr. Harley, who sat next him, into the Breast. The Blow would certainly have proved mortal, had not Providence so directed it, that the Penknife struck against one of his Ribs, by which it broke within half an Inch of the Handle. But Guiscard's Rage making him insensible of this, he redoubled his Blow with the broken Blade, and struck Mr. Harley a second Time a little above the first Wound; upon which Mr. Harley fell back in his Chair.

What happened next cannot be distinctly

related; the Surprize and Confusion of that A.D. 1711. noble Assembly was too great to permit them to observe or remember for some Time. Some drew their Swords, some rung the Bell for the Messengers, others sheltered themselves behind the Tables, or behind those of a more vigorous Age. Mr. St. John, whose Sword was one of the first out, wounded Guiscard in several Places; and some others offering the like, he had been killed, had not the Earl Powlet cried out to save him alive. The Messengers rushed in, and laid hold on him; but Rage increasing his Strength, which was naturally very great, for he was very tall and strong built, he struggled with them a long Time, notwithstanding his Wounds, before he could be secured and bound. It is said as he lay upon the Ground, he cried out to the Duke of Ormond, desiring him to dispatch him; which the Duke answered with a noble Scorn.

Mr. Harley is said to have behaved himself upon this Occasion with the Courage and unconcern of a truly great Man. As soon as he had recovered the sharp Pain of so fierce a Blow, he got up, and walked about; holding his Handkerchief to the Wound to keep it from the Air. The Surgeon being sent for, and unbuttoning his Coat and Waistcoat to come to the Wound, the Piece of the Blade which was broken off dropped out, which he put in his Pocket, saying, He thought he had the best Title to it. He underwent all the necessary and painful Operations of Probing and Dressing usual upon those Occasions, without any Discomposure; and only asked, whether the Wound was mortal, because in that Case, he had some Family Affairs to settle. But the Wound not having reached any Vital Parts, he recovered of it in less than two Months.

This Attempt against Mr. Harley produced an Act to make it Felony to attempt on the Life of a Privy-Counsellor. Upon his Recovery he was complimented by the Speaker of the House of Commons; and not long after made Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer.

Soon after this, the Commons presented to the Queen a Representation of several Mismanagements of the Publick Treasure under the late Ministry. But this Representation was afterwards answered by some of their Friends. This Representation was the last Affair of Consequence done till the Session was ended by a Prorogation.

The Parliament prorogued.

At the latter End of April the Armies in *Flanders* began to move. The Emperor *Joseph* dying some Time before, the *French* proposed to make an Irruption into *Germany* this Summer; thinking that the Want of their Head would put that great Body into Confusion. To this End the Marechal de Villars, who commanded in *Flanders*, had Orders to inclose himself in such Lines as should enable him to spare some of his Troops for the Enterprize on *Germany*. But Prince Eugene, who was sent to the Upper

The Campaigns abroad.



A.D. 1711. *Rhine* to command the Army there, defeated that Enterprize. In the mean Time the Duke of *Marlborough* finding his Progress stopped, and his Campaign rendered unactive by the *French* Precautions, made several Attempts to force the Lines, but in vain. But at Length his consummate Experience in the Art of War furnished him with a Stratagem, by Means of which he got within them without the Loss of one Man. Afterwards he besieged *Bouchain*, which surrendered in less than a Month. He would probably have now made greater Progresses; but the *French* Lines, though they could not keep him out, had had this Effect, to make him waste most of the Summer. So that by that Time *Bouchain* was taken, the Season was so far advanced, that it was necessary to separate the Army.

On the Side of *Savoy* the *French* made frustrate the Designs of the Confederates by standing on the Defensive, and securing themselves in a strongly fortified Camp. So that the Duke of *Savoy*, who had brought his Army to the Banks of the *Rhône*, was unable to proceed; and having spent the Summer in vain, was forced to repass the Mountains into *Piedmont*.

The Campaigns in *Catalonia* and *Portugal* were as inconsiderable. The only Action of Moment performed in *Catalonia*, was the raising the Siege of the Castle of *Cardona*, which being attacked by the *Spaniards*, was relieved by Count *Staremberg*, with great Loss of the Enemy. This Summer King *Charles* left *Catalonia*, to receive the Imperial Crown of *Germany*, he being unanimously elected Emperor. And this great Alteration of his Fortune made Way for another in the Measures of *Great-Britain*, which appeared soon after. In *Portugal* a small Irruption was at first made into *Spain*; but the *Spaniards* making another on their Side, the *Portuguese* Troops were recalled to defend their own Frontiers.

An Attempt upon the *French* Settlements in *America*.

But a very important Undertaking was entered on this Summer in *America*. It had been made a Complaint of the late Ministry, that they had neglected the Use of our Maritime Power, which seems so peculiarly our natural Strength; and it was suggested that this was done for the Sake of the General at Land, that the Publick Treasure might be employed to advance his Glory. Two great Points were principally our Interest to look after that Way; First, the seizing some Places in the *Spanish West-Indies*; the second, the regaining the *Newfoundland* Fishery, which the *French* had taken from us. This Error of the last Ministry the present proposed to amend; and concerted a Scheme for driving the *French* from their Settlements in *Canada* and *Newfoundland*. Great Preparations were made to this End; and the Secret was so well kept, that no Precautions were taken against it.

A Fleet fails for *Quebec*.

Towards the End of *April*, the Fleet under Sir *Hovenden Walker*, with Land-Forces on Board, set sail from *Portsmouth*; whence they safely arrived at *Boston* in *New-England*,

after a Passage of seven Weeks. They continued there above a Month, waiting for Supplies and Reinforcements which they expected from that Plantation, and to refresh the Soldiers. After this they set Sail for *Canada*, and got to the Mouth of the River of *St. Lawrence*, on the Banks of which stands *Quebec*, the head Settlement of the *French* in *North-America*, with which it was proposed to begin. But now they began to find such Obstacles as at last frustrated their Design. The River of *St. Lawrence* is one of the greatest Rivers in the World, but of so dangerous a Navigation from the very Mouth of it, that it is not to be attempted without very skilful and experienced Pilots. But the River being entirely in the Hands of the *French*, there were none such to be had in *New-England*. Some few Persons were taken aboard by Force, who were thought capable; but these professed before-hand their Ignorance and want of Skill. The Fleet however set Sail in Hopes of overcoming the Difficulties by Diligence and Care, or of finding them less than the Report. But before they could reach the Gulf of *St. Laurence*, into which the River empties it self, they were informed by the Master of a *French* Vessel which they took, that the Dangers were even greater than they were represented. That the Navigation of the River was so dreadful, that when Ships went to *Quebec* from *France*, they were obliged to give out that they were bound to another Place, otherwise they could not get their Complements of Seamen; and that of nine Ships that came down the River the Year before, eight were lost. This was very discouraging; for the Town of *Quebec*, to which they were bound, stood near four hundred Miles up this dangerous Stream. However it was resolved to make an Essay; and the Fleet continued its Course, and entered the River's Mouth. They might have still succeeded, had the Weather favoured them. But the second Day after they entered it, a Calm of several Hours was followed by an extreme thick Fog, accompanied with a hard easterly Wind. The Fleet was in the utmost Peril, being exposed to a Storm in a dangerous and unknown River, where no Anchorage could be had; nor could they, by Reason of the Fog, see which Way to steer to avoid the Danger, nor whither the Stream would bear them if they committed themselves to it. In this Distress it was resolved to bring to, hoping to be carried along by the Current in the Mid-Channel. But the Motion of the Stream was so irregular, that in two Hours they found themselves driven to the Northern Shore amongst Rocks and Islands, where the whole Fleet was near being lost. But at length, by the Force of extreme Toil and Skill, the Men of War got clear of that perillous Coast; but eight of the Transports were cast away, with eight hundred Men, Soldiers and Mariners, on Board. This Disaster being over, the Fleet, after waiting two or three Days to take in the Men who had



A.D. 1711. had escaped on Shore from the wrecked Vessels, sailed out of the River; and finding the Season of the Year so far advanced, that the Enterprize could not be safely pursued, they made the best of their Way home. The Disappointment received some Aggravation by the Loss of the Admiral's Ship the *Edgar*, which soon after her Arrival at *Portsmouth*, was blown up by some unknown Accident with four hundred Seamen, and thirty of the Inhabitants of *Portsmouth* on Board, these last being making merry with some of their Friends there.

Which returns without Effect.

Negotiations of Peace begun.

This Year were begun the Negotiations of Peace which brought on the Treaty at *Utrecht*. In the Middle of *April*, Propositions of Peace were sent over from *France* to the Ministers here. Whether this were done by Encouragement from hence, or only because the *French* Court thought it probable that new Counsellors were likely to follow new Measures, is uncertain. These Proposals were less advantageous than *France* had offered hitherto. Nevertheless they were so far accepted, as to be communicated to the States of *Holland*; who returned Answer, That they thought them too dark, and too generally expressed to found a Treaty on, unless they received some farther Explanation.

But the Ministers here were of another Opinion; and in no long Time sent *Matthew Prior*, Esq; a Gentleman whose Poetical Works have made him sufficiently known, to carry on the Treaty in *France*. Besides the obvious and general Evils of War, two particular Causes seem to have created in them this extraordinary Fondness for Peace. The first, the Proposal above-mentioned for forming a *South-Sea* Company, for executing which a Peace was necessary; and the second, the Necessity a War would lay upon them of employing the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was linked to a different Interest. Mr. *Prior*, together with his Instructions, received Orders to return immediately, if the *French* started any Difficulties about what he demanded; but the *French* were too dextrous Negotiators to comply with his Demands in an Instant; and so put off treating with him, till he was obliged to return. But he came back, accompanied with Monsieur *Mefnager*, a *French* Gentleman, who was to carry on the Treaty in *England*.

This was done without the Knowledge of any of the Confederates. But it happened that Mr. *Prior* in his Return, was stopped at *Deal* by some Custom-House Officers; which obliged him to discover his Name, which he had before disguised, and to continue at that Place till he was released by Orders from above. Thus the Matter took Air, and being made known to Count *Galles*, the Imperial Minister here, he went to expostulate with Mr. *St. John* about it; who made him Answer, that nothing should be done contrary to the Queen's Engagements with her Allies.

Monsieur *Mefnager* at his Arrival in *Lon-*

*don*, entered into Conferences with several A.D. 1711. of the Ministers; and at length the special Preliminaries between *Great-Britain* and *France* were agreed on, and signed by the two Secretaries of State on the Part of *Great-Britain*, and Monsieur *Mefnager* on the Part of *France*. A Sett of general Preliminaries was also left here, signed by Monsieur *Mefnager*, to be made Use upon Occasion; after which he returned to *France*. And from this Time a perfectly good Correspondence was established between the Courts of *St. James's* and *Versailles*. The Reasons that engaged the Ministers to enter into such a sudden Confidence with an old Enemy, whose Dexterity in Negotiations, and Unfaithfulness to Agreements, administered such abundant Cause of perpetual Jealousie and Caution, rather than of Intimacy and Trust, are too mysterious to be known, and too uncertain to be guessed at. The most important Matter of the General Preliminaries was, that *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to remain with King *Philip*; the Difference of the other Articles from what was formerly insisted on being not so considerable.

Soon after the Departure of M. *Mefnager* the preliminary Articles he left behind him were made publick. They were received with an universal Dislike. For both Parties, however divided in other Things, agreed in this, to restore *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Austria*; it being universally supposed that the *Spanish* Councils would otherwise be so influenced by those of *France*, that the Danger of *Europe* would be the same, as if those Crowns were placed on one Head. So that the Friends of the Ministry were out of Countenance to see so important an Article as this was reckoned, so tamely and entirely given up; and their Enemies were furnished with abundant Matter of Exclamation against them. It was happy for the Ministers that the Party-Feuds had been so outrageous just before. For their Scheme was so generally disapproved, that they had certainly been given up to their Enemies, had not those of their Party been moved to defend them, rather because they would not yield to the opposite Side, and confess themselves mistaken, than because they were satisfied with their Conduct. For in those Days it was thought impossible that a Prince so much indebted to a Nation as *Charles III.* of *Spain* had been to ours, should ever forget those high Obligations, or reward them with Affronts and Injuries; and to have suggested that it could ever come to pass that those two Competitors for *Spain* should enter into an Alliance to the Prejudice of *Great-Britain*, so strict that neither Gratitude nor Interest could for several Years dissolve it, would have been looked on as downright Frenzy.

The Preliminaries disliked.

Whether the present Ministry foresaw that those strange Things were not so impossible as Men then conceived, or whether the Goodness of God, whose Strength is made perfect in humane Weakness, directed either the Oversights or private Views and Self-Ends of those great Men to his own wife and



A.D. 1711. and gracious Purposes, is what we want Light to determine with Certainty. But be that as it will, the Ministry went on, notwithstanding their Discouragements, and in some Time, by Pamphlets published at proper Seasons (the modern Way of addressing the People) they brought their own Party by Degrees to be fully satisfied with their Measures.

*Utrecht appointed for the Place of Treaty.*

The Parliament meets.

Their Proceedings.

In the mean Time the General Preliminaries being communicated to the Allies, the Emperor who was always stirring up others, but slack in his own Performances, was for entirely rejecting them. The States-General were slow in their Resolutions; and sent over *Monf. Buys*, as Envoy Extraordinary upon this Occasion. The Conferences he held with the Ministers were kept secret; but the Result of them was, that the States consented to a Congress. This Consent being gained, the City of *Utrecht* was appointed for the Place of Meeting; and the Time of beginning the Conferences there was fixed to the first Day of the following Year. The Bishop of *Bristol*, who was also Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, late Minister at *Berlin* and in *Holland*, were appointed Plenipotentiaries on the Part of *Great-Britain*.

The Parliament met late this Year; its Meeting being put off by several Prorogations, in Expectation of the Turn Affairs would take in so critical a Time. The Articles of the Peace being, as was said, generally disliked, there arose foul Weather about them in the House of Lords. When the House was moved for an Address of Thanks for the Queen's Speech, the Earl of *Nottingham* stood up, and objected against the Preliminary Articles of Peace as unsafe and dishonourable, and moved that a Clause might be inserted in the Address, signifying that it was the humble Opinion and Advice of the House, that no Peace could be safe or honourable, by which *Spain* and the *West-Indies* should be left to the House of *Bourbon*. This produced a warm Debate. On the one Side were urged, the express Engagements our Nation was under to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* for the House of *Austria*; and the dangerous Greatness of the House of *Bourbon*. On the other Side, the vast Burthen and Expence of the War, to which the Negligence of the House of *Austria* it self did not a little contribute, was insisted on. The End of the Debate was, that the Clause was carried, and inserted in the Address of Thanks. The Queen gave it an evasive Answer, saying, that she should be sorry any Persons could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*.

The House of Commons were more complaisant; for a Clause being offered to be added to the Address of Thanks, of the same Nature with the abovementioned, it was rejected by a great Majority. And an Address expressing a full Satisfaction with the Peace the Queen had in View, was pre-

sented, and graciously received.

It happened soon after, that the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, which had been so violently thrust upon the Lords by the Commons, and so pertinaciously rejected, was now, by an odd Reverse of Things, set on foot, and carried smoothly in that Assembly that had so warmly opposed it before. The Reason of this is said to be, that the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been a great Stickler for it, became discontented with the Proceedings of the present Rulers, and fell in with the opposite Party. These last received him with great Welcome, and agreed to the previous Stipulation he made with them, that they should assist him in carrying this his Favourite Bill. Accordingly this Bill was proposed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Motion seconded by many of its former Opposers. The Title however, to avoid Scandal, was changed, and some other Things added. Thus both Sides being of a Mind, it went easily through the Lords House; and the Commons being well disposed to it, it was confirmed there.

The Queen had by Patent made the Duke of *Hamilton*, a Peer of *Scotland*, a Duke in *England*, by the Title of Duke of *Brandon*. But this was opposed by several of the Lords, and the Question coming before the House, it was resolved, by a Majority of five Voices, that *Scotch* Peers made Peers of *Great-Britain* since the Union, have no Right to sit in the House as such.

Not long after this, the Duke of *Marlborough* was disgraced at Court, being turned out of all his Places. He had been continued in them hitherto, partly because it was unsafe to remove him, his great Character being equally acknowledged and respected by both Parties, and partly in hopes of bringing him into the present Measures. But he continued inflexible as to the latter, and the Popularity of the present Ministers among their own Party, prevailed by Degrees over that of the Duke, and Means were found, by many mean and ridiculous Rumours and Stories, to sink his Character with all those of that Side; so that the Disgrace of this great Man, who had been the Admiration of our Countrey, and of all *Europe*, since the Beginning of this Reign, passed over like an ordinary Occurrence. The Duke of *Ormond* was made Captain-General of all the Queen's Forces in his Room.

The Ministers had received a great Mortification by the late Address of the House of Lords about the Peace; and they now met with another. The usual Adjournment of Parliament at *Christmas* drew nigh. At the Conclusion of the Day when that Adjournment was to be made, the Business of the House being over, the Lord Treasurer and other Lords went out, thinking nothing was to be done farther, except the Formality of Adjourning. But the other Side took the Opportunity, and made a Motion, which was carried, for addressing the Queen to give Orders to her Plenipotentiaries to act in Concert with the Allies, and to procure a general

A.D. 1711.

The Duke of Marlborough disgraced.



A.D. 1711. general Guaranty of the Terms of Peace. And the discontented Party finding their Superiority in that House, resolved to push on their Advantage; and to that End, caused the Adjournment to go no farther than the second of January.

Twelve new Peers created. This new Address, and the Fear of farther Attempts at the next Meeting, caused great Alarms among the Ministry. They found their Measures were broken if they were thus continually thwarted by one of the Houses of Parliament. In this Perplexity no other Expedient either would or could be taken but the sudden Creation of twelve new Voices to be ready against the Meeting of the House. To this End two Peers eldest Sons were called up by Writ; and ten Gentlemen, but of prime Rank and Estates, were made Lords. All this was done in a few Days. So that at the Meeting of the

A.D. 1712. House of Lords these new Peers were introduced. An Experiment was then made to try the Strength of both Sides, by a Motion by the Courtiers for a farther Adjournment till the 14<sup>th</sup>, to which the Commons were adjourned, which was carried in the Affirmative. And thus the Attempts of the discontented Lords were frustrated; and their Measures broken. But this unusual Step raised great Clamours without Doors among that Party; and occasioned a Murmuring and Uneasiness among all serious Patriots; for the Thing was bad, and the Example worse.

Prince Eugene comes into England. The Court of Vienna, alarmed at the Measures taken by Great-Britain, resolved to send Prince Eugene into England, to look after their Interests. They could not have sent a Messenger more welcome or more honoured. He was received with a Profusion of Respects by Persons of all Parties and Ranks; suitable to the Glory and Renown his immortal Actions had purchased. But he was not able to change the Counsels entered into by the Ministry; for which the Remissness and Negligence of the Court from which he was sent, helped them to a very weighty and reasonable Excuse. He brought an Offer from the Emperor to make up his Troops in Spain to thirty Thousand Men, and to take a fourth Part of the Expence upon himself. This was communicated by the Queen to the House of Commons; but so much had been promised before, and so little performed, by the German Court, that no Notice was taken of it. He continued here about two Months; during which both Parties seemed to contend with Emulation to shew their high Esteem and Respect for his particular Person; and the Prudence of his Behaviour towards both in so critical a State of Things was such as became so great and wise a Man. So that though it usually happens that eminent Persons are most revered at a Distance, the Prince, by a rare Conduct, preserved his Character in its full Lustre at a nearer View.

Proceedings of Parliament. The Parliament met according to the Adjournment. The Commons passed a Censure upon Robert Walpole, Esq; he being ac-

cused of taking Money on two Contracts for A.D. 1712. Forage for the Queen's Troops; and he was committed to the Tower. The Duke of Marlborough being out of Favour at Court, was attacked in the House of Commons. A Charge was brought in against him for having taken Money of the Contractors for Bread and Bread Waggon for the Army; and for deducting two and a half per Cent. out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops in Flanders in the Service of the Queen; and it was voted, that the taking those Sums was unwarrantable and illegal. The Duke on his Part did not deny the Receipt of this Money; but alledged that it was appropriated by him to the Purchase of Intelligence, which had helped him to many signal Advantages over the Enemy. And it is certain, that no General was ever better served with those important Advertisements than the Duke of Marlborough.

The Business and Employment of the House of Commons was to justify the Measures of the present Ministry, by laying open the Faults of their Predecessors. To this End they examined the State of the War, and voted that the States-General, and the other Allies, had been very deficient in their Quota's of Men and Money towards the Support of the same. They next called for the Treaty called the Barrier-Treaty, concluded between Great-Britain and Holland after breaking off the Conferences at the Hague. In this Treaty they resolved that there were several Articles dishonourable and pernicious to the Queen and Kingdom. The States-General, who apprehended this Censure when the Commons entered upon that Treaty, wrote a Letter to the Queen to offer to rectify what might be thought amiss therein. But this either came too late, or was not regarded. The Commons also sent up a Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in their House, but it was thrown out by the Peers.

In the mean Time, the Ministers of the several Parties concerned in the War assembling at Utrecht at the Time appointed, the Conferences of Peace were entered on. They continued till the Campaign began in May with very little Effect; the Allies being in an ill Humour, and the French tricking and insolent, on Account of the Measures lately taken by Great-Britain.

The Campaign in Flanders this Year had a different Aspect from any of the foregoing. The Duke of Ormond, who succeeded the Duke of Marlborough in the Command, met with Prince Eugene at Tournay; from whence they went together to the Army. But he soon received an Order from London, not to enter upon any Enterprize whether of a Battle or a Siege, till he received farther Directions. What was the Reason of this mysterious Order is hard to guess exactly. The fierce Enemies of the Ministers imputed it to a treacherous Design against the common Cause, or at least to their unwary Engagements with the old Enemy, by whom they were over-reached, and now obliged to



A.D. 1712. make their Court to. The Ministers on their Part alledged, that the Forwardness of some of the Allies in the Negotiations of Peace, who desired to prolong the War at the Expence of *Great-Britain*, occasioned those Orders. For it was said, that all Things of Importance being agreed on by *France*, even good Success could only serve to encourage those ill Humours; whereas any Misfortune might give the *French* a Pretext to unravel all that had been done. There seems to have been a good deal of Truth and Reason both in the Accusation and Defence.

It came to pass soon after that the *French* Army being viewed, was found posted in such a Manner, as made an Attack very safe and practicable. Whether this happened by Chance, or whether the *French*, knowing the Duke of *Ormond's* Instructions, hoped to inflame the Eagerness of the other Commanders for a Battle, that upon their Disappointment, the Feuds among the Allies might be the fiercer, every one may judge as he pleases. Upon this Report, Prince *Eugene* and the States-Deputies came to the Duke of *Ormond*, and pressed him to fall upon the *French* Army in that exposed Situation. This brought the Matter to a Crisis; the Duke, who was directed to disguise his Orders as long as possible, putting off the Proposal with the best Excuses he had, which were but trifling. This Way of Proceeding irritated the others; who being weary of opposing strong Reasons to frivolous Put-offs, at last left him; protesting against all the Mischiefs that might arise from this Conduct.

At the same Time this happened in *Flanders*, the Bishop of *Bristol* at *Utrecht* made a Declaration to the States, that the Queen having found herself ill treated by them, thought herself at Liberty to take separate Measures in order to make a Peace for her own Conveniency.

The News of these Transactions coming over, gave a general Alarm here. In the two Houses of Parliament, the Discontented Party made an Attack upon the Ministry, but in vain; being over-ruled by great Majorities. They caused a great Surprise without Doors among the Friends as well as Enemies of the Ministry; for the great Victories obtained under the Conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough* relished so well with the whole Nation, ever fond of Military Glory, and the Aversion to *France* was still so great, that both Parties were well enough agreed to lay that Power as low as possible. So that even the well-affected to the Ministry were much startled to see that all their Steps tended to the Advantage of our dangerous and inveterate Enemy, and to disunite us from the Allies.

The Queen acquaints the Parliament with the Articles of Peace.

Soon after this, all Things being agreed between *Great-Britain* and *France* relating to the Peace, the Queen came to the Parliament, to acquaint them with the particular Articles concluded. They contained in Substance, that with Respect to the Con-

cerns of *Great-Britain*, The Queen and A.D. 1712. Protestant Succession should be acknowledged by *France*; *Dunkirk* should be demolished; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* should remain in Possession of *Great-Britain*; our Trade and Concerns in *North-America* should be settled in the most beneficial Manner, and the *Assiento*, or Contract for furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with Negroes, should be granted to the *British* Nation. With Respect to the *Dutch*, the same Barrier was offered them which they demanded in 1709, two or three Places excepted; and the *Spanish Low-Countries* were to be given to the Emperor. *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to remain to King *Philip*; but to prevent the Union of that Crown with *France*, he was to renounce in the most solemn Manner for himself and his Posterity, all Pretensions to the *French* Monarchy for ever.

These were the principal Articles, and they were variously descanted upon. Some said, that if these Conditions of Peace were accepted, they did not see to what End the War was ever begun, or so much Blood and Treasure expended in it. That the Grand Alliance was intended to depress the exorbitant and dangerous Power to which *France* had arrived, by setting the Duke of *Anjou* on the Throne of *Spain*; but that by this Peace, that Power was left in the very same State as at first. That the Renunciation of King *Philip* offered as a Security, seemed more like a Jest, than a serious Proposal; as if every one did not know of how little Account the most solemn Oaths and Promises are with Princes, when they stand in the Way of their Ambition. On the other Side it was alledged, that the State of Things was much altered since the Beginning of the War; *France* had received great Defeats and Losses, and instead of threatening *Europe*, as it did then, had Work enough to defend its own Frontiers; King *Philip* was then young, and a *Frenchman*, and by Consequence under Pupillage of his Grandfather; now was advanced in Years, and become a *Spaniard* by his long Converse with that Nation; *Charles III.* his Competitor was then a Titular-Prince, without Power or Revenue; now one of the mighty Crowned Heads of *Europe*. That the *French* King was grown so old that he could not expect many Years of Life, and that his Death would no doubt introduce a new Face of Affairs in *France*, and in all Probability cut off the Conjunction between *Paris* and *Madrid*. That for these Reasons the Fears which united the Confederacy were passed over, and new and different Measures were now become safe and expedient. That it would be Madness to give the Crown of *Spain* to the Emperor of *Germany*, could it be ever so easily done. That whether this could be brought about at all, was doubtful; considering the Uncertainty of the Events of War, and the Firmness of the *Spaniards* to King *Philip*. But if it could, it would be very idle to spend Lives and Treasure in a difficult Undertaking,

The Reflections upon them.



A.D. 1712. dertaking, which if it could be at last compassed, would only destroy the Ballance of Power which *Great-Britain* and *Holland* had been fighting for so long. As to King *Philip's* Renunciation, it was said, that though it was indeed a very slender Thing in itself, it would however be effectually made valid by those who were to enjoy the Benefit of it. So that upon the Whole, the Ministers had taken the best and easiest Methods for answering the End for which the War was entered into, and had made all the Use that could properly be made of the Successes that had attended it. As to the Articles which respected the Interest of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, there was no considerable Objection made to them.

The two Houses of Parliament presented their Addresses of Thanks to the Queen for her gracious Communication of these Articles of Peace, with Assurances of their perfect Confidence in her Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct. A Motion was afterwards made in the House of Commons, that the Queen might be addressed to give Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries to invite the several Powers in Alliance with her Majesty to be Guarantees of the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*; but it was rejected by a great Majority. The Addresses of the two Houses about the Articles of Peace were succeeded by others from every Part of the Nation of the same Tenor.

Divisions in the Confederate Army in *Flanders*.

Mean while in *Flanders* the Separation between the Duke of *Ormond* and the other Confederates grew wider and wider. A Cessation of Arms for two Months had been agreed on between *Great-Britain* and *France*; and the Duke of *Ormond* signified the same to Prince *Eugene* and the other Confederate Generals. This Declaration was very unacceptable, and broke off all Correspondence between the Duke and the other Commanders. The *Dutch* Deputies and Prince *Eugene* told the Duke, that his Marching off with the *British* Troops and the foreign Forces in the Queen's Pay, would leave the rest of the Army to the Mercy of the Enemy; but that they were sure the Foreigners would not march. And their Words proved true; for the States suspecting before that some Measures had been agreed on between *Great-Britain* and *France* as were now made publick, had agreed with the *German* Princes to whom those Troops belonged, to take them into their Pay. So that when the Duke of *Ormond* commanded them to obey his Orders about the Cessation of Arms, they all excused themselves, and refused to obey any Orders but what should be given them in Conjunction with Prince *Eugene*, and the *Dutch* Deputies.

The Negotiations at *Utrecht*.

At the Time this passed in *Flanders*, the Bishop of *Bristol* at *Utrecht* communicated to the Ministers of the Allies the same Proposals for a Suspension of Arms. The Ministers of the States either were surpris'd, or seem'd to be so; and the other Ministers stood at a Gaze, not knowing what Resolution to take. Only the Emperor's Ministers,

according to their Custom, spoke very high, A.D. 1712. and propos'd to the States to renew the Alliance for the Recovery of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, and compassing the other Ends propos'd by the Confederacy; and to this End offer'd, that their Master should furnish and maintain above one hundred thousand Men at his own Charge to carry on the War.

The *Dutch* were sufficiently perplexed. They knew by long Experience how vain and airy all these magnificent *German* Promises would prove in the Performance. So that they seem to have been inclined to accept the Proposals of the *British* Ministers. But while they were wavering in their Resolutions, the *Imperial* Minister let them know, that if they agreed to a Cessation of Arms, his Master would recal Prince *Eugene* with all his Forces from *Flanders*, and leave their State to the Mercy of the *French*. This Menace seems to have determin'd the Doubt; and the States refus'd their Consent to a Cessation of Arms.

The Condition upon which this Cessation of Arms was agreed on, was, that the Town of *Dunkirk* should be surrendered to the Queen. This famous Place, which was sold to the King of *France* by King *Charles*, as was above taken Notice of, had been by the Force of Art, and at an immense Expence, formed into a commodious Port, and made impregnable both by Land and Sea, by stupendous Works and Fortifications. Its Situation almost over against *Dover* had made it a cruel Thorn in our Sides during these two Wars with *France*; being a common Receptacle for the *French* Privateers which infest'd our Merchant-Ships both in the Channel, and in the *German* Ocean, to the inexpressible Damage of our Trade.

The Duke of *Ormond* was preparing to go with the *British* Troops to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, when he received a Letter from the Marquis de *Torcy*, signifying that the Surrender of *Dunkirk* was agreed on by the *French* King his Master, on Condition only of a general Suspension of Arms which was not yet brought about. What Design lay hid under this Subterfuge of the *French* Court is not known; but they soon relinquish'd it, upon what Motive is as uncertain. But instead of the Troops under the Duke of *Ormond*, a Body of Forces was sent from *England* to take Possession of it.

*Dunkirk* possess'd by the *British* Troops.

Soon after this, the whole Body of the Confederate Forces (having besieged and taken *Quesnoy*) separated from those under the Duke of *Ormond*, and invest'd *Landrecy*. The Duke had a Body of Forces under him that wanted Employment, and which he did not know what to do with, and considered how to dispose of them. At last he resolv'd to move towards *Ghent*; which being at a Distance from the Seat of the War, which still continued between the *French* and the other Allies, and also near the Sea, his Troops would be there both safe and quiet, and in a Readiness to embark for *England* upon Occasion. In his March thither, he

The Occurrences in *Flanders*.

was



A.D. 1712. was forbid Entrance into any of the Towns that were garrison'd by the *Dutch*.

The Allies surprized at Denain.

The Separation of the Confederates from the *British* Forces cost them dear soon after. For during the Siege of *Landrecy*, Prince *Eugene* had posted a Body of Troops at *Denain*, about seven Leagues from the Camp before *Landrecy*. These Troops were placed here to cover the Passage of the necessary Stores from *Marchiennes* (which was not far from *Denain*, and where the Magazines of the Allies were) to the Confederate Army employed in the Siege. The *Mareschal de Villars* formed a Design to surprize these Forces; and found such Means to amuse the Allies, that he came to *Denain* unexpected and unprepared for. The Spirit and Fortune of the Allies seemed to have left them with the *British* Power: For as soon as the *French* began to attack a Line that guarded the Camp, the Soldiers that defended it, appeared in a Consternation. A great Part threw down their Arms, upon the first Discharge; while those, who remembering their former Valour and Victories, stood bravely to their Defence, were surrounded, and most of them cut to Pieces. From thence the *French* marched to the Camp; and after no very difficult Contention, broke through the Intrenchment, and carried all before them. The *Scheld* lay behind the Camp, and the Terror and Confusion that had seized the Forces of the Allies was so great, that whole Battalions threw themselves into it at once, to escape the pursuing Enemy. The Loss of the Confederates in Men slain, drowned and taken, was above half the Forces posted there; besides a vast Quantity of warlike Stores.

From this Place the *French* went to *Marchiennes*, where the great Magazines lay; and took it with all the Stores laid up there; which Loss soon after obliged Prince *Eugene* to raise the Siege of *Landrecy*. A Disgrace that never happened to his great Rival in Fame, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who by a Turn of good Fortune, peculiar to himself above any General in ancient or modern History, might boast that he never began a Siege or Battle, that he did not happily accomplish. The *French* followed the Stream of this good Success, and went on conquering throughout the whole Campaign; having retaken before the Armies separated, *Douay*, *Bouchain*, and *Quesnoy*; Prince *Eugene* himself being unable to stop their Progresses.

During the Summer, the Dispositions towards Peace crept on, but with extreme Slowness. Though the *Dutch* and *Germans* stood out, the Duke of *Savoy* and the King of *Portugal* came at last into the Suspension of Arms, which was prolonged for four Months. The Lord *Lexington* was sent into *Spain* to be Witness of King *Philip's* Renunciation of the Crown of *France*; and the same was performed with great Solemnity before an Assembly of the *Cortes*, or States of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Hamilton* was appointed the A.D. 1712. Queen's Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*. But when he was upon the Point of Departure on his Embassy, he was stopped by a dismal Accident. The Duke and the Lord *Mobun* had had a Law-Suit together for near eleven Years, which had produced a most bitter and rancorous Enmity between them. It happened that these two noble Persons were together at the Chambers of a Master in Chancery at the Examination of Witnesses relating to their Cause; when, as it is said, the Duke of *Hamilton* reflected on one of the Witnesses on the Side of the Lord *Mobun*. This Reflection, falling obliquely upon the Lord *Mobun*, and lighting upon an ulcerated Mind, enraged him so, that not content with retorting the Reflection upon the Duke, he sent him afterwards a Challenge, which the other received. On the Day appointed, the two Lords, with General *Maccartney* and Colonel *Hamilton* for their Seconds, went into *Hide-Park* early in the Morning; where the two Principals drew their Swords, and fought with such an implacable and revengeful Fury, that being more intent on hurting each other, than defending themselves, they exchanged so many and such cruel Wounds, that the Lord *Mobun* fell dead upon the Place, and the Duke died in the Arms of his Servants as they were carrying him to his Coach. General *Maccartney*, the Lord *Mobun's* Second, absconded, and went beyond Sea; but Colonel *Hamilton* surrendered himself. He deposed that General *Maccartney* had given the Duke a mortal Wound after the Fight was over between the two Lords, which caused a Proclamation to be issued for apprehending him. But the Truth of that Story was then much questioned; and General *Maccartney*, who came over after the Queen's Death, stood his Trial for the same, and was acquitted.

In the Winter the Negotiations of Peace A.D. 1713. were quickened by a Plan of Peace communicated to the *Dutch* by the Earl of *Stratford*, which they at last agreed to. So that the King of *Portugal*, the King of *Prussia*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, being come also into the Queen's Measures, the Conferences of Peace went on so successfully, that before the Spring the Peace was signed by all the Confederate Powers, the Emperor and Empire excepted; who according to the Custom of those who are entirely in the Wrong, were enraged with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, for shewing them that Neglect, which their own ill Conduct had brought upon them. The Parliament, which met soon after, being acquainted with the Conclusion of the Peace, presented their Addresses of Thanks to the Queen; and their Example was followed by the rest of the Kingdom. So that on the fifth of *May* the Peace was proclaimed in the usual Forms.

The Transactions from the Conclusion of the Peace to the End of this Reign, were of no very great Moment; consisting of violent

A Duel between the Lord Mobun and Duke Hamilton.

The Treaty of Peace signed.

The Peace proclaimed.

A brief View of the Occurrences afterwards.



A.D. 1713. olent Strugglings between the contending Parties, and of Fears and Jealousies raised against those who were in Power, by those who were out of it, upon very important Pretences indeed, but with so great a Smoke, that it could never be clearly seen what Fire lay under. We shall just give an orderly and methodical Account of what passed, without entering into any mysterious Disquisitions, or casting any ill-grounded Reflections.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

Soon after the proclaiming the Peace, the eighth and ninth Articles of the Treaty of Commerce with *France* were laid before the House of Commons, in order to be confirmed by Act of Parliament. Great Opposition was made to it by the Discontented; who endeavoured to prevent the bringing in of the Bill. They were over-ruled by a great Majority as to the bringing it in; but when it came to be read before the House; and several Traders were heard in Relation to it, the Assembly was so much changed, that the Bill was rejected.

About this Time, there was a great Debate in the House of Lords concerning the dissolving the Union. The Occasion of it was, that the Tax on Malt had been by Act of Parliament extended to *Scotland*; which was complained of by the *Scots*, and laid before the House of Lords. Upon this it was proposed, to dissolve the Union between the two Kingdoms; which produced a Division in the House, and brought on an important Debate. The *Scotch* Lords were unanimous without Respect of Party, for this Dissolution; but the *English* Members were divided: And by a Change, not much wondered at by those who know the Cabals of Parties, those who opposed the making that Union were now against dissolving it; while those who framed it with great Zeal, as zealously contended to abolish it. But in the End, that Side which was against the Dissolution prevailed.

The Commons addressed the Queen, to know what Equivalent was allowed the *French* King for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; to which she returned a dubious Answer, but told them that it was already in his Hands.

It being stipulated by the Treaty of Peace, that the Pretender should retire out of *France*, he accordingly left that Kingdom, and went into *Lorrain*. But some of the Discontented in the House of Lords took Exception against his Abode there, as not sufficiently distant from the *British* Dominions; and moved to address the Queen, that she would press the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove him, and all Powers at Amity with her, not to entertain him. This Address was easily carried; and the Queen promised to repeat her Instances with that Duke, that he might be removed. This Answer was laid hold on by the Discontented, as a Ground for another Address, in which they wondered those Instances had not been complied with; which was meant

as an Insinuation that no such Instances had yet been made. But the Queen gave it no Answer. An Address of the same Kind with the former of these was presented by the Commons, *nem. con.* with which the Queen said she would comply.

A Day of Thanksgiving was observed for the Peace; after which, the Term being just expired of the Parliament's sitting, it was dissolved by Proclamation.

The Parlia-  
ment dissol-  
ved.

The Duke d'Aumont the *French* Ambassador came into *England* soon after. But that Minister met with an unhappy Accident during his Abode here; the House he lived in being burnt, and a great Quantity of his Goods; upon which he removed to *Somerset-House*. After this, he made his Publick Entry, which was very magnificent; in which he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the People, by throwing Money amongst them; a Compliment not often paid to those Attendants.

A *French* Am-  
bassador  
comes over.

An Application was made for preserving the Harbour of *Dunkirk* about this Time, but in vain; and the Demolition was soon after entered upon; by which that Thorn was at last taken away that had lain so long in the Sides of our Commerce.

An extraordinary Book was published in *October* this Year, entitled, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted*, which made a great Noise; it being a covert Plea for the Right of the Pretender. One Mr. *Bedford*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who professed himself the Author, was prosecuted for the same; upon which he was fined, and ordered to walk with a Paper on his Head to the several Courts in *Westminster-Hall*; but the ignominious Part of the Punishment was, out of Respect to his Character, remitted by the Queen.

The Queen continued a long while in a dangerous State of Health, which gave great Alarms, and caused a Run upon the Bank. But it was thought fit to put a Stop to these Inconveniencies by a Letter from the Queen to the Lord-Mayor; in which she let him know that she was so well, as to think of removing, which made People ease.

The Queen's  
Health de-  
clines.

Soon after this, the Emperor, who had undertaken to continue alone the War against *France*, found himself unequal to the Enterprize; and Conferences of Peace were begun at *Rastadt*, between Prince *Eugene* on the Part of the Emperor, and the Marechal de *Villars* on that of *France*. This was managed with great Secrecy, and in such a Manner, as to affect to put a Slight on *Great-Britain*. Nor content with this, he moved the *Dutch*, to enter upon a Treaty with them about their Barrier; and desired it might be carried on at *Vienna*; which was done to shut out *Great-Britain* from any Part therein. But the Earl of *Strafford*, the Queen's Minister, represented to the *Dutch* the Resentment his Mistress might shew if such an Affront were offered her; so that the *Imperial* Court had the Mortification to find their Affront returned upon them, by the States declining to enter on any such

Conferences  
of Peace at  
*Rastadt* be-  
tween the  
Emperor and  
*France*



A.D. 1714. Treaty without the Queen's Participation.

A new Parliament meets

Their Proceedings.

A new Parliament met shortly after, in which Sir *Thomas Hanmer* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. But the Queen was so much indisposed, that she could not come to approve the Speaker in Person, but was obliged to supply her Place by Lords Commissioners. Not long after was signed the Peace between *Great-Britain*, and *Spain*. The two most material Articles of this Treaty were, that the *British* Nation should have Liberty to trade in the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*, bordering on the *South-Seas*; and that the Fortresses of *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, should be for ever yielded to *Great-Britain*.

The Queen was now so well recovered, that she came to the Parliament, and made a Speech to them; in which the principal Matters were, to acquaint them with the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Spain*, and to complain of the Insinuations that were spread of the Danger of the *Hanover* Succession. Her Speech was answered by Addresses from the two Houses; containing their Thanks for the one, and their Abhorrence of the other.

The Proceedings of the two Houses were not very material. In the House of Lords the Discontented endeavoured to give all the Hindrance they could to the Men in Power; but were over-ruled by Majorities. The most important and best-grounded Complaint against them, was their Desertion of the *Catalans* in the late Treaty with *Spain*; who, notwithstanding they had resisted their King upon the Encouragement of *Great-Britain*, were abandoned to his Resentment, and stripped of the Privileges they had so long enjoyed above the other Subjects of the *Spanish* Monarchy. That unhappy People, enraged to see themselves thus forsaken, entered upon a very rash Attempt, and endeavoured to defend themselves by their own Strength; the Consequence of which was only to bring upon themselves more hard and severe Usage. After this, when the House was upon the State of the Nation, a Question was proposed, Whether the Protestant Succession were not in danger under the present Administration. Upon this many Things were said against the Ministry, and it was observed that some who had hitherto sided with them went over to the other Party: But it was however, carried in the Negative. A Motion was made in that House for addressing the Queen to offer a Reward to any who should bring the Pretender, dead or alive. This was so far agreed on, that a Committee was ordered to draw up an Address to that Purpose; but when the Address came to be read, it was strongly opposed. Some Lords alleged, that it was inhumane and unchristian to set a Price on any Man's Head in that Manner; and gave such cogent Reasons for it, that it was agreed to alter the same; and that the Reward should be only for apprehending and securing him, if he

should land, or attempt to land, in the Queen's Dominions. But when it was presented to the Queen, she told them she did not see at that Time any Occasion for such a Proclamation; but when she thought it proper, she would take Care it should be issued out.

Another Clamour was raised against the Ministry, in relation to certain Sums of Money said to be remitted yearly to the Heads of Clans in *Scotland*; who were known to be in the Pretender's Interest. But when the Matter came to be debated, the Ministers made it appear that it was the same Thing that had been done in King *William's* Time to keep those People quiet; upon which the House approved their Conduct.

Shortly after this, Baron *Schutz* the Minister of *Hanover* came to the Lord Chancellor, and desired him to send over a Writ to the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* (his present Majesty) to summon him to Parliament under the Title of Duke of *Cambridge*. But this was so little agreeable to the Queen, that she wrote over to the Princess *Sophia*, and the Electoral Prince, in very strong Terms, to let them know that she could not allow his coming over at that Juncture; and because Baron *Schutz* had made this Step without first acquainting the Queen with it, he was forbidden the Court.

The Proceedings in the House of Commons were more quiet than those in the Upper House, the Friends of the Ministry being very powerful there. Nevertheless, an Attempt was made there against them; for upon considering the State of the Nation, the Question was put there also, whether the Protestant Succession were in Danger? But it was carried in the Negative; though in this House also, some of the Partizans of the Ministers forsook them.

The two Houses agreed upon an Address of Thanks for the Peace, which was very acceptable at Court. Soon after the Commons went upon a Bill, which made a great Noise at that Time, but is since repealed, entitled, *an Act to prevent the Growth of Schism*. This Bill went at last through both Houses, but with great Opposition.

About a Month after this Bill passed, during which nothing of Moment happened in either House, the Queen came to the Parliament to prorogue the same, and made a Speech to them, which proved the last she ever made. It contained only general Expressions of Kindness; after which the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the tenth of *August*.

Soon after the Rising of the Parliament, an open Rupture happened among the Ministry. The Lord Treasurer, and the Lord *Bolingbroke* had long been at Variance; and there had been of late no good Correspondence between the first of those Lords, and the Lady *Masham*. These two Enemies of his at last made a Shift to compass his Removal; and *July 27*. he surrendered the Staff of Lord Treasurer. It was a Matter of great Difficulty to supply that important Place

A Writ of Summons demanded for the Duke of Cambridge.

The Parliament prorogued.

A Rupture among the Ministers.



A.D. 1714. Place at this Time; so that there was no small Confusion and Distraction at Court; to increase which, the Queen was in a dangerous Condition. Several Persons were named to be Commissioners of the Treasury; the Lords *Bolingbroke*, *Paget*, *Lexington*, *Batburst* and *Masbam*; the Bishop of *London*, the Honourable *Henry Boyle*, Esq; *John Bridges*, Esq; Commissioner of the Customs, Sir *John Packington*, Mr. *Campion*, Mr. *Hill*, and others. But no Resolution was taken thereupon; and several Persons named, declined accepting such a precarious Employment.

The Queen's last Sickness.

In the mean Time, the Queen grew so ill, that her Life was not to be expected; upon which a Committee of Council met, at which the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who was Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was proposed to be Lord Treasurer; which was agreed to by the Queen, who gave him the Staff, which was the last Act of Regal Authority she exercised; for in a few Hours after she was taken so ill, that she was incapable of attending to any Thing, and in less than two Days she died.

*Works of Piety in her Time.*

THE principal of these, and which by its Lustre effaces all others of less Importance, was her Majesty's own noble Gift of her Revenue of the First-Fruits and Tenth, for the Augmentation of poor Livings for the better Maintenance of the Clergy. A Charity designed to last as long as the World shall endure, and which will be as long admired. A Medal was deservedly struck upon this Occasion; in which the Queen is represented sitting on her Throne; and delivering an Instrument to a Clergyman, who receives it on his Knees; and is attended by others in the same Habit and Posture.

*Casualties in her Time.*

IN 1703, Nov. 26. was one of the greatest Storms of Wind that was ever known. It began at twelve o' Clock at Night, and grew fiercer and fiercer till three; from which Time it raged for about four Hours with such a Violence as is scarce to be conceived. It would fill a large Work to relate distinctly the Particulars of the Mischiefs done throughout *England* in that Space of Time; and the prodigious Effects of the tempestuous Air. Great Numbers of Ships upon and near the *English* Coasts were cast ashore, or on Rocks, or foundered at Sea; while those who after a thousand Dangers escaped, were scattered and driven by the furious Wind to incredible Distances. On Land, Trees, Forests, Houses, Churches, Towns, felt the Marks of its Rage; few escaping without some Tokens of it, unless they chanced to be fenced by some very peculiar Situation. With this Vehemence the Storm continued from three till near se-

ven, when it abated, and soon after went off; leaving a surprizing Scene of Desolation behind it. It is said, that the Damage which the City of *London* received by it amounted to near a Million; and that the Loss of the City of *Bristol* only was near one hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds. Thirteen of the Queen's Men of War were lost, and the Number of Trading Ships that were destroyed is not to be computed. In 1708. there happened a violent Frost, so that the *Thames* was frozen over, and People crossed it upon the Ice. The Frost it self was of longer Continuance than that in 1683. and the Cold more intense; but as there were some intervening Thaws, the Effects were not so remarkable as of that other. It was very observable that this Frost was incomparably more severe so far South as *Italy*, than it was in the Northern Countrey of *Scotland*.

*Of her Person and Conditions.*

HER Height was of a middling Size, her Shape genteel while she was unmarried, but after she bore Children, she became inclined to Corpulency. Her Hair was dark brown, her Complexion ruddy and sanguine, and her Features strong but regular. When she was in her Infancy, she had a Defluxion in her Eyes, that caused a Contraction in the upper Lids, and gave her Countenance a cloudy Air, which was the only Blemish she had. She was well furnished with those polite Accomplishments that besit and adorn a Birth and Station like hers. She danced very well, and had a fine Ear and a great Relish for Musick; and was herself counted an excellent Performer on the Guitar, an Instrument then in vogue. She had also a good Taste of Poetry, Painting, and all the Liberal Arts. She was an exact Oeconomist, and maintained her Family in great Decorum and Regularity. It does not appear from the History of her Reign, that her Personal Conduct had any remarkable Share in the Glories of it; from whence one may be apt to conclude, that she gave herself up in the Management of Affairs of State to the Direction and Advice of her Ministers. Yet she knew very well how to put on the Majesty of a Queen, when she had occasion; and it was particularly observed of her, that she appeared to great Advantage in her Speeches to her Parliaments, having a clear harmonious Voice, and a very graceful Manner of Delivery. The distinguishing Part of her Character was a deep Sense and constant Exercise of the Christian Virtues of Piety and Charity, rarely to be found among such as have lived continually amidst the Splendor of Courts, and the Pride of Authority and Command. Her Love to her Religion appeared very signally in the Part she had in the Revolution; as her Gift of the First-Fruits and Tenth to the poor Clergy will be an everlasting Monument of her Charity and Beneficence.

Of



## Of her Death and Burial.

SHE had been troubled a great Part of her Life with the Gout, which some Time before her Death caused an Imposthumation in her Leg. This might have been rather a Means of prolonging her Life, had it continued to take that Course; but it happened on a sudden, that the gouty Matter stopped its Course that Way, and fell upon her Brain. On *Thursday July 29.* she was taken with a shooting Pain in her Head, attended with a dozing Heaviness; upon which she was let Blood by Cupping, which gave her Relief, so that she rose the next Morning, and had her Head combed. But not long after she was taken with a Fit like that of an Apoplexy; upon which she was let Blood. This brought her to herself; but she fell into the same at three that Afternoon; from which being recovered, she fell into a dozing Heaviness, which continued upon her with little Interval of Sense till she died, which happened on *Sunday August 1,* about seven in the Morning, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and in the thirteenth Year of her Reign, which had now continued twelve Years, and five Months, wanting seven Days. *August 24.* she was interred in *Westminster-Abbey.*

## MAYORS and SHERIFFS of LONDON in this Queen's Reign.

In 1702.

SIR William Gore, Mayor.  
Sir William Withers, Sir Peter Floyer,  
Sir James Bateman, Sheriffs.

In 1703.

Sir Samuel Dashwood, Mayor.  
Sir Robert Bedingfield, Sir Samuel Garrard,  
Sheriffs.

In 1704.

Sir John Parsons, Mayor.  
Sir Gilbert Heathcot, Sir Joseph Wolf, Sheriffs.

In 1705.

Sir Owen Buckingham, Mayor.  
Sir John Buckworth, Sir William Humphreys,  
Sheriffs.

In 1706.

Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Mayor.  
Sir Charles Thorold, Sir Samuel Stanier, Sheriffs.

In 1707.

Sir Robert Bedingfield, Mayor.  
Sir William Benson, Sir Ambrose Crawley,  
Sheriffs.

In 1708.

Sir William Withers, Mayor.  
Sir Benjamin Green, Sir Charles Peers, Sheriffs.

In 1709.

Sir Charles Duncomb, Mayor.  
Sir Charles Hopson, Sir Richard Guy, Sheriffs.

In 1710.

Sir Samuel Garrard, Mayor.  
Sir Richard Hoare, Sir Thomas Dunch, Sheriffs.

In 1711.

Sir Gilbert Heathcot, Mayor.  
Sir George Thorold, Francis Eyles, Sheriffs.

In 1712.

Sir Robert Beachcroft, Mayor.  
Sir John Cass, Sir William Stewart, Sheriffs.

In 1713.

Sir Richard Hoare, Mayor.  
Sir William Lewen, Sir Samuel Clark, Sheriffs.

In 1714.

Sir Samuel Stanier, Mayor.  
Sir Francis Forbes, Sir Joshua Sharp, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF King GEORGE I.

A.D. 1714.

The King  
ordered to be  
proclaimed.

**A**S soon as the Queen's Death was known, many Lords, Privy-Counsellors, and other Persons of Distinction of both Parties assembled at St. James's Palace.

By an Act passed in the Queen's Reign, the Administration of the Government, in case the Successor should be in Foreign Parts, was to devolve, till his Arrival, on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other great Officers of the State, besides a Number to be appointed by the Successor to be added to them. Accordingly Dr. *Tenison* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Harcourt* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Buckingham* Lord President of the Council, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Strafford* first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and Sir *Thomas Parker* Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*, became Lords Justices by Virtue of the Act. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident of *Brunswick*, in whose Hands three several Instruments had been lodged by the Elector, according to the Act, produced the same, and it appeared that his Electoral Highness had named therein the following Persons, to wit, the Archbishop of *York*, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Somerset*, *Bolton*, *Devonshire*, *Kent*, *Argyle*, *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Anglesea*, *Carlisle*, *Nottingham*, *Abingdon*, *Scarborough* and *Orford*; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, the Lord *Hallifax*, and the Lord *Cowper*, to be added to the other Lords Justices. Then Orders were given for proclaiming the King, which was done, first in the City of *London*, and then in every Part of the *British* Dominions, with universal Applause and Satisfaction.

An Express was sent to *Hanover* by the Elector's Minister, with an Account of this; and the Lords Justices also sent the Earl of *Dorset* with the same Advice.

Pursuant to the same Law which enacted

the Method above mentioned, of appointing Lords Justices upon the Queen's Demise, the Parliament assembled on the Afternoon of the Day on which she died. The Speaker being in *Wales*, it was moved, that they should adjourn for three Days, but this was opposed, and it was carried that the Adjournment should be only till the next Day, at which Time the Members took the Oaths appointed by Law.

Aug. 5. The Lords Justices issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Persons in Offices to proceed in the Execution thereof, and to take the Oaths. The same Day they went to the Parliament; when the Lord Chancellor gave the two Houses an Account of what had been done since the Queen's Death, and desired their Assistance in the publick Cares and Concerns, which was answered by suitable Addresses from both Houses. After this, the House of Commons went upon a Bill for the Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and seven hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* was appointed to that End.

While this was done in *Great-Britain*, the News of the Queen's Death, and of the Proclamation of his Majesty was brought to the Court at *Hanover*. Mr. *Craggs* who was dispatched before the Queen's Death, but when all Hopes were past, was sent back with Letters for the Lords Justices, signifying the King's Intention to come over as soon as possible; the Substance of which was communicated by the Lords Justices to the Parliament. And soon after the Bill for the Support of the King's Household passed both Houses, and with another Money Bill received the Assent of the Lords Justices. And this being done on the twenty fifth of *August*, the Lords Justices came and prorogued the Parliament, which never sate again.

A.D. 1714.

The Parlia-  
ment assem-  
bles.The News of  
the Queen's  
Death carried  
to the King.



A.D. 1714. Aug. 24. The Funeral of the late Queen was performed in *Westminster-Abbey*, with the Ceremonies used to the Remains of Princes, but in a private Manner. Her Body had been opened two Days after her Death, and her Vitals appeared very sound, only some Water was found in the *Abdomen*. But the Queen having given Orders that her Head should not be examined, that Part was let alone.

The Queen's Funeral.

Aug. 28. An Express arrived from *Hanover*, with Orders for the Regency and Council; one for preparing a Patent to create the Prince Royal Prince of *Wales*; and another for removing the Lord *Bolingbroke* from being Secretary of State; upon which the Doors of his Office in the *Cockpit* were locked and sealed up.

The King comes to Great-Britain.

On the last Day of *August* the King and Prince set out upon their Journey to *Great-Britain*. On the fourth of *September* they were met on the Frontiers of the Republick of *Holland*, by the Deputies of the States-General, who paid them the Compliments usual on such Occasions; and as they passed through the Territories of the States, were received every where with a Profusion of Respects. On the sixteenth they went on board the Royal Yachts, which were brought to *Oranje-Polder*; on the seventeenth they arrived at *Gravesend*, and the next Day at *Greenwich*. The Morning after the King's Arrival there, he sent Word to the Duke of *Ormond*, who came to wait on him, that he had no farther Occasion for his Service as Captain-General. The Earl of *Oxford*, who came there also to pay his Respects, had barely Leave to kiss the King's Hand, without exchanging a Word.

A total Change in all Offices.

Next Day the King made his Entry into the City, and arrived at *St. James's*, after which he began to apply himself to the Exercise of his Regal Authority. This occasioned very great and quick Alterations; the several Offices of Trust and Power being almost entirely put into new Hands. The Duke of *Marlborough* was made Captain-General in the room of the Duke of *Ormond*; the Lord *Cowper*, Lord Chancellor, in the Place of the Lord *Harcourt*; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord President of the Council, in the room of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and, in a Word, a total Change was made in the Body of the Ministry; which Change also reached to all other (even to the most inferior) Posts and Offices in the Disposal of the Crown; and it appeared that the King intended to use the Service only of one Sort of Men.

The Princess of Wales comes to England.

October 11. Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales* landed at *Margate*; being accompanied with her Daughters, the Princesses *Anne* and *Amelia*; upon which the Prince her Consort, set out to meet her, and conducted her on the thirteenth through the City of *London* to the Palace of *St. James's*.

The King's Coronation.

October 20. The Ceremony of the King's Coronation was performed with great Solemnity and Magnificence; several Advancements having been before made in the Body

of the Peerage to make the Appearance more illustrious; to which the extraordinary Brightness of the Day, and Clearness of the Weather (the Time of the Year considered) did much contribute. Only the Lustre of this Pomp happened to be clouded by an unhappy Accident; some of the Scaffolds built for the Convenience of Spectators breaking down, by which several were killed and dangerously hurt; on which unfortunate Persons the King was pleased to bestow many kind Marks of his paternal Tenderness and Concern. But such was the Unhappiness of our Countrey, that our Party-Divisions, which at the King's first Coming had been changed into an unanimous and universal Joy and Welcome, were now broke out again so furiously, that in several Cities and great Towns of *England*, great Riots were occasioned by the Celebration of this Day; the two Factions being so mutually inflamed, that they took all Opportunities of provoking and exasperating each other.

October 29. The King with the Royal Family went into the City, at their Invitation, to grace the Inauguration of the new Lord Mayor with their Presence; and at parting his Majesty ordered a Thousand Pounds to be paid to the Sheriffs for the Release of Prisoners for Debt.

The King dines in the City.

Little of Moment happened abroad at this Time, excepting that a Treaty was concluded at *Baden* in *Switzerland*, between the Emperor and Empire on one Part, and the French King on the other; which put a final End to the long War that had infested *Europe* so many Years.

The Treaty of Baden.

Several Copies of a Declaration of the Pretender, dated from *Plombieres* in *Lorraine*, were at this Time sent by the French Mail to several Persons of Quality in *England*, who delivered them to the Secretaries of State; upon which the Marquis de *Lamberti*, the Duke of *Lorraine's* Minister, was forbid the Court; and though the Duke afterwards excused himself, yet the Excuse not being thought satisfactory, the Marquis went home soon after.

A Declaration of the Pretender.

November 27. Several Persons were tried at *Bristol* for a Riot committed on the King's Coronation Day; of whom nine were found guilty, and one acquitted. Two others were also indicted, one for Murder then committed, the other for Felony and Burglary, of which the first was acquitted, and the second found guilty of Felony only. One *Francis Stephens*, whose House was assaulted by the Mob, was indicted for killing a Man at that Time; but it being found that he did it in Defence of his House, he was acquitted.

Persons tried for a Riot at Bristol.

January 11. A Proclamation was published against a Pamphlet entitled, *English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain*, then dispersed to influence the Elections in the new Parliament, the old one having been dissolved November 5.

January 15. A Proclamation was published in Form for electing a new Parliament; in which many Reflections were contained.

A Proclamation for a new Parliament.



A.D. 1714. tained on the late Ministry, and the Electors were moved to send up to Parliament such Persons as had shewed the most Firmness to the Protestant Succession, when it was in Danger.

A Fire in Thames-street. January 13. A Fire broke out near Bear-Key in Thames-Street, by which above a hundred and twenty Houses were destroyed, being either burnt, or to stop the Progress of the Fire, blown up. The Loss was computed at above five hundred thousand Pounds, and about fifty Persons lost their Lives.

Dutch Ambassadors make their Publick Entry. March 9. Messieurs Van Duyvenvoord and Van Borsselen, Ambassadors Extraordinary from the States, made their Publick Entry; and three Days after made their Compliments of Congratulation to the King, and the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The Parliament meets. Their Proceedings. March 17. The Parliament met at Westminster. The Prince of Wales being first introduced into the House, and taking his Seat there with the usual Ceremonies, the King signified to the Commons that they should return to their House, and chuse a Speaker; which they did, and elected Spencer Compton Esquire. On the twenty first his Majesty coming a second Time to the House of Peers, the Speaker of the Commons was presented and approved. Then the Lord Chancellor read to both Houses the King's Speech; in which, besides the usual Motions for Supplies, and Exhortations to Unanimity and Affection, great Complaints were made of the Conduct of the former Government. It was answered by suitable Addresses from both Houses.

March 29. The Commons voted a Supply; and on the thirty first resolved to address the King, to order certain Papers of different Kinds relating to the Proceedings of the Ministry in the late Reign, to be laid before the House; which was taken for the Prelude to an Impeachment.

Lord Bolingbroke goes over to France. Before this Resolution was passed, the Lord Bolingbroke went privately over to France in Disguise; but the Earl of Oxford continued to wait the Event.

April 9. The Papers desired by the Commons were laid before the House by Order of the King; and it was moved that a select Committee of Twenty might be appointed to look over them, and digest the Substance of them under proper Heads, and report the same, with their Observations thereupon to the House. And accordingly such a Committee was appointed, only with the Addition of one to the Number. And it was ordered that the said Committee should be a Committee of Secrecy.

The Committee of Secrecy.

Their Report, upon which several Persons are secured and impeached. June 9. Mr. Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House of Commons, That he had the Report to present from the Committee, but moved, left some Persons therein concerned should make their Escape, that the Speaker might issue out his Warrant for apprehending such Persons as the Chairman of the Committee should name: and that no Members might be permitted to go out, which was agreed

to. And upon this, Mr. Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, were taken into Custody.

The Report was then read on that Day, and the next; and it was at length, after many Debates, agreed to impeach the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond of High Treason, and the Earl of Strafford of High Crimes and Misdemeanors.

July 15. A Letter was read in the House of Commons from Staffordshire, giving an Account of several great Disorders committed there by Men assembling themselves to pull down Meeting-Houses; upon which the House addressed the King to give Directions to put the Laws in Force against such riotous Proceedings. And soon after the Act was passed against Riots; which Act, with some others, received the King's Assent July 20. after which the Lord Chancellor read the King's Speech; in which he acquainted the Houses that he had received certain Advice that an Invasion was attempting from abroad, and Designs were carrying on at home, in favour of the Pretender. And upon this, the House of Commons resolved immediately to present to his Majesty an Address of Lives and Fortunes; and soon after an Act was made to empower the King to secure and detain suspicious Persons. To this was added a Clause for granting a hundred thousand Pounds to such as should seize and secure the Person of the Pretender, in case of an Invasion.

Meeting-Houses pulled down.

On the third of September, the Earl of Mar met at Aboyne in Scotland, with several of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom; where they resolved to draw together immediately what Number of Men they could, and march towards the South. Accordingly, the Earl of Mar caused the Pretender's Standard to be set up on the sixth of that Month. On the ninth, he published a Declaration, summoning all Persons to appear in Arms.

An Account of the Rebellion in Scotland and England.

About the same time, the Rebels formed a Conspiracy to surprize the Castle of Edinburgh, which was to have been executed on the eighth, after the following manner. They were to have scaled the Wall on the West side of the Castle, by Ladders of Ropes, which were to be pulled up by Lines let down from within by some Soldiers whom they had corrupted. The Conspirators did accordingly rendezvous at the Foot of the Castle-Wall at the Time appointed, and a Rope was let down, and fixed to one of the Ladders; but an Officer of the Garrison who was going his Rounds, surprized the Soldier that was drawing it up in order to fix it on the Top of the Wall; upon which he ordered a Centinel, who was posted near the Place, to fire. This gave such an Alarm to the Conspirators, that they fled and dispersed themselves; leaving behind them their Ladders and Firelocks, to make their Escape the better. Four of them were taken by the Life-Guard, who were patrolling near the Castle. By the Confession of those



A.D. 1715, those that were taken, about eighty Persons were engaged in this Design.

In the mean time, there was such a Conflux of the Rebels to the Earl of Mar, that in a few Days they amounted to some Thousands. They possessed themselves of *Aberdeen*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, and other Towns; in all which they proclaimed the Pretender, seizing the publick Money that was in the Hands of the Collectors and Receivers, and giving Receipts for it in the Name of the King they had set up. Thus they were Masters for some time; the Duke of *Argyle*, who was sent to command the King's Forces that were assembled to suppress them, being obliged to post his Troops under the Cannon of *Sterling* to defend that Pass, and keep the Rebels from advancing to the South.

But at the same time, there began another Insurrection in the North of England, in Concert with the Scots. Mr. *Forster*, Knight of the Shire for *Northumberland*, with the Earl of *Derwentwater*, and the Lord *Widdrington*, assembled their Friends in the Beginning of *October*, and appeared in Arms at *Alnwick*, within six Miles of *Newcastle*, where they proclaimed the Pretender, *Forster* taking upon him the Title of General of his Forces. Their first Design was to have seized *Newcastle*; but they were prevented by the Townsmen, who took up Arms, barricaded their Gates, and made other Preparations to defend the Place; in-somuch that the Rebels did not think fit to attack it, but marched away to *Wakeworth*, *Felton* and *Hexham*. In this last Place they expected to be joined by some of the Scots; and accordingly an Attempt was made to that Purpose after the following manner.

In the Night between the twelfth and thirteenth of *October*, about fifteen hundred Scots, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*, passed over the *Firth* in Boats from *Fife*. Some of the King's Frigates lay in the *Firth*, but could not fall down soon enough to intercept them; only a large Boat, that had been manned out from *Leith*, fell in among them, and took one of theirs, in which there were about forty Highlanders. On the thirteenth, about Noon, they arrived at *Haddington*; from whence they advanced the next Day, towards *Edinburgh*; and came within a Mile of it, about six in the Evening. But being informed that the Gates were shut, and that the Inhabitants were in Arms to defend the Place, and prevent their scaling the Walls, they filed off to *Leith*, and entered it without Opposition.

The Duke of *Argyle* hearing of this Motion, sent out first a Detachment of Dragoons, and then marched himself from *Sterling* with another Party, to *Edinburgh*. But the Rebels at *Leith* being informed of this March, put themselves in a Posture to receive him; and did it so successfully, that the Duke of *Argyle* would not venture to attack them without Cannon. Upon this,

he went to *Edinburgh*, to bring some great Artillery from thence; but in the mean time, the Rebels marched off by Night; and taking the Opportunity of a low Ebb, marched off by the Sands Eastward, and came to *Seaton-House*, in the County of *Lothian*.

While these Things happened, another Rising was begun in the Southern Parts of Scotland. On the sixth of *October* the Earl of *Wintoun* left his Seat at *Seaton*, and carried with him about fifteen of his Servants: And on the tenth, he was joined by the Earl of *Carnwath*, and the Lord Viscount *Kennmure*, at *Moffet*, in the County of *Annandale*; where they formed a small Body of Men, of whom the Lord *Kennmure* took upon him the Command.

They marched about the Country for five Days, after which they were joined at *Wooler* by *Forster* and his Party; and thus united, they marched to *Kelfo* in *Tiviot-dale*, where the Highland Foot commanded by *Mackintosh* joined them. Thence they went back to *Jedburg*, where upon a false Alarm that the King's Forces under General *Carpenter* were at hand, and came to attack them, they marched out of the Town, and drew up to receive them. But it appearing that the Forces they took to be the King's, were a Party of their own Men, they returned to *Jedburg*, and thence went to *Langholm*, where between five and six hundred of the Highland Foot, who refused to march into England, left them, and returned to their own Country.

But the Party which remained marched forward into England, and on the third of *November* came to *Appulby*. Here the Militia of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, which the Earl of *Carlisle* and the Lord *Lonsdale* had assembled, met them; but as soon as the Rebels came near, they betook themselves to their Heels; so that the Rebels, meeting no Opposition, plundered the Lord *Lonsdale's* House, and carried off all the serviceable Horses they could light on. Thence they advanced still Southward, and came to *Lancaster*; where finding seven or eight Pieces of Cannon, they seized them, and fitted them with Carriages. They stayed there two Days, and on the third Day marched to *Preston*, which they made themselves Masters of without any Opposition; a Regiment of Foot, and some of the County Militia, retiring from thence to *Wigan*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Argyle*, being uncertain which Way the Rebels would bend their March, sent two Parties, one to *Kilsyth*, and another to *Falkirk*, to oppose their passing the Head of the *Forth*; in case they should, in retiring from before General *Carpenter*, endeavour to get to the Earl of Mar. On the other hand, General *Carpenter*, who went to *Newcastle* to secure that Place, upon which he apprehended the Rebels might have a Design, being informed that they had taken a quite different Course, followed them as fast as he could, with three Regiments of Dragoons; leaving a Regiment of Foot behind him, because they could not bear



A.D. 1715: bear such swift Marches as he was obliged to make. General *Wills* also, who was then at *Chester*, having Advice that the Rebels were marching towards *Lancashire*, went to *Manchester* to prevent them, with a Regiment of Foot; and was soon after joined there by four Regiments of Dragoons. Thence he went to *Wigan*, where he found another Regiment of Dragoons, and one of Horse.

With this Force he set out against the Rebels, who continued at *Preston*; and about One in the Afternoon, Nov. 12. he arrived at *Ribble-Bridge*, which is a small Mile from *Preston*. Several of the Rebels Horse and Foot were posted there to defend it; but upon the Approach of the Kings Troops, they retired into the Town without disputing the Passage. As soon as the King's Forces had gained the Rising Ground near the Town, the Troops drew up while the General viewed the Avenues; which he found strongly barricaded, and two Pieces of Cannon planted upon each Barricade.

The Town has two Avenues, one that leads to *Wigan*, and another to *Lancaster*; both of which the General determined to attack at once. The Disposition being made, and the Troops ready, the General gave Orders to the Brigadiers that commanded the two Attacks, to march, and gain the Ends of the Town, and set the Houses on Fire, to dislodge, by that means, the Rebels from their Barricade, and to make such Lodgments for their Men, as would prevent the Rebels falling out upon them, or making their Escape.

Brigadier *Honeywood*, with the Troops under his Command, marched and attacked the first Barrier, which they immediately abandoned, and retired to the second Barricade, which was very strong both by Nature and Art. The Brigadier, finding it would cost him a great many Men to take the Barricade, thought it more proper to possess himself of two great Houses within fifty Yards of it, by which he secured his Men from the Fire of the Rebels, which was very great, and annoyed them very much from the Windows. He continued in that Situation till Night; by Favour of which, he threw up Breast-works to secure himself from Sallies, and posted his Men so, that it was not possible for any to make their Escape out of the Town. And as soon as he had got his Men under Cover, he ordered the Houses between him and the Barricade to be set on Fire; which was done accordingly, though not without the Loss of some Men.

Brigadier *Dormer*, with the Troops under his Command, gained the End of the Town; but they sustained a great Fire in their Approach; however, they set the Houses on Fire, which burnt up the Barricade. A little before Day the General viewed all the Posts, and gave Orders for making a Communication between the two Attacks, to sustain each other in case they were pushed.

November 13. General *Carpenter* arrived,

with the Regiments of *Cobham*, *Churchill*, and *Molesworth*, about ten o' Clock. At three in the Afternoon the Rebels, finding themselves surrounded, sent out Col. *Oxborough* to ask for Terms; to which the Generals answered, That they must surrender at Discretion. Upon this they sent out again, to demand Time till Seven the next Morning, to deliberate. The Generals sent two Officers into the Town to acquaint the Rebels; that the Time desired should be allowed them, provided they sent out an *English* Lord and one of the *Mackintoshes* for Hostages, that none within the Town should attempt to escape, and that they should make no new Works. This being agreed to, the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Colonel *Mackintosh* were sent out as Hostages; and early the next Morning, the Rebels surrendered at Discretion. Their Numbers were found to be, four hundred sixty three *English*, and one thousand and five *Scots*; of whom a great Part was sent up to *London*, the rest being dispersed into the neighbouring Prisons.

On the same Day this happened in *Lancashire*, an Encounter passed in *Scotland* near the City of *Dumblane*, between the King's Forces there under the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Rebels under the Earl of *Mar*. The Particulars of this Fight are uncertain, and the Event doubtful; the two Sides concerned in it having published very different Accounts of both. This is certain, that neither Party pursued the other after the Action; but soon after parted, and went different Ways; the Duke of *Argyle* to *Sterling*, and the Earl of *Mar* to *Perth*.

Dec. 22. The Pretender landed in *Scotland* at *Peterhead*, in a small *French* Ship; accompanied with only six Gentlemen, among whom was the Marquess of *Tinmouth*, the Duke of *Berwick's* Son. He dispatched an Express immediately to the Earl of *Mar*, to acquaint him therewith; upon which, the Earls of *Mar* and *Marischal*, and others, set out with a Party of Horse to meet him. He passed through *Aberdeen* unknown, he, and all that were with him, being clothed like Sea-Officers. On the twenty seventh, the Earl of *Mar* and his Company joined him: He then issued out his Declaration, too long to be here inserted.

January 6. He made a Publick Entry into *Dundee* on Horseback, with about three hundred Persons attending him on Horseback likewise; the Earl of *Mar* being on his Right, and the Earl *Marischal* on his Left. He continued about an Hour in the Market-Place; the People kissing his Hand all the while. Next Day he left *Dundee*, and the Day after arrived at *Scoon*; the Place where the Kings of *Scotland* use to be crowned.

It was observed that in none of the Places through which he passed, he ever went to a Protestant Church, though of the Episcopal Persuasion; as many expected, and others confidently reported he would do; but on the contrary, having brought his



A.D. 1715. own Confessor, and not a few Papists from France, he constantly performed his Devotions with them after the *Romish* Way.

January 9. He made his Publick Entry on Horseback into *Perth*, and having viewed the Garrison, returned in the Evening to *Scoun*, where he fixed his Council, and issued out several Proclamations. One for a General Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival, another for praying for him in Churches, a third for the Currency of Foreign Coins, a fourth for summoning the Meeting of a Convention of Estates, a fifth for all fencible Men, from sixteen to sixty, to repair to his Royal Standard; and a sixth for his Coronation on the twenty third of that Month; which Ceremony was not performed.

While these Things were transacting among the Rebels, the Duke of *Argyle* was preparing to attack them in *Perth*; of which they having Advice, sent out three Thousand *Highlanders*, who plundered and burnt the Countrey between that Town and *Dumblane*. But these Precautions stood them in little Stead. For the Duke of *Argyle*, being joined by the six Thousand *Dutch* Soldiers, whom the States of *Holland*, in Pursuance of their Treaties with *Great-Britain*, had sent to the King's Assistance, and having likewise received the Train of Artillery that he expected, broke up from *Sterling* on the twenty ninth of *January*, and marched from thence, with the King's Army under his Command, to *Dumblane*. On the thirtieth he came to *Tullibardine*, where he rested on the thirty first, to give Time to the Countrey People to clear and repair the Roads. The Pretender having Notice of these Motions of the King's Army, came from *Scoun* to *Perth* on the thirtieth, and about eleven in the Forenoon abandoned that Place; the Rebels retiring with so much Precipitation, that they left their Cannon and Waggons behind them, except three of the larger Pieces, which they threw into the River. They passed the *Tay* over the Ice, and retired towards *Dundee*. The Duke of *Argyle* received Advice of this Retreat of the Rebels at *Tullibardine* on the thirty first, and marched the same Evening, with General *Cadogan*, and a great Detachment of Horse and Foot, and arrived at *Perth* at two in the Morning of the following Day; and on the same Day in the Afternoon, he was joined there by the rest of the Army.

The Pretender returns to France.

On the fourth of *February*, the Pretender received Advice at *Montrofs* about four in the Afternoon, that Part of the King's Army was advancing to *Aberbrothock*, a Town within eight Miles of that Place; upon which he ordered the *Clans*, which had remained with him after his Flight from *Perth*, to be ready to march about eight that Night towards *Aberdeen*, where he assured them a considerable Force would soon come to them from *France*. At the Hour appointed for their March, the Pretender ordered his Horses to be brought before the Door of the House in which he lodged, and the Guard

which usually attended him, to mount, as if he designed to go with the *Clans* to *Aberdeen*; but at the same Time he slipped privately out on Foot, accompanied by only one of his Domesticks, went to the Earl of *Mar's* Lodgings, and from thence, by a By Way, to the Water-side, where a Boat waited, and carried him and the Earl of *Mar* on Board a French Ship of ninety Tons. And some others of his Party being afterwards fetched on board, the Ship hoisted Sail, and put to Sea; the others on Shore being left to shift for themselves. In five Days Time he landed at a Place between *Gravelines* and *Calais*.

We now turn to the Affairs of Parliament. January 9. The two Houses met, and the King came to the House of Peers, where in his Speech he took Notice to them of the happy Success his Arms had met with in suppressing the Rebellion. Upon the

Return of the Commons to their House, it was agreed there to impeach of High Treason, James Earl of *Derwentwater*, William Lord *Widdrington*, William Earl of *Nithisdale*, George Earl of *Wintoun*, Robert Earl of *Carnwath*, William Viscount *Kenmure*, and William Lord *Nairn*; which Lords had been made Prisoners after the Action at *Preston*; which was done accordingly, and the Articles drawn up, and presented to the House of Lords.

January 23. The impeached Lords were brought to the Bar of the House of Peers, where all of them, except the Earl of *Wintoun*, did, either by Writing, or by Word of Mouth, plead guilty to the Articles of Impeachment; and on the ninth of *February* they were brought to the Court erected at *Westminster-Hall*, where the Lord *Cowper*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great-Britain*, who was made Lord High Steward for that Solemnity, after an excellent Speech, pronounced Sentence of Death upon them; and they were remanded to the *Tower*.

Great Solicitations were made for them to both Houses. In the House of Commons it was moved, in order to avoid Importunities of that Kind, that the House should adjourn to the first of *March*, before which Time they were to be executed; and it was carried in the Affirmative by seven Voices only. But in the House of Lords, a Motion being made that an Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to reprieve, according to his Discretion, such of the condemned Lords as should appear to deserve his Mercy, it was carried to present such an Address by a Majority of five Voices.

Feb. 23. Orders were sent for the Execution of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, the Lord *Kenmure*, and the Earl of *Nithisdale*, by Beheading; and for reprieving the others. The Earl of *Nithisdale* found means to escape that very Evening in Womens Apparel; but the Earl of *Derwentwater* and the Lord *Kenmure* suffered according to their Sentence.

March 15. came on the Tryal of the Earl of *Wintoun*, one of the impeached Lords; the Lord *Cowper* being again Lord High Steward. That Nobleman had thought fit



A.D. 1716. to plead Not Guilty to the Impeachment of the House of Commons, and gave in an Answer to the same; to which the Commons having replied, he was this Day brought upon his Tryal. It lasted two Days; and at the End of the second Day he was brought in Guilty by the unanimous Vote of all the Peers.

The Septennial Act brought in.

April 10. The Duke of Devonshire made a Speech in the House of Lords upon the Inconveniencies attending the Triennial Elections of Members of Parliament; and, after some other things, offered a Bill for enlarging the Continuance of Parliaments. The Bill was vigorously opposed in that House, and in the House of Commons; but it was carried in both. The Purport of the Bill was to change the Term of the Sitting of Parliaments from Three to Seven Years; by which the Parliament now sitting, which had been chosen but for three Years, and which must have been in course dissolved in a short Time, was empowered to sit four Years more.

One of the Articles of Limitation repealed.

June 18. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons to repeal one of the Articles of Limitation contained in the Act for settling the Succession of these Kingdoms on the House of Hanover; by which Article, the King then in being was restrained from going out of England, Scotland or Ireland, without Consent of Parliament, which passed both Houses. And on the twenty sixth, the King came to the House of Peers, and having passed the two last mentioned Bills, and some others of less Importance, he ordered the Parliament to be prorogued.

Tryals of the Prisoners at London and Lancashire.

During the Sitting of the Parliament, the Courts were busie in the Trial of the Prisoners taken at Preston. Jan. 11. Mr. Baron Bury, Justice Eyre, and Baron Montague, opened a Commission at Liverpool in Lancashire; where Bills of High Treason were found against a hundred sixty one of the Rebels, of which Number about forty were Scots. The Tryals began on the twentieth of January, and lasted till the eighth of February; during which Time sixty five were found guilty, five confessed themselves guilty, all whom received Sentence of Death, and five only were acquitted. Of those who received Sentence of Death, twenty two were executed in different Parts of Lancashire. These Tryals being over, and all the Prisoners at Lancaster, to the Number of about three hundred, and most of those that were at Liverpool and Chester, to the Number of about six hundred, having submitted to the King's Mercy, and petitioned for Transportation, the Judges closed their Commission.

At London about thirty Persons were tryed upon the same Account; of whom seven were acquitted. Of those who were found guilty, Colonel Oxborough, Richard Gascoigne, Esq; John Hall, Esq; and Mr. William Paul, a Clergyman, were executed.

William Pitt, Esq; the Keeper of Newgate, was tryed upon an Indictment for per-

mitting the Escape of Thomas Forster, Esq; A.D. 1717. who having been General of the Rebels, and committed to Newgate thereupon, had found means to get away. But the Jury, after a long Tryal, brought him in Not Guilty.

Jan. 22. Francis Francia, a Jew, was tryed at the Old-Baily for High Treason, in carrying on a traiterous Correspondence with Persons beyond the Seas, and soliciting Assistance from thence to levy War, and excite a Rebellion. Upon his Tryal, several Letters, and Books, containing Copies of Letters, were produced, which had been seized at Francia's House, and which he had owned to be his. The Letters appeared to be of a dangerous Nature, containing many dark Hints in relation to some Design carrying on in Great Britain, and the cautious Manner in which this Correspondence was carried on, insinuated that something extraordinary was designed by it. But these Things being no more than Presumptions, the Jury brought him in Not Guilty.

Jan. 29. at Night, the Count de Gyllenberg, the Swedish Minister here, and his Secretary, were put under Arrest, by Order of Council; and a Guard placed in the Minister's House. His Papers were also seized, sealed up, and carried away. Mr. Caesar of Hertfordshire, Sir Jacob Banks, a Native of Sweden, and one Major Boyle Smith, were apprehended about the same time, but quickly set at Liberty.

The Swedish Minister arrested.

The arresting a publick Minister, who is under the Protection of the Sacred Law of Nations, made a great Noise; and all the Foreign Ministers at our Court applied themselves to the King and his Ministers to know the Reason of so extraordinary a Step. Soon after they received a Letter from the Secretaries of State, importing, that the Count de Gyllenberg had been concerned in fomenting a Rebellion in the Kingdom, to be supported by Foreign Troops. And soon after, the Letters and other Papers taken from the Swedish Minister were printed, in order to confirm that Allegation. From those Letters it appeared that the Count, together with Baron Gortz in Holland, and Baron Sparre, Resident of Sweden at the Court of France, were concerting a Design to raise a Rebellion in Great Britain, and to bring over twelve thousand Swedish Troops to countenance the same; and that this was to be done in Consideration of a Million of Dutch Florins, to be paid by the Disaffected here. The Government having traced out this Design, applied themselves with all Vigour to prevent the Execution of it, by putting the Nation in such a Posture of Defence, that if the Swedes should make any Attempt, they might not fail to meet with a warm Reception. And these Preparations were so effectual, that no more was heard of this Swedish Invasion.

Feb. 20. the Parliament met. The King acquainted them in his Speech, that he had ordered Copies of the Letters and Papers seized at the Swedish Minister's to be laid before



A. D. 1717. fore them, which was done accordingly, and produced suitable Addresses from both Houses, and a Bill was brought in to the House of Commons to prohibit Commerce with Sweden, which passing the two Houses, and having received the Royal Assent, was put in Force by a Proclamation from the King.

Feb. 28. Lawrence Howel Clerk, was tried at the Old-Baily, and found guilty of writing and publishing a seditious Libel, entitled, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*. On March 2. he received Sentence to pay a Fine of 500*l.* to remain in Prison three Years, to find Security for his good Behaviour during Life, to be twice whipped, and to be degraded. But the Whipping was afterwards remitted.

April 3. a Message was sent from the King to the House of Commons, to the following Effect.

A Message from the King to the House of Commons.

GEORGE, R.  
 "HIS Majesty being desirous, above all Things, not only to secure his Kingdoms against the present Danger with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent, as far as is possible, the like Apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary that such Measures should be early concerted with other Princes and States, as may conduce most effectually to that End.  
 "And as this may require some Expence, his Majesty hopes that his Commons will, by their Assistance at this Juncture, enable him to make good such Engagements as may ease his People of all future Charge and Apprehensions upon this Account."

The next Day being appointed to consider of this Message, Mr. Stanhope, Secretary of State, made a Motion to second it. It was very strongly opposed by several Members, as unparliamentary and unprecedented; and this so vigorously, that it was at last carried by a Majority of four only, to comply with the King's Message.

April 9. the Lord Townshend was removed from the Post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

April 10. Robert Walpole, Esq; first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, Mr. Methuen, one of the principal Secretaries of State, Mr. Pulteney Secretary at War, Sir William St. Quintin and Mr. Edgecomb, two of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, resigned their Employments. As did also about the same Time the Earl of Orford, George Doddington, Esq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, and Abraham Stanyan, Esq; Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland.

April 12. Mr. Stanhope made another Motion, that the House would allow the Sum of two hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds for the Purposes abovementioned. This was opposed as warmly as the general Proposal, and was debated on two seve-

ral Days, but it was at last carried for the A. D. 1717. Motion by an Odds of one hundred and fifty three against one hundred and thirty two.

April 16. the Parliament adjourned to May 6. The same Day the Duke of Devonshire resigned his Office of Lord President of the Council; on which Day also the Duke of Bolton was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and the Earl of Sunderland, and Joseph Addison, Esq; were sworn principal Secretaries of State.

April 26. the Lower House of Convocation appointed a Committee to draw up a Representation to be laid before the Upper House, against some Doctrines and Positions laid down in a Pamphlet entitled, *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*, written by Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, and likewise in a Sermon preached by him before the King, March 31. This Representation was drawn up, and presented May 10. to the House, who read and received it *Nem. Con.* But before it was carried to the Upper House, the Convocation was prorogued to Nov. 10.

May 22. the Earl of Oxford having been a Prisoner near two Years, and the Commons having not yet appeared to make good their Articles against him, petitioned the Lords, setting forth his Case, and praying that it might be taken into Consideration. Upon this the House of Lords, after a long Debate, appointed the thirteenth of June for the Day of his Tryal; and sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

The Commons upon this Message, appointed a Committee to consider of the State of the Impeachment against that Earl. The Committee having sat for some Time, reported to the House, that by reason of the long Interruption which the Prosecution of the Impeachment had met with by the weighty Affairs of the Nation, it would be impossible to adjust and apply their Evidence within the Time appointed; for which Reason it was ordered by the House to send a Message to the Lords, to desire that the Tryal might be put off to a farther Day. With this Request the Lords after some Debate complied; and the twenty fourth of June was appointed for the Tryal.

Upon that Day the House of Commons, resolving it self into a Committee of the whole House, came to the Place fitted up in Westminster-Hall for this Tryal. Soon after, the Peers came thither in their Robes, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cowper, being appointed Lord High Steward. The Lords being seated, the Earl of Oxford was brought to the Bar, and the reading of the Articles of Impeachment, and other Forms, being over, the Managers for the House of Commons were told they might proceed. When Mr. Hampden, who spoke first, had finished his Speech, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up, in order to proceed to the first Article of Impeachment. But as he was beginning to speak, the Lord Harcourt desired to offer something to the Lords, upon which the

Lords



A. D. 1717. Lords and Commons went away to their several Houses.

When the Lords were returned to their House; the Lord *Harcourt* represented to them, that the Proceeding of the Commons was improper, in going through the several Articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors. That if they would only make good the two Articles of High-Treason, the Tryal would be quickly ended; whereas by the other Method it would be drawn out to an immoderate Length. He observed besides here was a great Hardship put upon a Peer, which might be of ill Consequence to the Body of the Peerage; for that the Earl had undergone a long Confinement, having been refused Bail under Pretence of an Accusation of High-Treason, and had upon the same Pretence been brought to the Bar in the ignominious Circumstances of one accused of so great a Crime, whereas now it seemed as if such Charge was after all to be brought against him. Therefore he moved, that the Commons might not proceed upon the Articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, till Judgment was given upon those for High-Treason. And this Motion was carried by a great Majority; and proper Notice was sent to the Commons.

The two Houses came together again in *Westminster-hall*, where the Lord High Steward having in Form acquainted the Commons with the Resolution of the Peers, the Managers told the Lords that they could not proceed without Directions from the House; upon which the Lords and Commons went away to their respective Houses.

Next Morning the Commons took the Lords Resolution into Consideration, and ordered the Managers to search for Precedents in such Cases. While this was doing, they received a Message from the Lords that they had ordered the Earl to be brought before them that Day. But the Commons desiring farther Time, the farther Proceedings on the Tryal were put off till June 28.

In the mean Time the Commons continuing positive in their own Method, a Conference was held between the two Houses, but in vain, both Sides being stiff. And soon after the Lords sent Word to the Commons, that they had ordered the Earl to be brought to the Bar of their House in *Westminster-Hall* the next Day, June 29, in order to his Tryal. Upon this the Commons sent to the Lords to desire them to continue sitting for some Time, to which the Lords agreed. But not long after, the Commons having sent to desire a free Conference upon the Subject of the last Conference, the Lords absolutely refused it; and on the first of July sent to acquaint the Commons, that they had ordered the Earl to be brought before them in *Westminster-Hall*, at eleven o' Clock in the Forenoon of that very Day.

That whole Day was spent in Messages passing to and fro between the two Houses to no purpose, neither House being inclined to recede. So that at last the Lords sent a

Message to the Commons to acquaint them that they were going to proceed farther on the Tryal of the Earl of *Oxford*, and went accordingly. The Commons were all in a Fury, and made an Order that none of their Members should be there. The Earl being then brought to the Bar, Proclamation was made for his Accusers to come forth and make good the Articles of Impeachment; but none appearing, the Lords returned to their House, where the Question being put, whether the Earl should be discharged, it was carried in the Affirmative. And the Lords coming back to *Westminster-Hall*, the Question was put to all the Peers, who declared themselves Content, upon which the Earl was immediately discharged.

He is unanimously discharged.

A Bill of Attainder against the Earl was afterwards moved for in the House of Commons, but after some Stir it came to nothing. But the Commons addressing the King to except him out of the Act of Grace then depending, the King promised to comply with their Request. And soon after the King came and prorogued the Parliament. At which Time among other Acts, was one of general and free Pardon.

About that Time the King created the Right Honourable *James Stanhope*, Esq; a Baron of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, by the Styles and Titles of Baron and Viscount *Stanhope*.

About the same Time most of the State Prisoners in the *Fleet*, *Newgate*, and in the *Marshalsey*, as likewise those in the Hands of Messengers, were discharged, in pursuance of the Act of Grace.

The Parliament met again upon the twenty first of November, but the Occurrences that passed in this Session were of no Moment; being little more than the usual Forms of Supplies, and consenting to the keeping the Standing Army for a Year longer. As this last Subject was in Debate, *William Shippen*, Esq; arguing against the Standing Army, let fall Words to this purpose: "That the King's Speech to the Parliament seemed rather calculated for the Meridian of *Germany*, than of *Great-Britain*; and that the King was unacquainted with our Language and Constitution." And these Expressions being taken Notice of, he was sent to the Tower. There was at this Time a very great Scarcity of Silver Specie, upon which the Value of the Gold Coin was diminished; and it was ordered that Guineas should be reduced from 21 s. 6 d. to 21 s. and other Gold Coins in Proportion. On the twenty first of March the Parliament was prorogued.

Proceedings of Parliament.

Value of the Gold Coin diminished.

Seven Days after the Parliament met, an unhappy Difference happened between the King and the Prince of *Wales* upon the following Occasion. Her Royal Highness the Princess having been delivered of a Son, Nov. 1. the Day of his Baptism was appointed on the twenty eighth. It is said that the Prince had pitched upon the Duke of *York*, Bishop of *Osnabrug*, his Majesty's Brother, to be one of the Godfathers; with

A Difference between the King and Prince.



A.D. 1717. which Choice he thought his Majesty was satisfied. But when the Ceremony came to be performed, the Duke of *Newcastle* stood Godfather with the King, not as Proxy for, or representing the Duke of *York*, but in his own Name and Person. This his Royal Highness took ill of the Duke, not as he acted in Obedience to the King's Command, but as if the Duke had done, or at least seemed officious to do, something that he was not commanded. This raised the Indignation of his Royal Highness to that Degree, that he could not help shewing it; and as soon as the Ceremony was over, spoke some warm Words to the Duke, expressing his Resentment. Upon Report of these Words to the King, his Majesty sent his Commands to the Prince to keep in his Apartment till his Majesty's farther Pleasure should be known. And soon after it was signified to his Royal Highness that he should leave *St. James's*; which he did accordingly, the Prince's going with him, and retired to the Earl of *Grantham's* House in *Albemarle-street*; the Children of their Royal Highnesses remaining, by the King's Order, at *St. James's*. Soon after this, his Majesty's Royal Pleasure was signified to all Persons who have Access to Court, that whosoever should go to see their Royal Highnesses, should not be admitted to his Majesty's Presence.

A.D. 1718. On the sixth of *March* came on at the *Old-Baily*, the Tryal of *James Shepheard*, a Lad about eighteen Years of Age, Apprentice to a Coach-Painter in *Devonshire-street* without *Bishopsgate*, *London*, for High-Treason, in imagining and conspiring the Death of the King. It appeared from the Evidence, that the Prisoner came to the House of one *Mr. Leak*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and left there a Letter for him, of a strange Nature, in which he offered to kill the King with his own Hands, in order to make a Way for the Pretender to come to the Crown. That *Mr. Leak*, upon reading the Letter, immediately burnt it with Indignation; but went and told the Contents of it to *Sir John Fryer*, Alderman of the Ward, by whose Advice he caused the Prisoner, who came to him three Days after for an Answer, to be secured. That when the Prisoner was apprehended, he did not at all deny the Letter, but offered to write such another before them, which he did accordingly; and told them it was the same with that he had sent to *Mr. Leak*, upon which he was committed to *Newgate*.

His Behaviour at his Tryal was suitable. When he was called upon by the Court to make his Defence, he answered, that he acknowledged the Truth of what had been deposed against him; saying, that he meant it, that he intended it, and did not think there was any Harm in it, or any Guilt in the Fact, if committed. So the Jury found him Guilty; and he was soon after executed.

*March 28.* *Mr. Thomas Kinnerley*, a Clergyman, was tryed and convicted at the Assizes at *Kingston* in *Surrey*, for combining

and conspiring with *William Moore*, falsely to A.D. 1718. charge the Right Honourable *Charles Earl of Sunderland*, with an Attempt to commit Sodomy on the said *William Moore*, in order to extort great Sums of Money from the said Earl.

This Summer was remarkable by the Invasion of *Sicily* by the *Spaniards*. The King of *Spain*, having already conquered *Sardinia*, sent a Fleet from *Barcelona* to invade *Sicily*. This Attempt was begun with that Success, and so well seconded by the Concurrence of the *Sicilians*, that it seemed probable that the whole Island would quickly be reduced. But while the *Spaniards* were besieging the Castle of *Messina*, a Stop was put to their Progress by the Arrival of an *English* Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under *Sir George Byng*. That Fleet came to an Anchor in the Port of *Naples* July 21, where the Viceroy had Orders to assist the King of *Sicily* as far as he was able. In order thereto he caused two Thousand Men to be embarked to reinforce the Garrison of the Citadel of *Messina*; and the *British* Admiral undertook to secure the Passage of those Transports. On the twenty ninth at Night he came off the Point of *Messina*, and sent Captain *Saunders* on Shore with a Letter to the *Marquis de Lede*, who was Commander of the *Spanish* Army. The *Marquis*, in a Conference he had with the Captain, and in the Letter he sent to *Sir George Byng* by way of Answer, declared, that he had no Powers to treat, and would pursue his Orders, which were to seize on *Sicily*. On that Morning the *Spanish* Fleet having Advice of the Approach of the *English*, weighed from *Messina*, and stood through the *Faro*. Next Day *Sir George Byng* followed them, and coming up with them, an Engagement happened the Day following. When the *British* Fleet was come up with that of the *Spaniards*, the latter fired at them, upon which the Fight begun. But the Contention was neither long nor obstinate, the *Spaniards* soon finding themselves unequal to the *British* Fleet, and making the best of their Way from them, Fourteen of their Men of War were taken and destroyed, besides other smaller Vessels.

*October 13.* The Ratifications of the Treaty of *Quadruple Alliance* were exchanged between the Emperor, *France*, and *Great-Britain*. And soon after the King of *Sicily* acceded to the same.

*November 11.* The Parliament met. The King having taken Notice in his Speech of the Action in the *Mediterranean*, a great Debate arose in both Houses concerning the Answer to be returned to it. One Party proposed the expressing a perfect Satisfaction in those Measures that had been taken, which was as warmly contradicted by others; but in the End the former carried it.

*Dec. 17.* the King declared War against *Spain*; which being communicated to the two Houses, an Address was moved for, by which the Houses would promise to assist his Majesty in the Prosecution of so just and neces-

The *Spaniards* invade *Sicily*.

*Sir George Byng* defeats the *Spanish* Fleet.

War declared against *Spain*.



A.D. 1719. necessary a War. This was also strongly opposed, but to as little Purpose as before. A Bill was offered in the House of Lords by Earl Stanhope, entitled, An Act for strengthening the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms, containing a Repeal of Part of the Act against Occasional Conformity, as also of the Schism Act, and some Clauses in the Test and Corporation Acts; which passed both Houses. A Bill was brought into the House of Lords for regulating the Peerage of the two Kingdoms, which made a great Noise; but before it could be gone through, the Parliament was prorogued. March 9. the King came to the House of Peers, and made a Speech to both Houses, importing that he had received Advice, that an Invasion would be attempted from Spain in Favour of the Pretender; upon which Occasion both Houses presented him with very loyal Addresses. And in about a Month after the Parliament was prorogued, nothing material intervening.

Peerage-Bill first brought in.

An Invasion to be attempted from Spain.

Upon Advice of the Design of the Spaniards to invade the Kingdom, the Government was busied in Precautions to oppose their Designs. And because it was generally believed that the late Duke of Ormond would command the Troops that were to be employed in that Expedition, a Proclamation was published for apprehending him, and other attainted Persons. On the fifth of April, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with nine Men of War, and was afterwards joined by seven others. Troops were ordered to the West, where the Landing was expected; and some Forces were brought over from Holland. But the Enterprize of the Spaniards was conducted with that amazing Secrecy, that all these Precautions were taken above a Month too late; and the Spanish Fleet was out at Sea before the Court of Great-Britain so much as dreamed that they were coming. Forty Transports and five Men of War, having the late Duke of Ormond, and five Thousand Men on Board, had set Sail from Cadiz on the twenty third of February before; and were standing for the Coast of England, when all Things here were in the Height of Security. It is said their Intention was to land near Bristol, which might easily have been done at a Time when such an Attempt was never thought of, much less prepared for; after which, taking the Advantage of so dismal a Consternation and Surprise as such an unexpected Coming would have occasioned, and of the Disaffection reigning among the People, they were to have marched directly to London. Be this Particular true or not, there can be no doubt, but that their Landing would have caused a dreadful Convulsion throughout the Kingdom, and have had fatal Effects on the Happiness and Quiet of our Country. But it happened very surprizingly, that quickly after the Spanish Fleet had set Sail from Cadiz, the Wind came about to the North-East, and continued impetuous and obstinate in that Quarter all over the Bay of Biscay for many

A Fleet sets Sail from Cadiz for England.

Days together; so that by that Time the Spaniards were arrived to the Westward of Cape Finisterre, they were met by this contrary Wind; which soon after increased to a furious Storm that lasted eight and forty Hours, and shattered, foundered, or dispersed the whole Navy; some of the Ships being driven even as far to the South West as the Islands of the Azores. One Ship, which was sent after the rest, landed in the North of Scotland, with the Marquis of Tullibardine, the late Earl Marischal and Seaforth, and four hundred Spaniards; but the Spaniards were quickly after made Prisoners by the King's Forces there. May 11. The King set out for his German Dominions, and arrived at Herrenhausen by Hanover on the eighteenth. He returned from thence to Great-Britain November 15.

They are dispersed.

September 21. A Fleet of Men of War and Transports sailed from St. Hellens, the Fleet being commanded by Admiral Mighells, and the Land-Forces aboard by the Lord Cobham. On the twenty ninth they landed at Vigo, on the Coast of Galicia in Spain. The Town soon surrendered, the Citadel held out somewhat longer, but was soon forced to yield. They afterwards took another Town, called Pontavedra; with a vast Quantity of Warlike Stores laid up at those two Places. After this, the Forces not being able to continue any longer in Spain, they re embarked for England, and arrived there safely November 11.

A Descent on Spain.

November 23. The Parliament met. In the King's Speech, He, among other Things, obliquely recommended the Bill for regulating the Peerage abovementioned; and as soon as the Forms of Addresses were over, it was brought into the House of Lords. By this Bill it was to be enacted, "That instead of the sixteen elective Peers of Scotland, twenty five Peers of that Nation were to have Hereditary Seats in Parliament, and to be the Peers on the Part of the Peerage of Scotland; which Peers were to be declared by the King. That eight Peers more should be added to the Peerage of England, to be declared by the King also; after which no more Peers should be made, unless upon Extinction of a Family of a Peer". This was the Substance of that famous Bill. It passed through the House of Lords without any great Difficulty; but when it came before the Commons, it was so little approved, that it was rejected by a Majority of two hundred and sixty nine, against a hundred and seventy seven.

The King recommends the Peerage-Bill again.

Rejected by the Commons.

January 22. was presented to the House of Commons a Scheme of the South-Sea Company for reducing the National Debts, by taking in the Annuities, and other Publick Debts made redeemable, into the Capital Stock of that Company: And another of the same Kind was offered by the Bank. This produced a second from the South-Sea Company; and this last was followed by another from the Bank; and the Commons taking both into Consideration, resolved to accept

A.D. 1720.

South-Sea Scheme proposed and agreed to.



A.D. 1720. accept that of the *South-Sea* Company. And a Bill to that Purpose having passed both Houses, it received the Royal Assent April 7.

February 28. A Proclamation was published for a Suspension of Arms between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*; the King of *Spain* having complied with his *Britannic* Majesty, and acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*.

Disputes between the House of Peers in *Great-Britain*, and that of *Ireland*.

Between two and three Years ago, an Appeal had been brought to the House of Peers in *England*, by *Maurice Annesley* Esq; a Gentleman of *Ireland*, from a Judgment given against him by the House of Lords in that Kingdom. Upon this Appeal the *British* House of Peers gave Judgment in Favour of *Annesley*; and sent Orders to the Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* to put him in Possession of certain Lands there, of which he had been dispossessed by Virtue of the Sentence of the *Irish* House. An Order was accordingly issued by the Barons to the High-Sheriff of the County of *Kildare*, where those Lands lay, to put the said *Annesley* in Possession; but the High-Sheriff chose to abide by the Decree of the *Irish* House, and refused to do so. Upon this he had several Fines set on him by the Barons of the *Exchequer*. The House of Peers in *England*, informed of this Contravention to their Orders, confirmed the same with new ones; upon which the Matter came before the *Irish* Lords. That House made several warm Resolutions against these Orders, and against the Barons of the *Exchequer* for complying with them; and made a Representation to the King against these Proceedings of the House of Peers in *Great-Britain*. But this Representation was so far from having any Effect, that the Peers here brought in a Bill for securing the Dependency of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *Great-Britain*; the Purport of which was, to disable the House of Lords in *Ireland* from exercising any Judicature in Matters brought before the Courts of that Kingdom. And this Bill being sent down to the Commons, passed that House with some Amendments.

June 11. The King came to the House of Peers, and having given the Royal Assent to the Bills ready for him, ordered the Parliament to be prorogued; and soon after he went to his Dominions in *Germany*, from whence he returned November 11.

The Consequences of the *South-Sea* Scheme.

As soon as the House of Commons had passed a Resolution to accept the Proposals of the *South-Sea* Company, the Value of *South-Sea* Stock began to rise; and increased so fast, that before the Month of *May* was ended, it was at five hundred and fifty; and by the second of *June* was come to eight Hundred and ninety. The vast Gain made by this Stock put the whole Nation, as it were, in a Fit of Madness; and gave Occasion to many crafty Knaves to invent and set on Foot strange Projects to be carried on by Joint-Stocks; under which Pretence, Shares in these ridiculous and chimerical Partnerships, were to be sold out to those who had Money and Inconsideration enough

Bubbles.

to be Purchasers. This Trade was drove A.D. 1720. on, and met with a prodigious and unconceivable Success; those who had Money of their own, and often of other Persons, leaving their Trades and Professions to go a jobbing in *Exchange-Alley* with Shares in these imaginary Undertakings; though the Cheat of them was so well understood both by Buyer and Seller, as to be called by both by a very proper Name, that of *Bubbles*. Future Ages will not believe what they read, (as those who lived in the Time scarce believe what they remember) when they are told that Men would be content to lay out their Money upon Projects, without knowing what Ground there was for them, or even so much as enquiring, or at all concerning themselves about it. This Evil increased so fast, that the Legislature was obliged to interpose; and an Act of Parliament was passed to suppress these Publick Cheats. Nevertheless, the Madness was so great and epidemical, that before this Law could have its Effect, a Million and half of Money is said to have been won and lost in this abominable Traffick.

When the *South-Sea* Stock was risen to eight Hundred and ninety, many cautious Persons being willing to secure their great Profits, there appeared the Day after so many Sellers in *Exchange-Alley*, that by two or three in the Afternoon, the Stock fell to six Hundred and forty; at which the chief Directors of the *South-Sea* Company being alarmed, they set their Agents to work, by whose Management the Stock came up again that Evening to seven Hundred and fifty; about which Price, with some small Fluctuation, it continued till the closing of the Company's Books on the twenty second of *June*. In the mean Time, the *South-Sea* Stock suffered a considerable Shock. For many Persons who had followed the King to *Hanover*, and others who were hard put to it to make their second Payment for the first Subscription, were both equally desirous to turn their Stock into Money; so that, for some Days, the Number of Sellers exceeded that of Buyers. Hereupon, the Managers of the *South-Sea* Stock bethought themselves of two Expedients. The first was, lending out Money or Notes to the Proprietors of their Capital Stock, to the Sum of four Hundred Pounds, upon every Hundred Pounds original Stock, at the Rate of four Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*. The second was, giving Publick Notice, that all Persons possessed of the Company's Bonds, which came due on the twenty fifth of *June*, might then have their Money for the same of the Company's Cashier; and that the said Bonds would be taken in Payment for the two Million two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *South-Sea* Stock, sold by Subscription, after the Rate of three hundred Pounds for each hundred Pounds Original Stock. By these Means Money being plenty, and the Stockjobbers in good Humour, the *South-Sea* Company opened their Books for a third Subscription, at the Rate of a thousand



A.D. 1720. fand Pounds for each hundred Pounds Capital Stock, to be paid in ten equal Payments, the one in Hand, the other nine half-yearly. It was at first given out, that the Company designed to take in Subscriptions only for one Million original Stock. But some Men in Power having taken this Opportunity to oblige and reward their Friends and Retainers, their Lifts were so full, that the Directors were obliged to enlarge the Subscription to about four Millions Capital Stock, which at that Rate came to forty Millions Sterling. What is yet more wonderful, these last Subscriptions were, before the End of June, sold at above two hundred *per Cent.* Advance; and after the Closing of the Transfer Books, the original Stock rose to above a thousand Pounds *per Cent.* At the same Time the first Subscriptions were at about five Hundred and sixty, and the second at about six Hundred and ten *per Cent.* Advance.

During the Month of July there was no great Variation in the Price of *South-Sea* Stock, save only that it gradually decreased from a Thousand to nine Hundred and thirty Pounds, in Proportion, as the last Subscription at a Thousand, rose to three Hundred and thirty Pounds Advance, or clear Profit. In the next Month the *South-Sea* Stock continued sinking; insomuch that on Wednesday the seventeenth of August, it fell to eight Hundred and thirty, including the *Midsummer* Dividend; which having given the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company no small Uneasiness, they raised it by Means of their Agents to eight Hundred and eighty. But the Humour of selling out continuing the two following Days, the Stock fell again to about eight Hundred and twenty, at which Price the Transfer-Books of the Company were opened on Monday August 22. That Day and the next Morning there was a great Crowd at the *South-Sea* House. And the Directors observing that great Quantities of Stock had been bought at a Thousand, and even higher Rates, against the opening of the Books, and that many Persons would be obliged to sell out, in order to pay the Difference, which would sink the Stock yet lower; they came to a sudden and unexpected Resolution, to shut that very Day, viz. August 23. the Transfer-Books, and on the next Day to open other Books, for taking in a Money-Subscription of one Million, for enlarging the Capital Stock, at the Rate of one Thousand Pounds, for each hundred Pounds Capital Stock; which Subscription was to be paid in five Payments, viz. twenty Pounds *per Cent.* in Hand, and the rest in four equal half-yearly Payments. Accordingly the Subscription-Books were opened at the *South-Sea* House, August 24. and there was such a vast Crowd of Subscribers, and amongst them not a few of the Prime Nobility, that in less than three Hours, more than the intended Sum was subscribed; and that very Afternoon, this fourth Subscription was sold in *Exchange-Alley* at thirty or forty *per Cent.* Advance. Three

Days after this the Transfer-Books were opened again; but the *South-Sea* Stock, instead of advancing, was now fallen below eight Hundred. The Directors, to keep it up, and silence the Murmurings of different Sorts which now began to arise, lent Money to some of the Proprietors, viz. four Thousand Pounds for every Thousand Pounds Capital Stock, for six Months, at the Rate of four Pounds *per Cent. per Annum.* Besides, they made a Resolution that thirty *per Cent.* in Money should be the half Year's Dividend, due at *Christmas* next; and that from thence, for twelve Years after, the yearly Dividend should be fifty *per Cent.* in Money. But these Expedients proved ineffectual; the Credit of the Directors, and the Value of the Stock declining apace; so that on *Michaelmas-Day* the Price of *South-Sea* Stock, after some Fluctuations, fell to a Hundred and fifty, from which it never rose again; to the Ruine and Damage of Thousands, who by wicked Arts, and the Madness of the Times, had been unwarily engaged to hazard their Fortunes in that Stock, when it was brought up to those extravagant Prices that have been mentioned above.

December 8. The Parliament met; the King having returned from his *German* Territories about a Month before. After the Forms of the King's Speech, &c. were over, the two Houses fell upon the evil Consequences of the *South-Sea* Scheme. The House of Commons ordered the Directors to lay before them an Account of their Proceedings, and of all Matters relating to the Execution of the *South-Sea* Scheme, which was done by them accordingly. A Bill was brought in and passed, to restrain the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treasurer, Under-Treasurer, Cashier, Secretary, and Accomptant of the *South-Sea* Company, from going out of the Kingdom for the Space of one Year, and from alienating their Effects. Afterwards, a Committee of Secrecy was appointed to examine the Accounts laid before the House, and to make Report thereof; which Committee went soon after to the *South-Sea* House, and took Possession of it, and of all the Books and Papers there.

The Lords had their Part also in this Inquisition made after the Robbers of the Publick. The Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, twenty four of the Directors, Knight the Cashier, and Surman Deputy-Cashier, were brought before the Peers on the twelfth of January. And being sworn to make true Answers to such Questions as were put to them, they were examined separately till nine at Night; when the Lords resolved, "That the Governors and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company had prevaricated with them, in giving false Representations of Matters of Fact; that by lending Money on Stock and Subscriptions, they were guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, and ought to make good the Losses which the Company had sustained by their frau-

A.D. 1720.

Proceedings  
of Parliament  
against the  
*South-Sea* Directors.



A.D. 1720. "dulent Management". And soon after the Lords ordered a Bill to be brought in to disable them from any Office in the *South-Sea*, *Bank*, or *East-India* Companies, and

A.D. 1721. from voting upon Elections. January 21. the Lords, in a grand Committee, received and examined the Extracts of some Brokers Books; by which it appeared that large Quantities of *South-Sea* Stock had been transferred to the Use of Mr. *Aislaby*, one of the Lords of the Treasury.

*Knight escapes.*

But while this was doing, *Knight*, the Cashier of the *South-Sea* Company, who was thought to be intrusted with the principal Secret of this Affair, either of his own Accord, or, as 'twas shrewdly suspected, at the Suggestion of others, thought fit to retire out of the Kingdom; and on Monday January 23. embarked in a Vessel in the River, that carried him that Evening to *Calais*. Upon this the House of Commons immediately addressed the King to issue out a Proclamation for apprehending him; which was done, but to no Purpose. After this, they addressed the King to give Directions to his Ministers in Foreign Courts, to make Application, that the said *Knight* might be secured, if he should be found in any of their Dominions.

Mean Time, the Examination of the *South-Sea* Directors went on; and some were taken into Custody of the Black-Rod, and others of the Serjeant at Arms; while those who were Members of the House of Commons were expelled. Two of the Directors, who were examined before the House of Lords, made very ingenuous and large Discoveries; and named several Persons in the Administration, and in the House of Commons, to whom great Sums in *South-Sea* Stock had been given for procuring the passing the *South-Sea* Act; upon which the Lords resolved that such Practices were notorious and dangerous Corruptions. During these Examinations an extraordinary Accident happened. Sir *John Blunt*, who was one of the Directors, and accounted the principal Manager of the *South-Sea* Scheme, being brought before the House of Lords, refused to be sworn to answer such Interrogatories as should be put to him; alledging, that he had already been examined before the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, and to such Extent of Affairs, that unless he had a Copy of his Examination there, he could not remember every Particular. The Lords did not immediately shew their Resentment for this Obstinacy, left something should be done in an Heat that should break the Harmony between the two Houses. But as they were debating concerning what was to be done on this Incident, a noble Duke cast some Reflection upon the Ministry, which provoked the Lord *Stanhope*, who was at the Head of the Ministry, to answer him with so much Passion and Vehemence, that his Blood was overheated, and he was taken on the sudden with such a violent Headach, that he was obliged to go home and be cupped. This eased

him a little, but he was forced to be let A.D. 1721. Blood the next Morning. He continued pretty well till the Evening, when falling in to a Drowsiness, his Physician ordered him a Glyster; but as he was turning himself to receive it, he fell on his Face, and was instantly suffocated.

The Death of the Earl *Stanhope*.

About this Time, News arrived that Mr. *Knight* was taken in *Flanders*, and secured in the Castle of *Antwerp*; which was received with great Joy. But this was damped again by an Account that afterwards arrived, that the Emperor could not send him over hither, on Pretence of certain Privileges of the States of *Brabant*, in which Province he was taken; by virtue of which Privileges they claimed that no Person apprehended in their Countrey for any Crime, should be tryed in any other Place. This was received with marvellous Indignation here in *Great-Britain*; and thought a very ill Return for the Obligations the Emperor had received from our Countrey; but notwithstanding all that was done here, whatever the Reason was, he was not suffered to be brought over.

*Knight* is taken again.

But is not brought over.

Feb. 18. the Report from the Committee of Secrecy was read in the House of Commons; upon which the House came into several Resolutions against the Directors, and it was ordered that the Frauds committed by them should be made good out of their Estates. Feb. 25. a farther Report was made, which related chiefly to great Quantities of Stock and Subscriptions which appeared to have been taken in for Mr. *Aislaby*, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *Charles Stanhope*, Esq; one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, both Members of the House; who thereupon insisted on their Innocence, and pressed that a short Day might be appointed to examine that Matter. This being done Feb. 28. it was determined by a Majority of three Voices only, in favour of Mr. *Stanhope*. March 8. Mr. *Aislaby's* Case came under Consideration, and after a very long Debate, it was resolved that Mr. *Aislaby* had been guilty of great Corruptions; that he should be expelled the House, and committed Prisoner to the Tower; and that a Bill should be brought in to restrain him from going out of the Kingdom for one Year, and for discovering his Estate and Effects.

After him Sir *George Caswall* was censured by the House for corrupt Practices, in holding fifty Thousand Pounds Stock in the Hands of *Robert Knight*, Cashier of the *South-Sea* Company, without paying any valuable Consideration for it; and it was ordered that he should be expelled the House, and committed Prisoner to the Tower.

March 14. A Part of the Report was read which related to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the next Day the House took it into Consideration. Then a Motion was made, "That it appears to this House, that after the Proposals of the *South-Sea* Company were accepted by this House, and a Bill ordered to be brought in thereupon, and before such Bill passed, fifty Thousand Pounds of the Capital Stock of the *South-*

"Sea



A.D. 1721. "Sea Company, was taken in by Robert Knight, late Cashier of the South-Sea Company, for the Use and upon the Account of Charles Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of Parliament, and first Commissioner of the Treasury, without any valuable Consideration paid, or sufficient Security given for Payment for, or Acceptance of the same." This Motion occasioned a warm Debate, that lasted till near eight o' Clock in the Evening; but the Question being put thereupon, it was carried in the Negative by a Majority of two hundred and thirty three Votes against one hundred and seventy two.

April 17. Ballances of the Estates of the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Deputy-Cashier and Accomptant of the South-Sea Company, which amounted to above two Millions, were laid before the House. Soon after a third Report was made by the Committee of Secrecy, the Substance and most material Part of which was, that James Craggs, sen. Esq; late Postmaster General, had taken forty Thousand Pounds South-Sea Stock without paying for it, or giving sufficient Security for the Payment of the same. And May 1. the House agreed to several Resolutions to that Purpose, and ordered that all the Estate real and personal of Mr. Craggs, be applied towards the Relief of the Sufferers in the South-Sea Company.

After this, the late Governors, &c. of the South-Sea Company presented their several Petitions, praying the Compassion of the House; upon which the House ordered them such respective Portions of their Estates as were judged suitable to their several Circumstances, and the Shares they had in the late Transactions. The Remainder, together with the Estates of Mr. Aislaby and Mr. Craggs, were appointed to be applied to the Relief of the Sufferers by the South-Sea Scheme, by a Bill for that Purpose. When this Bill was brought up to the House of Lords, Mr. Aislaby made two elaborate Speeches for himself, but in vain.

This Affair was what took up the two Houses chiefly during this Session; which being now concluded, the King came July 29. to the House of Peers, and giving the Royal Assent to the Bills prepared for him, (among which one was, an Act of General and Free Pardon) the Parliament was, by his Order, prorogued to the thirty first of the same Month; on which Day the King came again to the House of Lords, and told them that the Occasion of his calling them again so suddenly was, to give them an Opportunity of resuming the Consideration of Publick Credit. The Commons being returned to their House, made several Resolutions to that End; the Substance of which was, "To remit to the South-Sea Company the four Millions they were to pay to the Publick; to divide the Stock undisposed of, and in the Hands of the Company, among the Proprietors; to allow those who had borrowed Money of the South-Sea Company upon Stock, to clear themselves by paying ten per Cent. of the Mo-

ney borrowed; and to disannul all Con-tracts for Stock and Subscriptions".

While this was doing, a great Riot was made by great Numbers of Persons of both Sexes, who demanded Justice of the Members as they went into the House, putting into their Hands written and printed Papers, to desire them to do Justice to the Annuitants. Upon this the House ordered the Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster to attend the House; who coming not long after with some Constables, the Proclamation against Riots was read; upon which, with some Reluctance, those People dispersed. This being done, and a Bill being brought in, in Pursuance of the above Resolutions, for the restoring Publick Credit, it passed the House of Commons; and being agreed to by the House of Lords, the King came August 10. and gave the Royal Assent thereto; and afterwards prorogued the Parliament to October 19. August 25. Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt was sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.

October 19. The Parliament met, according to the Prorogation. They sat till the seventh of March afterwards; but what passed in that Session was not very material. And soon after they had broke up by the King's Prorogation, a Proclamation was published for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to meet on the tenth of May following. The Meeting of this new Parliament being put off till October 9. they met on that Day; and the Commons having chosen Spencer Compton Esquire their Speaker. The next Day the King came and made a Speech to the Parliament, in which he took Notice of a dangerous Conspiracy, formed in Favour of the Pretender. This Speech being delivered, and the King retired, a Motion was made in the House of Lords for a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and for empowering his Majesty to secure and detain all suspected Persons, till the twenty fourth of October in the following Year 1723. which passed the House, though not without strong Opposition. The two Houses having presented their Addressess, this Bill was sent down to the Commons, where it was also passed, and received the Royal Assent next Day. As soon as this Assent was given, the Lord Carteret informed the House that the Bishop of Rochester, the Lord North and Grey, and the Earl of Orrery were committed to the Tower; and that his Majesty desired the Consent of the House to detain them there by Virtue of that Act; to which the House consented, and soon after the Duke of Norfolk was apprehended.

November 16. A Message was sent to the King, importing that a Paper had been seized, entitled, *The Declaration of James the Third*, &c. which his Majesty thought proper to lay before the House. Upon which the two Houses ordered, that the said Declaration should be burnt by the common Hangman. November 21. Christopher Layer Esquire was tried for High Treason at the King's-Bench Bar, before the Lord Chief Justice

A.D. 1721.

A.D. 1722.

The Parliament dissolved.

A Plot mentioned in the King's Speech to the new Parliament,

Proceedings of Parliament.

Bishop of Rochester, Lord North and Grey, and the Earl of Orrery committed to the Tower.



A.D. 1723. Justice Pratt, and the Justices Powys, Eyre, and Fortescue-Aland; and after a long Hearing he was found guilty.

January 15. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine Christopher Lyster in Relation to the Conspiracy mentioned in his Majesty's Speech at the opening the Parliament; of which the said Lyster had been found guilty.

March 1. William Pulteney Esquire, who was Chairman of that Committee, reported the Matter as it appeared to them; which Report he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered it in at the Table. Next Day, the House proceeded to take the Report into Consideration. The Report set forth, "That a Design had been long carrying on by Persons of Figure and Distinction at home, in Conjunction with Traytors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the Throne of these Kingdoms. That various Methods had been attempted; and various Times fixed for putting this Design in Execution. That the first Intention was to have procured a regular Body of Foreign Forces to invade these Kingdoms at the Time of the late Elections; but that the Conspirators, being disappointed in this Expectation, resolved next to make an Attempt at the Time it was generally believed his Majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the Help of such Officers and Soldiers as could pass into England from abroad unobserved, under the Command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the River with a great Quantity of Arms, provided in Spain for that Purpose; at which Time the Tower was likewise to have been seized, and the City of London to have been made a Place for Arms; but this Design being also disappointed by the Discoveries made in England, and his Majesty's putting off his Journey, by the Encampment of his Forces at home, as well as by the sending for those from Ireland, and by the Readiness of his Majesty's good Allies, the States-General, to assist him in Case of Need, by the Orders given in Spain, that the late Duke of Ormond should not be suffered to embark, and the like Orders issued in France, that he should not be suffered to pass through that Kingdom; the Conspirators found themselves under a Necessity of deferring their Enterprize till the breaking up of the Camp; during which Interval, they were labouring by their Agents and Emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the Officers and Soldiers of his Majesty's Army; and depended so much on this Defection, as to entertain Hopes of placing the Pretender on the Throne, though they should obtain no Assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit for. And that in this Design, the Lords who were Prisoners, with others of inferior Rank, were concerned."

Bills of Pains and Penalties against Plunket, Kelly, and the Bishop of Rochester.

Upon this Report, three Bills of Pains and Penalties were brought in. The first was

for John Plunket, the second for George Kelly, and the third for the Bishop of Rochester.

A.D. 1723.

The two former were to be imprisoned during the King's Pleasure, and to forfeit their Estates; the latter to be deprived of his Office and Benefice, banished the Kingdom, be guilty of Felony if he returned, and it was not to be in the King's Power to pardon him without Consent of Parliament. And these three Bills passed the House. When they were carried up to the House of Lords, the Persons concerned were heard severally by themselves and their Council against those Bills, but to no Purpose. So that the Bills having passed the House of Lords, and receiving afterwards the Royal Assent, Plunket and Kelly were committed Prisoners, and the Bishop of Rochester transported himself beyond Sea. And on the twenty seventh of May, the King came to the House of Peers, and prorogued the Parliament.

On the ninth of January the Parliament met again, and sate till April 24. But the Occurrences of this Session had nothing particularly remarkable.

May 16. A Circular Letter was sent by the King's Order to the two Universities, importing, that to enable those two learned Bodies to answer more effectually the Ends of their Institution, his Majesty had erected two Professorships of Modern History, and Modern Languages. For this Royal Gift his Majesty received the Addresses of Thanks from both the Universities.

Novemb. 12. The Parliament met; but nothing material occurred till Feb. 9. on which Day Mr. Comptroller of the King's Household acquainted the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty to the House; and farther, that he was commanded by his Majesty to lay before the House, Copies of several Reports and other Papers relating to the Masters in Chancery; and he delivered in at the Table the said Copies and other Reports. And the said Reports, with some of the Papers therein referred to, being read, they were ordered to be taken into Consideration upon the twelfth of that Month. And this being done, a Motion was made, that Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor, be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, which was carried in the Affirmative; and it was ordered that Sir George Oxendon should go up to the Lords, and impeach him, which was done accordingly. And a Committee was appointed to draw up Articles against him. The Articles of Impeachment being prepared, they were on March 20. carried up to the Lords.

April 20. A Petition was presented to the House of Commons, in the Name of the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, praying, that Leave might be given to bring in a Bill to enable the Petitioner to hold and enjoy certain Estates; and it was ordered, that a Bill should be brought in according to the Prayer of the said Petition.

Proceedings of Parliament.

May



A.D. 1725. May 6. Came on the Tryal of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, which held till the twenty sixth of the same Month, after which the Lords gave Judgment that he was Guilty of the High Crimes and Misdemeanors charged upon him. Soon after this, Sentence was passed upon him, that he should be fined thirty Thousand Pounds, and remain in the *Tower*, till he should pay the same. And soon after the King came to the House of Peers, May 31, and prorogued the Parliament.

Order of the Bath restored. May 17. His Majesty re-established the Degree of Knighthood of the *Bath*, and erected the same into a regular Military Order for ever, by the Name and Title of the Order of the *Bath*; and appointed his Grace *John Duke of Montague* to be the first Great Master of the Order. The Honour of Knighthood in this Order was conferred on the following Persons.

1. His Royal Highness Prince *William*.
2. *John Duke of Montague*, Great Master.
3. *Charles Duke of Richmond*.
4. *William Duke of Manchester*.
5. *Charles Earl of Burford*, eldest Son of the Duke of *St. Albans*.
6. *John Earl of Leicester*.
7. *William Earl of Albemarle*.
8. *Henry Earl of Deloraine*.
9. *George Earl of Hallifax*.
10. *Talbot Earl of Suffex*.
11. *Thomas Earl of Pomfret*.
12. *Lord Nassau Pawlet*.
13. *George Lord Viscount Torrington*.
14. *George Viscount Malpas*.
15. *John Lord Glenorchy*.
16. *John Lord Delaware*.
17. *Hugh Lord Clinton*.
18. *Robert Lord Walpole*.
19. *Spencer Compton*, Esq;
20. *William Stanhope*, Esq;
21. *Conyers D'Arcy*, Esq;
22. *Thomas Lumley Saunderson*, Esq;
23. *Paul Methuen*, Esq;
24. *Robert Walpole*, Esq;
25. *Sir Robert Sutton*, Knt.
26. *Charles Wills*, Esq;
27. *Sir John Hobart*, Bart.
28. *Sir William Gage*, Bart.
29. *Robert Clifton*, Esq;
30. *Michael Newton*, Esq;
31. *William Yonge*, Esq;
32. *Sir John Monson*, Bart.
33. *Thomas Watson-Wentworth*, Esq;
34. *William Morgan*, Esq;
35. *Thomas Coke*, Esq;
36. *William Earl of Inchequin*.
37. *John Lord Viscount Tyrconnel*.

June 17. The Knights of the *Bath* were installed in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel* at *Westminster* with great Magnificence.

About this Time there were great Tumults in several Places in *Scotland* on Occasion of a Malt-Tax.

A.D. 1726. January 17. The Parliament met. The King took Notice in his Speech of an Alliance made between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as also a Treaty of Commerce between them; upon which his Majesty obser-

ved, that to prevent the evil Consequences of this Conjunction to *Great-Britain*, he had entered into a Defensive Alliance with the Kings of *France* and *Prussia*. The King's Speech was answered by Loyal Addresses from both Houses.

February 10. The Treaty of *Hanover* concluded between *France*, *Great-Britain*, and *Prussia*, on the third of *September 1725*. and the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, were laid before the House of Commons, who resolved to take the same into Consideration on that Day Sevensnight.

February 17. Both Houses took those Treaties into Consideration, and agreed separately to address his Majesty thereupon; in which they promised to vindicate his Majesty's Honour, in Case of any Insult made upon his Territories, not belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

March 24. A Message from his Majesty to the Commons was read in the House as follows.

GEORGE R.

"HIS Majesty having nothing more at A Message  
"Heart, than an earnest Desire to se- from the  
"cure to his own Subjects the full and free King.  
"Enjoyment of their Trade and Navigati-  
"on, and in the best Manner to prevent  
"and frustrate such Designs as have been  
"formed against the particular Interest of  
"this Nation, and the general Peace of Eu-  
"rope, has found it necessary, not only to  
"augment his Maritime Force, but to  
"concert such other Measures as may most  
"effectually conduce to these desirable Ends;  
"and as these Services will require some  
"extraordinary Expence, his Majesty hopes  
"he shall be enabled, by the Assistance of  
"Parliament, to increase the Number of  
"Seamen already voted, and granted for  
"the Service of this Year; and to enter  
"into, and make good such Engagements  
"as the Circumstances and Exigency of Af-  
"fairs may require.

This Message being taken into Consideration the next Day, it was resolved that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to make that Addition to the Number of Seamen, and concert such other Measures as his Majesty should think fit; assuring him that the House would effectually make good all such Expences and Engagements.

May 23. The King came to the House of Peers, and prorogued the Parliament.

This Spring three strong Fleets were sent into the *Baltick*, to the Coast of *Spain*, and into the *West-Indies*. The first under the Command of *Sir Charles Wager*, having attended the two Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, came on the twenty ninth of *May* before the Island of *Nargen*, three Leagues from *Revel*; from whence the Admiral sent a Letter to the *Czarina*, to acquaint her that he had Orders to keep the *Russians* from attempting any Hostilities on their Neigh-



A.D. 1726. bours. There was at that Time a considerable Fleet in the Port of *Revel*; which was well furnished with Ammunition and Provisions, and a great Number of Land-Forces were assembled, in order to be taken on Board for some secret Design: But upon the Approach of the *British* Fleet, the Men of War were unrigged, and the Land-Forces were dismissed.

The Fleet sent to *Spain*, under Sir *John Jennings*, hovered about that Coast a long Time. The Squadron sent to the *West-Indies* under Admiral *Hofier*, came before *Porto-Bello* in the Gulf of *Mexico*, where the Galleons were. But upon the Approach of the *British* Squadron, the *Spaniards* unloaded them, and carried ashore the Treasure they contained.

A.D. 1727.

Proceedings  
of Parlia-  
ment.

January 17. the Parliament met. The King in his Speech took Notice to them, "That the Proceedings and Transactions since the Conclusion of the Treaties between the Emperor and *Spain* had made it necessary for the *British* Nation to be put into a Condition to do themselves Justice, or tamely to acquiesce with the Surrender of *Gibraltar*, and the Emperor's Usurpation of our Commerce". His Majesty farther informed the Parliament, "That the placing the Pretender on the Throne of these Realms was one of the Articles of the secret Engagements; and that these fatal Combinations had extended themselves as far as *Russia*; and that if the Designs of that Court against some of their Neighbours had not been prevented by the Arrival of our Fleet in the *Baltick*, a Way had been opened for invading these Kingdoms, and giving powerful Assistance to Attempts from other Quarters. Upon which his Majesty said he was confident he might be secure of the Support and Assistance of the Parliament". His Majesty's Speech was answered by suitable Addresses from both Houses.

Count *Palm's*  
Memorial.

March 2. *M. de Palm*, the Emperor's Resident here, in an Audience he had of the King, delivered into the Hands of his Majesty, a Memorial in *Latin*, couched in a very indecent Style, unbecoming the Majesty of so mighty a Crowned Head; and to add to the Indignity, the said Memorial was, the next Day, publickly dispersed, and printed Copies of Translations of it, one in *English*, and the other in *French*, sent to several Members of both Houses of Parliament, to Aldermen of the City of *London*, and other Persons of Character; together with a Letter from the Count *Sinzen-dorf* to *M. de Palm*, wherein the Resident was ordered, first to present the said Memorial to the King of *Great-Britain*, and afterwards to publish it to the whole Nation.

This Affront to the Person of a King of *Great-Britain* was resented accordingly. The Resident was immediately ordered to depart the Kingdom, and the two Houses of Parliament concurred in an Address, signifying their highest Resentment at such an Insolence. This Address was succeeded by another from the City of *London* not long after, to the same Effect; whose Example was followed by all or most of the Cities and Corporations in *Great-Britain*.

The *Spanish* Army which had sat down before *Gibraltar* at the latter End of *February*, was employed to the End of this Reign in the Siege of that Place. But after four Months spent there with very little Advance, a Kind of a Pacification made between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, gave them a Pretence, which they willingly laid hold on, to give over any farther Attempts.

June 3. His Majesty set out from *St. James's Palace* for his Dominions in *Germany*. He was detained at *Gravesend* two Days for want of Wind, from whence he departed on the fifth, and landed in *Holland* on the seventh. He passed through the Territories of the Republick, to all Appearance in perfect Health, till he came to *Delden*, where he eat his Supper with a good Appetite; and, among other Things, part of a Melon. But this it seems did not digest well; for having set out again about three the next Morning, his Majesty had not travelled two Hours before he felt some Gripings of the Cholick. Being arrived at *Linden*, where his Dinner was provided, he found himself unable to eat; upon which he was presently let Blood, and had such Remedies, as were judged proper, administered to him. Those about him wished he would have rested there; but his Majesty being desirous to reach his own Dominions with all possible Speed, he travelled on; and falling into a kind of Dozing in his Coach, he rested in the Arms of a Gentleman that sat alone in the Coach with him. About ten that Night he arrived at the Duke of *York's Palace* at *Onnabrug*, where he was let Blood in the Arm and Foot; but these Bleedings produced no Effect; so that his Lethargy still increasing, he departed this Life on Sunday June 11. about one in the Morning, aged sixty seven Years and fourteen Days; being born May 28, 1669. He came to the Crown August 1, 1714. So that he reigned twelve Years, ten Months, and ten Days. He was married November 21, 1682. to *Sophia-Dorothea*, Daughter of the Duke of *Zell*; who dyed November 3. before. By this Marriage he had *George-Augustus*, Prince of *Wales*, his present Majesty; and *Sophia-Dorothy*, married to the King of *Prussia*.



## The Reign of King GEORGE I.

### Of his Person and Conditions.

**H**IS Majesty's Person was of the middle Size, and well-built; and his Countenance had a Native Air of Regal Majesty, joined with something that was at the same Time very engaging and attractive. In his Youth he was noted for acquitting himself with Applause in all Exercises of the Body. He understood and spoke the *Latin*, *French* and *Italian* Languages to a great Exactness; nor was he unacquainted with our own; but he was too far advanced in Years, when the Crown of *England* was settled on his Family, (he being then above Forty) to render it familiar to him. He was also an Admirer and Judge of the beautiful Arts. He had given remarkable Proofs of his personal Courage at the Siege of *Buda* in *Hungary*, where the Fire of his Temper once engaged him so far among the Enemies, that he would have been killed or taken, had he not made his Escape by swimming his Horse through the *Danube*. His Conduct as a General appeared when the Command of the Imperial Army on the *Rhine* was delivered to him; the Campaign there under his Direction being the most important and successful of any before, or after him. That he was in his own Nature of a gentle and gracious Temper, appeared from his mild and easy Government of his Hereditary Dominions, where he had no Restraint but his own Will. And to confirm this, it is particularly related of him, that when the News was brought him that the Earl of *Nithisdale*, who was sentenced to die for the Rebellion, had made his Escape the Night before Execution, his Majesty only said with a pleasant Smile, *It was the best Thing a Man in his Circumstances could possibly do*. This is all that our slender Knowledge and Informations enable us to add concerning the personal Character of this great Prince. We hope our Readers will pardon the Defectiveness of it, on Account of the Difficulty there is to collect Materials on such a Subject so near to our own Times: and because we profess to insert it, only in Conformity to our Method in other Places.

### MAYORS and SHERIFFS of LONDON in this King's Reign.

In 1715.

**S**IR William Humpbrys, Mayor.  
Sir Robert Breeden, Sir Randolph Knipe, Sheriffs.

In 1716.

Sir Charles Peers, Mayor.  
Sir John Ward, Sir John Fryer, Sheriffs.

In 1717.

Sir James Bateman, Mayor.  
Sir Gerard Conyers, Charles Cook, Sheriffs.

In 1718.

Sir William Lewen, Mayor.  
Sir Peter Delme, Sir Harcourt Masters, Sheriffs.

In 1719.

Sir John Ward, Mayor.  
Sir John Bull, Thomas Ambrosi, Sheriffs.

In 1720.

Sir George Thorold, Mayor.  
Sir John Eyles, Sir John Tash, Sheriffs.

In 1721.

Sir John Fryer, Mayor.  
Sir George Caswall, Sir William Billers, Sheriffs.

In 1722.

Sir William Steward, Mayor.  
Sir George Mertins, Sir Edward Becher, Sheriffs.

In 1723.

Sir Gerrard Conyers, Mayor.  
Humphrey Parsons, Francis Child, Sheriffs.

In 1724.

Sir Peter Delme, Mayor.  
Sir Richard Hopkins, Sir Felix Feast, Sir Edward Bellamy, Sheriffs.

In 1725.

Sir George Mertins, Mayor.  
Sir Joseph Eyles, Sir Robert Baylis, Sheriffs.

In 1726.

Sir Francis Forbes, Mayor.  
Sir Francis Porteen, Sir Jeremiah Murden, Sir John Thompson, Sheriffs.

In 1727.

Sir John Eyles, Mayor.  
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N.

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O.

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P.

**T**HE Palatine of the Rhine comes into England, and marries the Lady Elizabeth, Daughter of King James I. 412.

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First Parliament under King Charles I. meets, 428. The Commons prepare a Remonstrance of Grievances, upon which the Parliament is dissolved, 429.

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Long Parliament under King Charles I. meets, 461. They vote against Ship-Money, and pass a Bill for Triennial Parliaments, 462, 463. Their Protestation, 465, 466. Pass a Bill for Continuance of the Parliament, 466. They pass a Bill to put down the Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court, 468. They send nineteen Propositions to the King, 474. They raise an Army under the Earl of Essex, 475. They send Propositions to the King at Hampton-Court, 506.

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Convention Parliament summoned, 604. They recall the King, 612. Their Character, 618. They pass the Act of Indemnity, 619. Dissolved, 622.

Long Parliament under King Charles II. meets, 625. They pass a new Act of Oblivion, 626. They oppose the Declaration of Indulgence, 631. They repeal the Triennial Act, 633. Pass a severe Law against Conventicles, *ibid.* Kept prorogued for two Years, 656. They meet again, 665. The Commons vote the Declaration of Indulgence to be against Law, *ibid.* They pass the Test-Act, 667. They oppose the Duke of York's Marriage with a Papist, 670. A great Debate in the House of Lords about an Oath to confirm the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, 674. It is quashed by a fierce Contention between the two Houses, 675, 676. That Dispute revived, 677. The Commons address the King to protect *Flinders*, which produces a long Fencing between the King and the House, 679 to 684. Oates's Informations about the Popish Plot brought before the Commons, 689. The Commons attack the Earl of Danby, 693. They are dissolved, 695.

Second Parliament in King Charles II. Reign meets, 696. A Dispute about the Choice of a Speaker, *ibid.* They fall upon the Earl of Danby, *ibid.* He pleads the King's Pardon, which causes a Difference

between the two Houses, 698. A Bill brought into the House of Commons to exclude the Duke of York from the Crown, *ibid.* They are dissolved, 700.

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Fourth Parliament meets at Oxford, 708. The Commons bring in the Exclusion-Bill, upon which the King dissolves them, *ibid.*

King James II's Parliament meets, 727. Their Loyalty to him, *ibid.* and 729. The Alarm they were under about the King's Speech, 732. The Commons address the King about dispensing with the Tests, 733. Dissolved, 739.

Convention Parliament summoned by the Prince of Orange, 762. They meet, 763. The Commons declare the Throne vacant, 764. The Lords disagree to it, but at last yield, 765. They declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen, 766. They pass a Bill to turn the Convention into a Parliament, 770. The Lords reverse several Attainders, 778. A Difference between the two Houses about *Titus Oates*, 779. Dissolved, 781.

Second Parliament in King William's Reign meets, 781. They make an Enquiry into Bribery, 799 to 802. The Commons impeach the Duke of Leeds, 802. Dissolved, 806.

Third Parliament meets, 806. Pass a Bill for regulating Tryals in Cases of High-Treason, *ibid.* Their Debates about restoring the Silver Coin, and the Methods taken to that End, *ibid.* They address against the *Scotch East India Company*; and the Commons impeach some who were concerned in it, 809. The Commons address against a Grant made to the Earl of Portland, *ibid.* They enter into an Association on Account of the Assassination-Plot, 811. They make a severe Law against Nonjurors, *ibid.* Their Debates about a Standing Army, 815, 816, 817. They agree to have the Army disbanded, 817. The Commons prosecute Smugglers, and false Endorsers of Exchequer Bills, 817, 818. Dissolved, 818.

Fourth Parliament meets, 820. They prove very thwarting to the King, *ibid.* The Commons enquire into the Disposal of the *Irish* forfeited Estates, 821. They pass a Bill for applying those Estates to the publick Use, which causes a Difference between the King and them, 822. Dissolved, 825.

Fifth Parliament meets, 825. The Commons fall upon the Partition Treaty, *ibid.* They impeach the Lords Portland, Somers, Orford and Halifax, 826. Difference thereupon between the two Houses, *ibid.* The Lords dismiss the Impeachments, 827. The Parliament passes an Act for settling the Succession in the House of Hanover, *ibid.* Dissolved, 828.

Sixth Parliament meets, but do nothing before the King's Death, 828. They are continued by Queen Anne, but do little the first Session, 834. Dissolved, 837.

First Parliament in Queen Anne's Reign meets, 837. The Commons oppose a Grant of five Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* to the Duke of Marlborough, *ibid.* A Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity passes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords, 838. A Difference between the two Houses, *ibid.* A Plot in Scotland

examined by the House of Lords, which occasions a Difference between the two Houses, 845. Another Difference about Elections in the House of Commons, *ib.* Occasional Conformity Bill proposed to be tacked to the Land-Tax Bill, 851. The two Houses uneasy at the *Scotch Act* of Security, 852. The Queen and Parliament give the Honour and Mannour of *Woodstock* to the Duke of Marlborough, 852. A new Dispute between the two Houses about Elections, 852. Dissolved, 853.

Second Parliament meets, 858. Both Houses vote that the Church was not in Danger, 859. They give five Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* for ever to the Duke of Marlborough, 866. They become with the Addition of the *Scotch Members* the first Parliament of Great Britain, 870. A Debate in the House of Lords about carrying on the War in Flanders, 871. Dissolved, 874.

Third Parliament of the Queen, and second of Great Britain meets, 877. They address the Queen about a second Marriage, 878. The Commons impeach Dr. *Sacheverell*, 882. He is found guilty by the House of Lords, 883. Dissolved, 884.

Fourth Parliament meets, 888. The Lords thwarting to the Ministry, 892. The Commons censure the Duke of Marlborough, 893. Dissolved, 897.

Fifth Parliament meets, 898. Their Proceedings, *ibid.*

First Parliament in King George's Reign meets, 903. They impeach the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Strafford, *ibid.* They impeach the Lords taken at *Presford* of High-Treason, 906. They pass the Septennial Act, 907. The Earl of Oxford petitions the Lords for a Tryal, 908. The two Houses differ about him, upon which he is discharged, 909. The Commons commit Mr. *Shippen* to the Tower, *ibid.* The Peerage Bill passes the House of Lords, but is rejected by the Commons, 911. It is recommended from the Throne, and passes the Lords, but is again rejected by the Commons, *ibid.* The Proceedings against the *South-Sea Directors*, and others, 913, 914, 915. Dissolved, 915.

Second Parliament under King George I. meets, 915. Pass a Bill to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act*, *ibid.* Report of the Committee of the House of Commons about a Plot, 916. Bills of Pains and Penalties passed against the Bishop of Rochester, George Kelly, and John Plunket, *ibid.* The Commons enter upon the Conduct of the Masters in Chancery, and impeach the Earl of Macclesfield of High Crimes and Misdemeanours, *ibid.*

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The Creation of twelve new Peers at once, 893.

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is committed to the Tower, 244. He escapes from thence, but is taken and hanged, 245.  
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*Philippa* Queen to *Edward III.* defeats the *Scots*, and takes their King Prisoner, 121.  
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 The *Scotch* Plot in *Queen Anne's* Time, 845.  
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Q.

**A**N Attempt on *Quebec* unsuccessful, 890.

R.

**S**IR *Walter Raleigh* takes a great Spanish Ship, 380. He is questioned by *Essex* for landing at *Fayal* without his Leave, 385. His Plot under King *James I.* 403. He is tried and imprisoned, 404. He is set at Liberty to go to *Guiana*, 414. He is beheaded at his Return, 415.  
*Alderman Read*, for refusing to pay an Assessment, is sent a Soldier into *Scotland*, where he is taken Prisoner, 293.  
*Reading* lost by King *Charles I.* 480.  
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 Rebellion in *Scotland* and *England* against King *George I.* 903, 904, 905, 906.  
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